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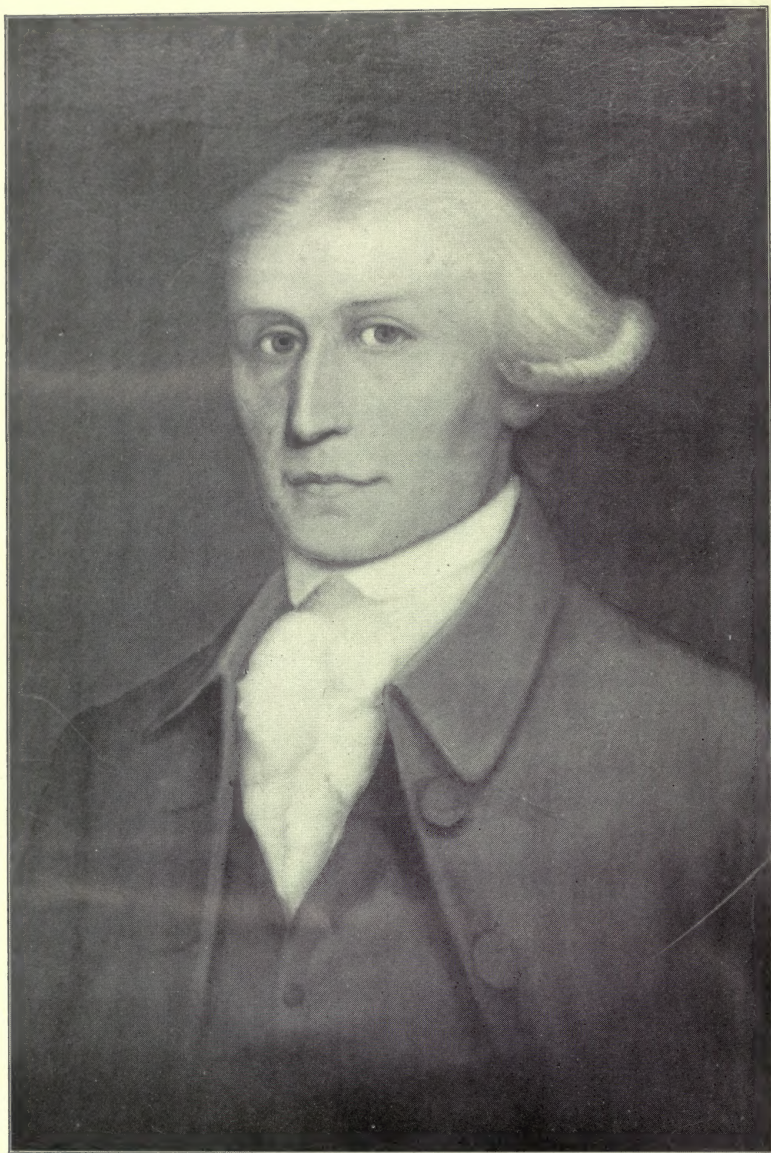
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John Wheeler Lock
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A HISTORY
OF
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

1815-1909

BY
JOHN KING LORD

*Being the second volume of A History of Dartmouth
College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire,
begun by Frederick Chase*

CONCORD, N. H.
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1913

VICTORY

THE BATTLE OF BATTLES

JOHN KING LORD

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THE BATTLE OF BATTLES
JOHN KING LORD

PREFACE.

THE first volume of the "HISTORY OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE AND THE TOWN OF HANOVER," by Frederick Chase, appeared more than twenty years ago. The second volume, carrying on the history of the College but not of the Town, owes much to him. He had not only outlined the plan of work, but had examined carefully a good part of the ground which it covers, and he had written something of it. A considerable part of Chapter X on the College Controversy, was thus prepared by him, and also a considerable part of the special topics with which the volume concludes.

In completing the work thus begun I wish to acknowledge to the fullest degree my obligations to Mr. Chase. In following out the lines suggested by his memoranda I have been profoundly impressed with the keenness and thoroughness of his investigations. I have thoroughly examined the statements of his notes, as far as they depended on documents, and in no case have I found them incorrect. In a few cases I have allowed statements to pass, which I could not confirm, but which I knew came to him through oral testimony that was closed to me by death.

But while I gladly associate the name of Frederick Chase with mine in the preparation of this volume, for the years that have passed since his death have given me an increased sense of the richness of his friendship and the value of his work, I do not lay upon him the responsibility for any part of the volume, except the parts which I have said that he wrote, and these I have gone over with as much care as if they were my own.

All the letters and documents quoted in the volume are in the possession of the College unless a different ownership is indicated.

In the discussion of the special topics there is some repetition of statements made in the body of the work, since some statements were necessary in the continuous narrative, which were also essential in the fuller discussion of the individual topic. Some of these topics while not immediately belonging to the life of the College, are given a place because they describe the conditions under which it was carried on.

I wish to express my thanks to the many members of the alumni and to others who have answered my letters of inquiry, and have filled out by their memory the lack of written records. I can but hope that coming generations of those having to do with the College will be more successful in preserving documents that have to do with its history than many of those having such charge have been in the past.

I wish also to express my thanks to my wife, who has, with painstaking care, entirely prepared the manuscript of the volume for the press.

JOHN K. LORD.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, June, 1913.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COLLEGE CHURCH AND THE CAUSES LEADING UP TO THE GREAT CONTROVERSY.

The Accession of John Wheelock to the Presidency and His Relation to the Board. — The College Church and Its Pastors. — The Meeting House and Controversy over Its Use. — Election of Roswell Shurtleff as Professor of Divinity and His Call to be Pastor of the College Church. — Opposition of President Wheelock, and Resulting Disagreement between the Branches of the Church in Hanover and Dothan. — Ecclesiastical Councils and Organization of New Church. — Further Difficulties and Attempt of Wheelock to Enlist the Trustees. 15

CHAPTER X.

THE COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY; THE COLLEGE CASE, 1815-1820.

The Board of Trust. — Wheelock Appeals to the Legislature. — Committee of Investigation Appointed. — Removal of Wheelock from the Presidency. — "Vindication" of the Trustees. — Change in Political Parties and Passing of an Act Altering the Charter of the College. — Refusal of the Trustees to Accept the Amended Charter. — Failure of the University Boards to Organize. — Secretary of Board Adheres to University. — Trustees Bring Suit for Their Records. — University Act Amended and Penalties Denounced against College Officers and They Are Removed by University Board. — Wheelock Elected President of University. — His Death. — William Allen His Successor. — Decision in the College Case in State Courts Adverse to College. — Appeal to Washington. — The Argument and Decision. — Final Action in Circuit Court. — Collapse of University. — Its Finances. 62

CHAPTER XI.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENTS DANA AND TYLER, 1820-1828.

Finances of the College. — Movements in Opposition. — Death of President Brown. — Changes in the Faculty and Election of Rev. Daniel Dana as President. — Failure of His Health and Succession of Rev. Bennet Tyler. — Internal Affairs of the College. . . . 175

CHAPTER XII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT LORD, 1828-1863.

New Buildings. — Moor's School and Wheelock Lands. — Changes in the Board and the Faculty and in Methods of Administration. — The College Pulpit. — The Anti-slavery Movement. — Professor Hale. — Reed Hall. — Advance and Decline in Numbers. — Subscription, and Gift of Mr. Appleton. — Temperance. — Disturbances. — Dr. Shattuck's Gift and the Observatory. — Opening of the Chandler School. — Eulogy on Webster. — The Civil War and Its Effect on the College. — Pro-slavery Views of President Lord. — His Resignation. 218

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT SMITH, 1863-1877.

Changes in College Methods and Officers. — The Gymnasium. — The Agricultural College and Mr. Culver's Gift. — The Thayer School. — The Centennial. — Discipline. — The Beginning of Athletics. — Alumni Representation. — Improvements in the Buildings. — Union of the Libraries. — Admission by Certificate. — Finances. — Resignation of President Smith. 334

CHAPTER XIV.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENT BARTLETT, 1877-1892.

New Endowments. — A New Chapel and a New Library. — Controversy Connected with the Chandler School. — The Latin-Scientific Course. — Electives and Honors. — Death of Professors Brown, Noyes and Sanborn. — Fires. — The Inn and the Christian Association Building. — Removal of the Agricultural College. — The Second Movement for Alumni Representation. 413

CHAPTER XV.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENT TUCKER, 1893-1909.

Condition of the College and Principles of the New Administration. — Extension and Consolidation. — Close Union of the Chandler School with the College. — Alumni Athletic Field. — Gifts and Bequests. — Enlargement of the Plant. — Burning and Rebuilding of Dartmouth Hall. — The Tuck School. — Measures of Scholarship and Administration. — Summary of the Progress of the College. 472

SPECIAL TOPICS.

1. The Library	508
2. The Literary Societies and the Fraternities	515
3. The Phi Beta Kappa Society	539
4. The Northern Academy	548
5. The Handel Society	552
6. Religious Societies	560
7. Commencements	571
8. Term Bills and Fees	585
9. College Laws.	589
10. The Catalogue	596
11. The Museum and Cabinet	601
12. The Philosophical Apparatus	607
13. The College Bell.	611
14. Mails, and Means and Routes of Travel	614
15. The River; Dams, Locks and Bridges	627
16. Railroads	663

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A. President Wheelock's Memorial	671
" B. Remonstrance of the Trustees	675
" C. Catalogue of the University	682
" D. Action of the Trustees Refusing to Accept a Change in the Charter	687
" E. Remonstrance of the University Trustees.	695
" F. Contract Between Dartmouth College and the Agri- cultural College	697
" G. Circular of R. Graves	700

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PORTRAITS.

	FACING PAGE
John Wheelock	<i>Frontispiece</i>
Roswell Shurtleff	16
Francis Brown	62
Thomas W. Thompson	73
Nathan Smith	106
William Allen	115
The College Counsel	139
Daniel Dana	175
Bennet Tyler	198
Nathan Lord	218
Charles Marsh	290
Daniel Webster	304
Asa D. Smith	334
Samuel C. Bartlett	413
William J. Tucker	472
Mills Olcott	632

VIEWS, ETC.

Medical Building, 1812	184
College Yard, 1829-1840	224
The College, 1852	284
The Village, 1855	286
Commencement Tent, 1869	364
Hotel in 1826	445
Hotel in 1866	445
College in 1910	494
College in 1790	508
Society Medals	521
Views of the River	640

HISTORY

OF

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

CHAPTER IX.

1795-1814.

THE COLLEGE CHURCH AND THE CAUSES LEADING UP TO THE GREAT COLLEGE CONTROVERSY.

THE close of the presidency of the second Wheelock was made memorable by a controversy which imperilled the existence of the College, bringing it to the verge of ruin, and left behind it alienations and bitterness that had effect for half a century. It involved the State as well as the College, entering as a large factor into the contests of political parties, and in the attempt to supplant the College by a University raising questions of law in whose discussion the ablest lawyers of the State and the Nation took part. The origin of the contest is as obscure as the outbreak was unexpected, yet it can be traced to the character of President John Wheelock, to his stubborn will and his determination to have his way at all hazards.

The charter gave to the first President of the College the right to appoint his successor in office until such appointment should be disapproved by the Trustees.¹ The first choice of President Wheelock was his son, Ralph, and his second choice was his stepson, the Rev. John Maltby, but the former was incapacitated by ill health and the latter died in 1771. The President, therefore, named in his will as his successor his second son, John Wheelock, who at the death of his father was a young man of twenty-five, eight years out of college, and a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental army. He had no training, especially in divinity, then regarded as essential for the presidency of a

¹ Vol. I, p. 563.

college, and neither he nor the Trustees acted hastily in accepting or confirming the appointment. Yet the Trustees were the more ready of the two. The situation was a very difficult one. The College was in serious financial straits, its funds were almost wholly in uncultivated and unsalable lands, it was much in debt, and in the critical condition of the times it had few friends who were able to give it any financial support. It had been considered and administered by the first President as a family institution and as such he devised it to his son. He regarded the Trustees, and they regarded themselves, as only the machinery for putting into public activity his personal plans. Naturally they did not take the initiative, and seldom interposed any objection to the carrying out of his wishes, and if they did he proceeded, as in the case of Mr. Sherburn, to secure their retirement.¹ At his death they had no desire to assume the active responsibility of administering a college, whose affairs were so involved and of whose future some of them at least were very doubtful. To pass over his first choice and take his second or third would have been an independent exercise of judgment that might have called for a new policy, and for this the Trustees were not ready, and in fact did not desire it.

Apart from the unwillingness of the Trustees to assume a larger and more responsible part in the administration of the College there were good reasons why the first nomination of the will should be approved. John Wheelock was indeed young and without the training expected in a college president, but his very youth, if accompanied by discretion, good judgment and energy, was in his favor, and his father's choice of him indicated a confidence on these points that was in itself a powerful recommendation, and if his qualifications were uncertain, it might be hoped that they would develop favorably in the work of administration. A stranger could not have the same interest in the College as a member of the first President's own family, and, above all, a son would be zealous to foster an institution with which his father's name and fame were inseparably connected. To the interest that he would have in administering the College on his own account would be added that of family pride in justifying his father's foresight and wisdom and in bringing to successful operation the plans which he had made. The financial affairs, too, of the College were mixed with those of Dr. Wheelock, and difficulties beset them both.

¹ Vol. I, p. 541.

Dr. Wheelock had used money of his own for the College, and though in his will he gave to the College the amounts so advanced, thus relieving the College of a debt that would have been an unsupportable burden, yet it was on condition of an annuity of £50, equivalent to 5 per cent on the principal, to his son, Ralph, and the Trustees felt under obligation to assume other claims for which Dr. Wheelock had made himself liable when acting for the College.¹ In view of these financial relations it was desirable that the new head of the College should be one who supposably would find no antagonism between its interests and those of Dr. Wheelock's estate.

For these reasons the Trustees naturally, if not inevitably, turned to John Wheelock, and in spite of his youth and inexperience first invited and then urged him to take the presidency of the College, to which his father had nominated him. His acceptance, somewhat slowly given, did not relieve them of serious financial difficulties, but it did assure them of a continuance of the existing method of administration and of the community of interests between the College and the Wheelock family.² The new president, apart from his age, had not the authority of his father, for his father was the founder of the College, and the history of its first ten years was the history of his personal trials, endeavors and success. With him had passed the patriarchal administration, but the family element still remained. The elder Wheelock had specifically devised to his successor all the rights, etc., which he had as *founder*,

¹ Vol. I, p. 567.

² President Stiles in his diary under date of November 6, 1779 wrote: "Rev. Mr. McClure one of the Trustees in a Letter dated 24 Oct. writes me: 'The President's Chair at Dartm^o Coll. continues vacant. The Person who was first in the List, declined giving an Answer or declaring his Acceptance. It is thot I believe by some of his Friends that he will not accept. The Choice then falls on Mr. Huntington, who I apprehend sustains a Character among the Friends of Learning and Religion that will give Reputⁿ to that young sylvan Seat of the Muses, should the College be so happy as to obtain him. Its funds for present Support are very inconsiderable. The times have affected the College and lessened the N^o of Students.—To keep it alive until good Providence gives us to see happier Days will perhaps be as much as can be done.' " Vol. II, 386.

Again under date of November 26 he wrote:

"I am informed that Col. John Wheelock *aetate*. 26, has accepted the Presidency of Dartmouth College. . . . [He names the Trustees]. Of these Col. Atkinson and Dr. Pumroy are clearly for Col. Wheelock. My Idea of the rest is, that they are all against him, and would negative him, and elect Mr. Huntington or some other Person, had they a present Support. But as his Father has left him his Dwellinghouse and a fine Estate, so that he can live with but little subsistence from the College, I believe the Trustees will let him remain. It is said that from great Gaiety he has become mighty grave, is studying Divinity, endeavors to ingratiate himself with the Scholars and to this end has erected a fence round the College and has painted the College Rooms at his own Expence." Vol. II, 392.

and John Wheelock was not a man to give up anything that he claimed as his right or his property.

For many years there was little change in the administration of the College. The Trustees willingly left its affairs to the discretion of the President, who, if he did not possess the ability of his father, was, as it appeared, truly devoted to its interests, and who could call the growth of the College to witness the success of his labors. They heartily supported him, and while in their poverty they were frequently in arrears in the payment of his salary, they voted him from time to time various sums in recognition of his services and their indebtedness, which he as often asked them to retain as a gift from him. On September 21, 1782, three years after he assumed the presidency, during which time he had received no salary, the Board voted "That this Board esteem the finances of the College such as will not admit a compensation to the President, any way adequate to his station and services, as we esteem \$1,000 per annum to be his just due; yet considering that his circumstances require something to be advanced towards his support, the Board hereby order \$1,000 to be granted to him in part payment for his services for three years past. This resolution being communicated to the President, he signified his intention not to accept any pecuniary reward for his past services, yet he had the highest sense of the liberality of the Board," and thereupon the Board again resolved, "That this Board have a most grateful sense of the liberality of the Hon. President of this University in the generous donation of \$3,000 due to him which he has this day made for the benefit of this Institution; and beg that their thankful acknowledgments, for this and many other singular favors, may be acceptable to the President."

It is probable that before passing the first vote the Board knew that the President would not accept the sum granted him, and that the vote was intended only as a compliment, for the sum which was said to be the proper annual due of the President was not only more than the combined salaries of the three professors, but exceeded the entire income of the College, and it would have been impossible for the College to pay even the \$1,000 which were granted. The generosity of the President in making no claim for salary was a great service to the College and deserved the gratitude of the Trustees, and there is no reason to think, as was afterward charged, that he had at that time any sinister purpose, or acted from any motive except the

wish to aid the College in the most effective way. It is hardly fair to credit him with having then formed a far-reaching plan for bringing the Trustees under his control, by ensnaring them with favors on his part and with expressions of gratitude and confidence on theirs.

As this vote of the Board made no provision for the future salary of the President, he continued for four years more without one, though in 1785 the Board voted him, without regard to salary, "£60 for the support of his table the year past," a sum more than double the salary of a professor. Again in 1786 (September 22) the Trustees in consideration of the fact that the President had received no salary since he entered on office, that he had declined what was voted him in 1782, and that the college finances were still infirm, granted to him "two hundred pounds lawful money, salary per annum, from Commencement A. D. 1782, to the present time, and for the year ensuing; and his said salary to rise, so fast as the finances of the College will admit, until it amount to three hundred pounds per annum." In response to this vote the President "signified his desire that the Board accept of eight hundred pounds due to him . . . provided that he shall die before he shall have made a particular arrangement for the application of said sum." In the case of his death the money was to be applied by the Trustees "as they shall think proper, as a permanent fund for some office of the College." The Trustees accepted the gift "under the restrictions mentioned" with their thanks to the President for "his beneficent disposition towards this literary institution."

From 1786 £200 became the stated salary of the President till 1795 when it was raised to £233, and again in 1807 to \$812, and in addition to this he received \$40 or \$45 a year for expenses incurred in entertaining at Commencement, till 1798 when the sum was \$70, and from 1790 for a number of years the sum of \$20 to \$30 for his taxes. In 1789 the President, being under financial embarrassments, asked of the Board the use of the eight hundred pounds previously given to them, and the Board voted to him the rents of 500 acres of land, but it does not appear for how long the assignment was made. In the same year the President received the rents of 100 acres in Lebanon, "in addition to his salary" and in 1796 he received 50 acres near the College in exchange for the same number in Lebanon. In 1795 there was a settlement of accounts between the Board and the President by which it appeared that there was a balance

due the President of £477 12s. 3d. In payment of this amount, and in consideration of the fact that the President relinquished all claim to more than the sum of £200 per annum by virtue of any previous vote, the Board conveyed to him "the annual rents which shall become due on about six hundred and twenty acres of land" in Hanover and Lebanon "in the neighborhood of Greensboro (so called), said rents amounting to the sum of £56 7s. 0d. per annum." For several years from 1797 \$100 a year were allowed the President in addition to his stated salary in view of the depreciation of the currency. By 1804, twenty-five years after Wheelock entered on the presidency, he had served the college seven years without a salary, making an absolute gift of that due for three years and a conditional gift of that for four years, afterward recalling the use of this gift for several years. From 1786 he received a stated salary fully as large as the finances of the College could afford and proportionately larger than the salaries of the professors, together with other gifts as mentioned above, and at the end of his presidency he was the possessor of over twelve hundred acres of land that had belonged to the College.

As was said in the former volume¹ President Wheelock had charge of the lands of the College in his capacity as "financier" till 1806, and no account was ever rendered of the disposal or renting of them so that it can not be exactly told how they were made serviceable to the College. The College was never free from debt, which was especially heavy in consequence of the building of Dartmouth Hall, and President Wheelock advanced considerable sums from time to time so that in the final settlement the College was indebted to him in the sum of \$7,886.41.² In addition to his work as President he had a part in instruction, being Professor of History from 1782 and hearing the senior class in philosophy. No one who considers his long years of service, filled with labors, anxieties and discouragements, can doubt his interest in the College and his devotion to it, or question the sincerity of the statement³ that he intended to make the College "heir to one moiety of his estate." That the College was a family institution was a belief which he inherited from

¹ Vol. I, p. 632.

² This was the sum awarded the "Executors of the last will and testament of John Wheelock," at the May term of Court at Plymouth, 1820. Costs were additional.

³ A Candid, Analytical Review of the Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College, etc., p. 31. One of the pamphlets appearing at the time of the controversy. It was published anonymously. See page 64.

his father, and his experience in its management identified him with it still more closely and strengthened the feeling that he should have the entire management of it. All the circumstances of his relation to the College tended to intensify his natural wish for supremacy in all with which he had to do, and led him to think that his will ought to control all its affairs.

By 1804, twenty-five years after Wheelock became President, the Board of Trust had almost wholly changed. Eden Burroughs, who entered it in 1773, still remained, but of the other members, besides the President, two had taken their seats in 1788, three in 1793 and all the others since 1800. The relation of the new members to the College was, of course, very different from that of their predecessors in office. None of them had had official relations with the first Wheelock. The personal element which he had introduced into the administration as *founder* of the College had disappeared, and the consequent readiness of the Trustees to follow without serious question the suggestions of the President had given place to a sense of responsibility for the institution of which they were the legal guardians. Many, if not all, of the new members were men of independent judgment, who were not content blindly to follow another or to act without reasons that were satisfactory to themselves. As time went on this independence became more marked and, though no open opposition developed, there was an increasing tendency to discuss measures and appointments on other grounds than as suggestions of the President, while on his part he was more tenacious in seeking to maintain his position of supremacy. It is probable, however, that no open rupture would have occurred had it not been for a quarrel in the local church in which President Wheelock bore a leading part. His persistent efforts to involve the College in the quarrel through action by the Trustes favorable to his side, led to serious dissatisfaction on the part of many in the Board, and his failure to secure their support was the immediate cause of the open break. To understand the situation it will be necessary to consider the affairs of the church.

The College church is almost as old as the College, having been gathered by Eleazar Wheelock January 23, 1771, in the midst of a religious revival which began a few months after he came to Hanover with his family and students. It was composed of twenty-seven members, and took the name of "The Church of Christ at Dartmouth College." As Dr. Whee-

lock established it without the concurrence of other churches it had an independent standing, corresponding to that of the churches of the Congregational order, but in 1773 it united, under the Presbyterian form of government, with the churches at the Center of the Town, Lyme, Orford, Piermont, Norwich and Pomfret, and later with others, to form the "Grafton Presbytery." It included in its membership, as the years went on, not only the residents of the village but inhabitants of Norwich and Hartford, especially of that part of Hartford about three miles from the College, known as Dothan. Dr. Wheelock served as its pastor during his life time and at his death, in 1779, his son-in-law, Professor Sylvanus Ripley, succeeded him, continuing in that relation till his death in 1787. An extraordinary revival, during which about eighty were added to the College church, occurred in the years 1781 and 1782. In the latter year Professor John Smith was associated with Professor Ripley and was annually chosen pastor till on the death of the latter he became the sole pastor of the church under the following vote:

At a meeting of the church of Christ at Dartmouth College, November 25th, 1787. The said church unanimously chose the reverend John Smith for their pastor and to act in that relation to them, as long as it shall be agreeable and convenient for him and them.

In view of the fact that this relation continued till 1804 it cannot be regarded as a temporary one, but the wording of the vote on which it rested showed that its basis was the mutual convenience of the parties, a matter that became of moment at a later time. That the church so regarded it was shown by their action at the termination of the pastorate, and that it was Professor Smith's view also was attested by many expressions in which as early as 1795 he indicated his desire to be relieved of his office. He was professor of languages and not of theology, and it was his expectation that the professor of divinity, when one should be appointed, would assume the duties of the college pulpit. This was the view of the Trustees also and when, in February, 1796, they elected the Rev. Charles Backus to that chair, they assigned as a part of his duties "to preach on the Sabbath." Mr. Backus did not accept the appointment, and the Trustees again requested Professor Smith "to preach as before." A similar vote was passed from year to year till 1803.

In 1802 the professorship of theology was offered to the Rev. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, N. J., but as he declined to

accept it Professor Smith continued to occupy the college pulpit. The next year it was again offered to the Rev. Samuel Worcester of Salem, Mass. In the expectation that he would accept, yet in the possible uncertainty, the Trustees varied their vote from the form of the years preceding and requested Professor Smith "to officiate as Professor of Divinity during the absence of the Professor elect," and directed that a part of his duties as such should be "to preach on the Sabbath." They further provided for the work of Professor Smith, in case Mr. Worcester should accept, by voting that "when a Professor of Theology shall be inaugurated at this College it shall be the duty of the Professor of the Learned Languages to deliver . . . public lectures upon the Learned Languages and language generally." But Mr. Worcester did not accept and Professor Smith performed the duties of the chair as requested till, at the annual meeting in August, 1804, Roswell Shurtleff, a graduate of 1799, who had been tutor for four years, was chosen Phillips Professor of Theology, and accepted the position. His election, though unanimous on the part of the Trustees and acceptable both to the College and the village, was the immediate occasion of the violent church quarrel that led up to the controversy between the College and the State.

An earlier cause of friction had been the use of the meeting house. It will be remembered that the villagers had an interest in the chapel of 1790¹, which was in course of time extinguished by purchase on the part of the College. But the building was too small for the joint use of the College and the village, and especially for the College on Commencement days. The College was too poor to erect another building, and soon a movement was started among the citizens to build a meeting house. President Wheelock specially urged that the house should be made large enough to accommodate the College as well as the village, including the requirements of Commencement days, and gave positive verbal assurances that, as soon as they should be able, the Trustees would return to the proprietors a part of the expense of the building, and, in the meantime, would pay for the use of it by the College.²

¹ Vol. I, p. 581.

² A True and Concise Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Church Difficulties in the Vicinity of Dartmouth College in Hanover. The same being the Origin of President Wheelock's Disaffection to the Trustees and Professors of the College, with documents relating thereto. By Benoni Dewey, James Wheelock, and Ben. J. Gilbert, a Committee of the Congregational Church there, appointed for the purpose. P. 33.

In February of 1794 a meeting was held at the house of Gen. Ebenezer Brewster "for the purpose of concerting measures for erecting a meeting house." A committee was then appointed which reported at a meeting held March 10, at the house of Humphrey Farrar, when it was

Voted that a meeting house be erected in said Vicinity of sixty six by sixty feet on the ground, with thirty feet posts with a belcony at one end of about fifteen feet square containing two staircases for passageways to the galleries—the belcony to be about fifty feet to the floor of the steeple and the steeple about the same height above said floor—the house to contain fifty seven windows—the windows in general to contain twenty-eight squares of ten by eight glass—three windows to be large and crowned and four round—the floor to contain about sixty six pews as near $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet as convenience will admit—The pulpit to be at the end opposite the belcony.¹

It was further decided that the building should be "erected and compleated" by the first day of November of the next year, "according to the rules of good workmanship for a building of such kind including painting the whole of the outside and so much of the inside as is usual to be painted in well finished meeting houses." The expense of the building was to be met "by the sale of the pews at vendue on the following conditions:

1st. That each person pay six twelfths of his purchase in cash at installments as follows, two such parts on or before the first day of January next—one other part so soon as the frame of said house shall be raised—one other part when the outside shall be compleated and the remaining two parts when the building and the painting shall be compleated—

2nd. That the other six twelfth parts be paid in beef pork grain lumber and labor at cash price as follows, viz. three such parts in beef pork and grain one half thereof on or before the first day of January next and the other half when the house is compleated—two such twelfth parts in lumber suitable for the building and of such kind as may be needful and at the place where the house shall be agreed to be erected and payment to be made on or before the first day of November next at the following prices, viz. clear sound boards at thirty two shillings pr thousand merchantable board at twenty four shilling pr thousand, good rived clapboards at forty shillings pr thousand good rived shingles at eight shillings pr thousand—and one twelfth part in labor of common laborers on seven days previous notice between the first day of Sept. next and the first day of June A. D. 1795 at three shillings & six pence pr day such laborer finding himself victuals & drink.²

The payment of the dues was secured by notes based upon the sale of pews which took place April 1, 1794, and amounted to £1,380 6 s. 0 d. Ebenezer Woodward led the bidding and,

¹ Records of the Proprietors of the Meeting house in the vicinity of Dartmouth College.

² Records of the Proprietors.

securing the first choice of pews by a premium of \$40, selected the front pew on the right of the middle aisle, paying £30 for it in addition to the premium. The contract for the building was awarded after competitive bids to Col. David Curtis for \$4,430. The site chosen was the lot of Richard Lang "on the north side of the College green" for which £50 were paid. Mr. George Foot, who owned the adjoining lot on the east, added something by gift to enlarge the church lot, and an attempt was made to secure the "red house, the land and barn" that occupied the corner where the vestry now stands, but without success. In the spring of 1795 the work was begun and pushed rapidly forward. Beza. Woodward, Ebenezer Brewster and Ebenezer Lane were a committee to superintend the work in the interest of the proprietors, who determined the details of the construction. The steeple was to have two balls, the lower one of wood "sufficiently painted, thoroughly dried, and overlaid with gold leaf." The upper one was to be of "metal and gilt also." The roof of the steeple was to be of a "slate color" and the interior a uniform white with a "very light tinge of blue." A "timepiece" was to be purchased and placed "in front of the gallery," but there was not money enough to purchase glass for the "lanthern windows," though the proprietors were willing to have glass windows, provided they could be furnished without expense to them. The galleries, which were entered from the "belcony" at the south end of the church extended across that end and along the whole east and west sides, and over the pulpit was a sounding board.

The final cost of the house, exclusive of the grading in front, was £1,500 15s. *od.* (almost exactly \$5,000), £120 9s. *od.* more than the sum realized from the sale of the pews. Fifteen pews on the floor of the house remained untaken and all the galleries, but the front seat in the south gallery and so much of the front seats in the side galleries as might be necessary, were appropriated for the use of music. To secure the amount necessary for the completion of the house the proprietors assessed themselves in proportion to their existing holdings, and each one was to have his proportional right in the undivided pews on the floor of the house and in the east gallery. If any one did not wish to pay the assessment he might pass his right to any one who would pay it. In this way the money was secured and the building was completed without debt. The building was dedicated on Sunday December 13, 1795, by public exercises to which the inhabitants of the vicinity were invited by an advertisement in

the *Eagle*. Professor Smith preached the dedicatory sermon. The proprietors arranged for music with the musical society of the College, giving the performers the front seats in the gallery, as has been said, and consulting "as to the tunes which shall be sung and other matters" necessary in connection with music. The result was not wholly satisfactory and in April, 1796, they voted to "request the inhabitants who can sing to meet at stated times for the purpose of improving in music till such time as some measures for joining with the musical society in College are adopted."

In accordance with the expectation of the proprietors that the students would worship with the village in the new meeting house the Trustees, at their annual meeting in August, 1795, appointed a committee to confer with the proprietors as to the terms on which they could have the use of the house for the students for worship, and on public occasions, and also whether some arrangement could be made by which the Board and the people might unitedly contribute to the support of preaching.

On the 18th of November, following, the proprietors voted to give to the Trustees for the accommodation of the students the west half of the gallery, except so much as might be necessary for music, for which the Trustees were to pay a "reasonable compensation." When the house was ready for occupancy the preaching services under the care of Professor Smith were transferred to it from the chapel, the proprietors taking their several pews and the students the west gallery. But though the students came to the meeting house to worship, a definite arrangement had not been completed between the Trustees and the proprietors, and the former at an adjourned meeting in February, 1796, appointed Bezaleel Woodward, a member of the Board, "to agree with the proprietors of the Meeting house respecting the use of that house for the Trustees, the students and the Public at the next Commencement and to report on what terms it can be had in future on public occasions." A committee of the proprietors, consisting of B. J. Gilbert, Benoni Dewey and David Curtis, conferred with Professor Woodward and on May 2, 1796, reported that the Trustees recognized that the proprietors had been at a great expense in building a house larger than the local need, with a special view to the wants of the College on its Commencement days and public occasions, and that they were "willing to make reasonable compensation for the accommodations" which they could secure in the house. The

committee recommended that, as before proposed, the west gallery be reserved for the students, under the agreement that the Trustees pay for any damage done by them, and also such rent as was "paid by the Overseers or Trustees of Harvard University for similar accommodations in the meeting house in Cambridge," which the committee believed was one dollar a year for each student. A further recommendation practically gave the house into the custody of the Trustees for Commencement and like occasions. The report was accepted "as a mode the most eligible" and the committee was continued to carry its provisions into effect.¹

The Trustees so far accepted the terms of the report by Mr. Woodward as to vote at their meeting in August, following, that "each member of the College shall pay one dollar on the second Wednesday in March for preaching and the use of seats in the meeting house for the ensuing year," but instead of adopting the agreement they appointed another committee consisting of Messrs. Woodward and Freeman "to confer with the proprietors of the meeting house in the vicinity of this College on the terms on which the members of the University shall have the privilege of seats in said house and to agree with said proprietors on the premises and to make report of their proceedings at the next meeting of the Board and also to make compensation to the proprietors for the use of the seats by the members of the College for the ensuing year and for past demands."

The involved and clumsy phraseology of this vote points very clearly to President Wheelock as its author, and the vote itself indicates that though he was one of the proprietors he was not in accord with their demands. The committee and the proprietors could not come to any further agreement, and when the next college year began the students were greatly disturbed by the requirement that they should each pay a dollar toward the support of preaching and the rent of the house. The proprietors asserted² that their uneasiness "was probably excited by the President himself," as a means of forcing the proprietors to modify their demands. So obnoxious was the tax that it was remitted at the next meeting of the Trustees. But still a definite agreement could not be reached and the possible withdrawal of the students from the church was clearly hinted in the vote of the Trustees in August, 1797, in which they appropriated \$120

¹ Records of the Proprietors.

² True and Concise Narrative, p. 60.

to Professor Smith for preaching during the next year, and required that "public worship on the sabbath be attended . . . either in the meeting house in the vicinity or the chapel as the officers may determine so that no expense accrue to the board for seats, excepting for unreasonable damage done by the students in the apartments where they may sit." This vote not only implied a possible separation but was directly contrary to the previous votes of the Trustees and actually denied the proprietors claim for compensation for the seats occupied by the students. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was met by an indignant vote of the proprietors in October that they had "nothing to do with the votes of the board of Trustees further than to hear them."

In his Sketches¹ President Wheelock represents the determination of the proprietors to require pay for the seats as the cause of the failure to agree, but from their first action in 1795 till this vote the Trustees had recognized the right of the proprietors to compensation, and by the tax of one dollar on each student had practically met the suggestion of the proprietors. The latter, as far as appears, had never varied their demands, and when the President, acting under the last vote of the Trustees, threatened to withdraw the students to the chapel they declared that they were desirous to have the officers and students of the College continue to worship in their house, provided it could be on reasonable and honorable terms, and in case of disagreement in respect to terms they were "willing that the same be determined by indifferent and judicious men."

The change in the attitude of the Trustees seems to have been due to the President's opposition; this arose from his desire for power and control which, as the proprietors asserted at a later time,² was such that "everything must yield to his will and pleasure or controversy must ensue." When he could not control the affairs of the meeting house he withdrew, in November, 1797, the students to the chapel for all religious services, taking with him Professor Smith as preacher. Only one member followed the President to the chapel, and the church left without a minister did as best it could for two months. The announcement by Professor Smith of a communion service to be held in the chapel led to a remonstrance drawn up by Professor Woodward, on the ground that as the church had voted to hold its communion serv-

¹ Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School, with a particular account of some late remarkable proceedings of the Board of Trustees, from the year 1779 to the year 1815, p. 16. See p. 64.

² True and Concise Narrative, etc., p. 63.

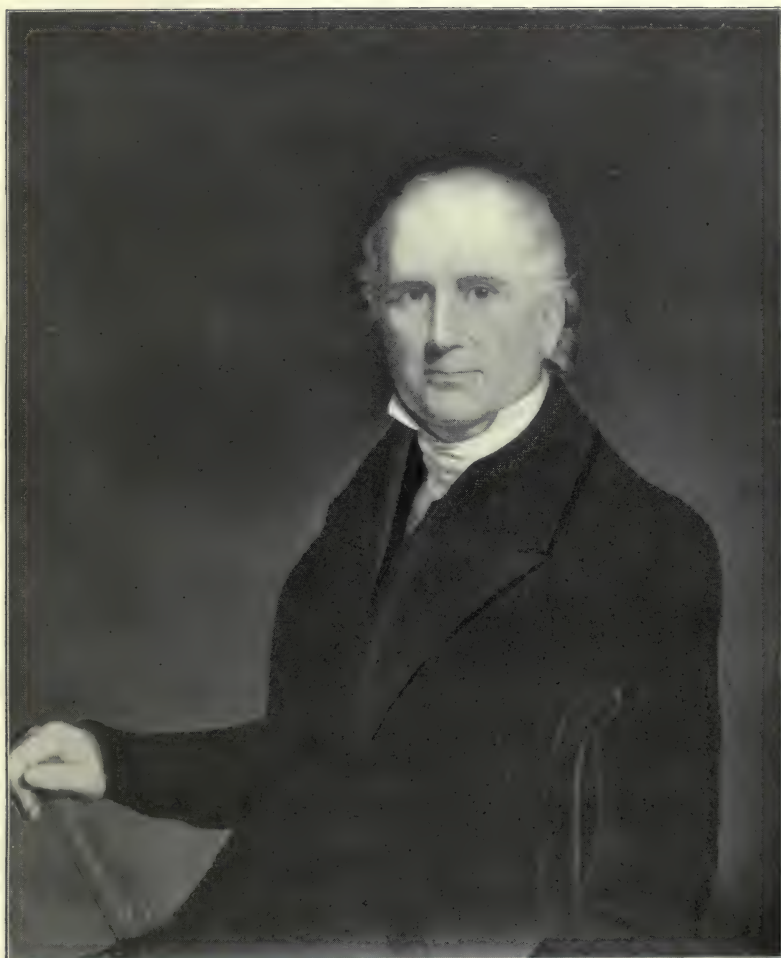
ices only at the meeting house Professor Smith had no right to appoint such service for the church at the chapel. Professor Smith acknowledged that this was so, but after conference with the President reported that the President would not consent to a change, and the service was held as announced. After a time it appeared that the seceders would like to return to the meeting house, but Professor Smith was apprehensive that because of his leaving and of his subserviency to the President the proprietors would not wish him to come back. Toward the last of December, however, they voted that they would be glad to have the students return on the same conditions as before and that it would be agreeable to have Mr. Smith preach in the house again. He accordingly returned together with the students, and in the following year a settlement was made with the Trustees by which they paid \$100 for the use of the church for the two years, to September, 1797, and the same rate of payment was continued for some years from that time. All difficulties were apparently settled though afterward the President referred to this disagreement as an important cause in the troubles that arose in 1804, and described it as the work of the "evil hands" of those opposing him.

But there were still disturbing forces at work. The church did not fail to feel the effect of the movement that was changing the Presbyterian churches of the section into Congregational. The Grafton Presbytery came to an end about 1800. After that time the Hanover church was the only one that belonged to the Presbytery, and that it was affected by the spirit of Congregationalism is indicated by the fact that in 1796 it spent two meetings in discussing the "propriety of having ruling elders in the church, and the scripture warrant for the establishment," and that though the church voted to elect elders yet Deacon John Payne resigned his "office as an elder as he did not see his way clear to be ordained a ruling elder," and three months later asked a dismission to the Congregational church in Lebanon. In 1804 at a meeting held on the 19th of March the church voted, "That as we esteem it our duty, we desire gratefully to acknowledge the divine goodness, by which this church has enjoyed from its first establishment in this place, so great a degree of Christian order and peace under the presbyterian form of government, and, as we have a lively sense of the many advantages which result from this institution, and its conformity to the instructions and spirit of the gospel, it is our duty to continue to walk together

under this government, in the faith and fellowship of the gospel."

No preamble or explanation accompanies this vote, but in view of later events it clearly shows the existence of discussion in the church on the subject of polity. A change of pastors was soon expected in connection with the appointment of a professor of theology, and some may have looked forward to a change in church government that would bring a closer association with the neighboring churches. But the majority was not ready for a change and President Wheelock in particular did not approve of a step that would throw the control of the church into the hands of the whole body and weaken the hold which he had upon it by his influence over Professor Smith. At the same meeting it was further "Voted, that we are well pleased with, and fully approve of the conduct of our reverend and worthy pastor: and would renew the expression of our desire, which was voted in Nov^r, 1787, that he would continue to us his pastoral care and administration." President Wheelock did not intend that Professor Smith should give up his position as pastor when the new professor of theology, whose election was certain in the near future, should come, but rather, as later events clearly showed, that he should hold his place with the new man as a colleague. This vote was an attempt to bind the church, at a time when opposition to it would seem to be personal opposition to Professor Smith and a move to deprive the church of a pastor when there was no existing possibility of supplying his place. The approval of his conduct was certainly not felt by all members of the church, and there was a desire on the part of many for a change in the pastorate as soon as the time for it should come. Professor Smith had many pleasant personal qualities, but he was not attractive as a preacher, and his lack of independence in relation to President Wheelock was a strong ground of dissatisfaction. The church could not withdraw its request for him to act as its pastor, for it was so far dependent on the College that it could not support a pastor of its own, but many were ready to welcome a change when the professor of theology should come, but till then they could only assent to the vote proposed.

In 1804, as has been said, Roswell Shurtleff was elected Professor of Theology. Under ordinary conditions his election would have had no more interest than would naturally arise from the introduction of a new member into a small community, and a new officer into a small faculty, but in the view of the Presi-



Rowlee Shuttlesworth



dent the election of a new member of the Faculty had a peculiar significance; it meant a supporter or an opponent. For many years there had been but two permanent members of the Faculty, Professor Bezaleel Woodward and Professor John Smith, of whom the former in the exercise of an independent judgment frequently disagreed with the President, and in the matter of the use of the church building had been entirely opposed to him, while the latter was so completely under the control of the President that in all college matters the President could depend on his unquestioned support, and through him could control the church so far as its action depended upon its pastor, as had been shown in 1797, when at the President's direction Professor Smith left the church building to preach in the chapel. Professor Woodward died August 25, 1804, while the Trustees were in session, and they elected in his place John Hubbard¹ preceptor of the Academy at Deerfield, Mass. As it was necessary that the chair should be filled and as Mr. Hubbard's answer could not be secured before their adjournment, the Trustees selected Ebenezer Adams of Leicester, Mass., as an alternative choice, and in case he should decline, still further selected John Vose of Atkinson, N. H., for the place. Mr. Hubbard accepted the appointment and entered on his work in the fall.

Mr. Shurtleff was not a stranger to the College or the community. He had been a student when the trouble arose over the use of the church building, and later a tutor for four years. It was natural to think that on his return as professor he might be affected by feelings coming from his earlier relations and possibly be not wholly in sympathy with the President. When the question of his election was before the Board Dr. Wheelock, therefore, was not willing to have the vote taken till he had assured himself that he could count on Mr. Shurtleff as a supporter. If he should be elected and not stand in that relation to the President, not only might two of the three permanent members of the Faculty be in opposition, but the church with an independent pastor would pass from the controlling influence of the President. To obviate such a possibility Dr. Wheelock and Professor Smith sought an interview with Mr. Shurtleff to determine his attitude.

¹ John Hubbard was born in Townsend, Mass., August 8, 1759, and was graduated in the class of 1785. He studied divinity but turning to teaching was at New Ipswich, N. H. from 1788 to 1795, and after being Judge of Probate for Cheshire County from 1789 to 1802, except from December, 1797, to June, 1798, was preceptor of the academy at Deerfield, Mass., till his election at Dartmouth. He was a man of gentle temper, pleasing manners and scholarly taste. He published a small book on geography, a reading book and an essay on music.

"During the interview," said Dr. Wheelock, "Mr. Shurtleff¹ remarked that he had no objection to the church, nor to the Presbyterian form of government. The President then plainly told him that his election depended on his disposition, and the *assurances* which he might give of his attachment to the church, and its form of government, and his *engagement* to walk with them, and in friendship with Dr. Smith, until he should cease to be a pastor. The President then wished for a direct and categorical answer without any condition. He said *it would be agreeable*, and that he should if appointed, unite with the church and act as they might be inclined. Said the President, repeating it, 'May we *depend* on you—He assented with a motion of his head in the words *there shall be no difficulty*.'"

It was expected by the Trustees and the people that if Mr. Shurtleff were elected he would become pastor of the church in place of Professor Smith, and this interview was undoubtedly to secure his adhesion to President Wheelock in that capacity. Mr. Shurtleff anticipating no controversy naturally gave to his interviewers the assurance of his attachment to the church and that he could be depended on to walk in friendship with its members. That such an engagement bound him to follow blindly the President in the controversies into which he was brought, but which he had nothing to do in bringing on, or that he intended to commit himself as a partisan was not a natural interpretation at the time or in accord with Mr. Shurtleff's independent character. There was no controversy in the church at the time in which it was desired to commit Mr. Shurtleff, and the President sought only in a general way to gain a hold upon a new member of the Faculty and the new pastor of the church. He was casting an anchor to windward for storms that experience led him to think might come, and Mr. Shurtleff on his part gave assurances of amity that accorded with his relations and did not fetter his judgment or his action.

Immediately after the election of Mr. Shurtleff the inhabitants of the village, feeling that action on their part was necessary, took measures to express to Mr. Shurtleff their desire that he should act as their pastor as well as preach to the students. On September 1, as he had gone to Middlebury, Vt., Mr. William Woodward, a friend of the President's wrote him: "It is sincerely wished and desirable that you may find it consistent with your duty at an early day to return to this place. Doct. Smith con-

¹ Sketches, etc., p. 18.

siders himself discharged, and the College and people here will from this time be destitute of a preacher." A week later the following letter was sent to him, giving a more exact account of the situation:

SIR.—We are requested by the inhabitants of this vicinity to address you in their behalf, and to express the great satisfaction, your appointment to the office of Professor of Divinity for Dartmouth College has given them, and their sincere desire that you may accept it. Our situation, for many reasons, renders this appointment peculiarly interesting. Impressed with the importance of religion, the people of this village, too few in numbers and without adequate means to form an independent religious society, have long united with the members of the Institution in religious worship; and habit has now rendered desirable, what seemed at first the result of necessity. Our ardent wishes for the continuance of the union, have always anticipated that the appointment of a Professor of Divinity, would in effect, include that of a pastor for the people. These wishes as well as the peculiarity of our situation, dispose us to dispense with the ordinary and scrupulous forms of preliminary probation; and candidly confiding in the discernment of the Trustees, as well as the very respectable testimony, the general and public opinion bears to your character, to invite you, and we do it most cordially, to accept your appointment as Professor, and to become a pastor to this people. The inhabitants have been assembled on this occasion and we address you by their appointment. So little time has elapsed, since commencement, that we are yet unable to ascertain with certainty—what pecuniary contribution, the inhabitants may make you: their present feelings and disposition seem to promise as much as their ability. Our subscription paper, a copy of which, for your information we enclose, has already secured you the annual sum of \$139; we hope in a short time to increase this sum to \$200; yet it may not, for the present year, amount to so much.

We are, with great respect, and cordial esteem, your obedient servants.

BEN. J. GILBERT.

WM. WOODWARD.

RICHARD LANG.

JAS. WHEELOCK.

MILLS OLCOTT.

This communication, as it will be seen, did not rest upon any action of the church formally ending the pastorate of Professor Smith, an omission that gave opportunity for the future difficulty. Despite the vote of March 19 it was taken for granted by the signers of the letter that Professor Smith's pastorate was at an end from the nature of the case. As it was a part of the duty of the new professor of theology to preach to the students, and as the college preacher had always been the pastor of the church, the relation of Professor Smith and the church seemed naturally to have ended. Professor Smith had for several years desired to be relieved from his preaching, as he announced at the dedication

of the church building, and when during the summer after Mr. Shurtleff's election two of the elders of the church asked Professor Smith to preach on the following Sunday he told them "that a Professor of Divinity was now appointed who would perform the service as he had done, and that consequently he considered himself as released and under no obligation in that respect either to the College or the people." The church on its side, while appreciating the services of Professor Smith, was ready to receive a new pastor, and as the two parties in interest were agreed upon the fact Professor Smith did not think it necessary to resign a place which he considered no longer his, and the church did not vote to discontinue a relation which it believed had already closed.

But President Wheelock did not agree with this simple settlement of the relations. In spite of his interview with Mr. Shurtleff he seems not to have had full confidence as to his control of the new professor, especially if he should become pastor of the church. He was, therefore, not willing to see him come fully into that position, and he at once set to work to prevent such a result. His plan was to retain Professor Smith as the pastor of the church and to have Mr. Shurtleff brought in merely as his colleague. With this end in view he made use of the peculiar condition of the church.

It will be remembered that the church as originally constituted embraced members both in Hanover and in Dothan, a district of Hartford, Vt. For many years the members in Vermont had had but a nominal interest in the church, being in fact so separate that they had built a house of worship for themselves and had actually issued a call to a Mr. Cabbot "to settle in the ministry" among them.¹ On the formation of the church in Hartford in 1786 it had been their intention to join that church, as being a more natural association, but President Wheelock had dissuaded them from so doing by assuring them that if they "would form a little society among themselves he would supply them with preaching at a cheap rate, by procuring the appointment of such for Tutors who might also be preachers."² The result of this arrangement was to give the President a strong influence if not the control in that portion of the church, and to lead him to object to an organization that made them independent of the Hanover connection. Though that connection was only formal, as the Dothan members had long ceased to contribute

¹ True and Concise Narrative, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

toward the Hanover church, as well as to attend, yet as long as it continued President Wheelock was influential in both parts of the church, in Hartford by the arrangement just mentioned and in Hanover by his hold upon Professor Smith. His influence with the Dothan members was now used to defeat the wishes of the members in Hanover, and also brought Professor Smith to change his view of his relation to the church and to hold that he was still its pastor.

Mr. Shurtleff had accepted the offer of the professorship, but in the lack of a formal invitation had returned no definite reply to the suggestions of individuals that he should become pastor of the church, although he began to supply the pulpit in October. This invitation was delayed by the disagreement between those in the village who wished Mr. Shurtleff as pastor, and President Wheelock, who, with the Dothan members, wished him as a colleague of Professor Smith. But by December the matter could no longer be delayed and action was brought about by the following letter:¹

TO THE REVEREND JOHN SMITH D. D.

We the subscribers, members of the Church of Christ in the vicinity of Dartmouth College, lately under your pastoral care, beg leave to request, that a meeting of s^d church may be called, to be holden at the meeting house in s^d vicinity on Wednesday the 12th inst at one o'clock P. M. for the purpose of seeing whether any and what measures s^d church will see fit to adopt relative to the settlement and ordination of Mr. Roswell Shurtleff in and to the pastoral care of the same—and to consult and transact relative to any other matter promotive of the cause of our holy religion that may be thought proper at said meeting.

HANOVER Dec. 3d, 1804.

In accordance with this request a meeting of the church was called for the 13th of the month, and "when this meeting was notified at Hartford by Professor Smith, he was particular to request a very general and punctual attendance—observing that business of great importance was to be transacted." At the meeting the Hanover members proposed the following address to be presented to Professor Smith:

SIR.—As the time you have so long wished for at length has come, that you are released from a part of your too arduous labours, by the appointment of Mr. Shurtleff to the Professorship of Divinity at this College, and as we hope he will consent to undertake the ministerial office, and pastoral care of this church and congregation; it is with pleasure we embrace an opportunity, of manifesting

¹The letter was signed by Benoni Dewey, Chester Ingols, Jas. Wheelock, Jabez Kellogg, Caleb Fuller, Elias Weld, Stephen Kimball, Jacob Ward, Samuel McClure, John Mansfield.

to you our congratulations at this pleasing event. And while we present you with our cordial and grateful thanks, for your ministerial services, and pastoral care of us, since your first undertaking in that relation; we cannot avoid an expression of our sense of the benevolent motives which have influenced you therein, and of the integrity and uprightness of your heart in the discharge of the important duties thereof. We hope still to be favored with your friendly advice and assistance, in the important object of settling one to succeed you in the pastoral care of this flock; and that particularly, when we are convened, to consult and act relative thereto, you may be present and preside as heretofore.

The adoption of this skillfully worded address, called by its supporters "a token of friendly notice and respect", would have secured all that the Hanover members desired inasmuch as it recognized by implication that Professor Smith's relation as pastor had ended and asked him to preside at a conference to select his successor as a special favor and not as a right. At a meeting of the church the address was urged by all the members present living in the vicinity except President Wheelock and Professor Smith, and they with nine or ten members from Hartford, who for years had rarely attended a meeting, and whom they had persuaded to attend at this time, "strenuously opposed the adoption of the address, alleging that Professor Smith was still pastor of the church, and that it would be derogatory to him not to remain so, and insisting that he should so continue, and that Professor Shurtleff should be invited only as colleague to him." In opposition to the address and in support of his own plan President Wheelock attempted to bring in the authority of the Trustees by introducing a paper, obtained two months before, signed by three Trustees and one ex-Trustee.

WHEREAS, the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College have appointed Mr. Roswell Shurtleff to the office and work of Professor of Divinity in Dartmouth College, and our opinion being requested in regard to the ordination of Mr. Shurtleff and the manner thereof; we are fully and clearly of opinion, that it will be expedient, that Mr. Shurtleff be ordained colleague pastor with the Rev. Dr. Smith, over the church in said Dartmouth College, as has been customary in similar occasions, and peculiarly proper, under existing circumstances, and that he be ordained accordingly as soon as convenient.

EDEN BURROUGHS,
DAVID M'CLURE,
JOSEPH BOWMAN,
ISRAEL EVANS.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Oct. 12, 1804.

The address was not adopted but in its place President Wheelock and the Dothan members passed by a bare majority a vote

to appoint a committee of three to request Professor Shurtleff to be ordained as colleague with Professor Smith, with the understanding that Professor Smith was ordinarily to officiate in the parochial duties with the branch of the church in Hartford, and that Professor Shurtleff was ordinarily to officiate in the parochial duties with the branch in Hanover.¹

¹ The following humorous account of the meeting is preserved:

And it came to pass in the reign of Johannes Maximus, in the fifth month of the twenty fifth year of his reign, that Johannes Minimus a Levite (the same that in his journey through the wilderness was met by a great she-bear, howbeit meddled not with this holy man) [see Vol. I, p. 230] after devising with his master, the ruler of the children of obedience, called the people together to lay down his Robes, and put them upon his successor, a man chosen by the people. Now there was a division among the people, some saying this must not be, for our sacred body will come to naught, if we transfer our government from an Elder to a Beardless youth, so Johannes Maximus sent messengers to the half tribe on the other side of Jordan, and to Eleazer the reprobate son of a Levite, saying prepare yourselves for the battle and come over this side the Jordan to defend mine annointed against the mocking of the heathen and the raging of the undevout. So Hezekiah the ruler of the half tribe on the other side of the Jordan spread a report throughout his border, commanding all his chosen men from Dothan to Jericho to gather themselves together, and to go by tens and by fifties over the other side of the river, and there fit themselves for battle under the wise man of the East, to fight against the heathen and the undevout of the Jews.

And it came to pass that the whole tribe on both sides of Jordan gathered themselves together on the appointed day, and followed their leader into the Synagogue, when Benoni, one of the Elders, left for the cold which sorely grieved him, and all the people followed him. So everyman ran to his post in the House of Benoni. And it came to pass, when all the people had set themselves down that Johannes Maximus arose and cried in a loud voice saying, Men and Brethren why strive ye to displace mine annointed and set at naught my faithful servant, who like the true Shepherd, hath preserved his flock from the beasts of the wilderness; and whose holy zeal in my cause hath availed much, and caused great outpourings of the spirit upon our land.—Wherefore dare ye provoke mine anger in refusing obedience to my servant and in trampling upon the authority of my Hoary Head. And it came to pass that when Johannes Maximus had made an end of speaking, that Jabez the Kelloggite arose and said "Masters, what great outpourings of the Spirit hath our age and Nation witnessed? Doth it consist in the multiplied numbers of our flocks or in the peaceable lives led by our sheep?" And the saying astonished the people, and it came to pass after much vain wrangling (which is not recorded in this Book of the cunning arts and wicked devices used by Johannes Maximus to protect Johannes Minimus from the revilings of the people) that James the brother of John arose and said, "Why dispute ye about that which cannot profit. Honor is not seemly for a fool; therefore let us depose Johannes Minimus and cast him out from the Sanctuary of our Synagogue?" And this speech exceedingly displeased Johannes Maximus and his servant Johannes Minimus, inasmuch that they weeped and gnashed their teeth.

Now Johannes Minimus was the simplest of all beings inasmuch that he could do nothing out of the sight of his Master for his exceeding simplicity. And it came to pass that Johannes Maximus being sorely vexed for the mocking thrown upon his servant, jumped up, and cried aloud from his pious indignation: "Why strive ye to render base in the eyes of the people the gray hairs of this my venerable high priest, whom my soul tenderly loveth? Cease ye from your wicked endeavors, and suffer my servant to manage the Ark of the covenant, upon the old Ark. And let this teacher of our young men be annointed under him, and be instructed in the path of his duty until he shall have waxed strong in the ways of well doing." And the saying pleased some of them well, and Johannes Minimus and Eleazer the profligate child of reprobation and the half tribe on the other side of Jordan, who had been corrupted by the cunning tricks of Johannes Maximus all leaped for Joy, and cried, "Amen, so let it be as our Master hath spoken." And many of the Elders and the devout not a few went away sorely displeased saying, "these things will now come to naught for surely they are the works of the adversary." Now Johannes Maximus and his man servant Johannes Minimus were mightily tickled with the little tricks they had played upon the nation in bringing in an outlandish people [to] disinherit them of their Birth Right.

This result was utterly distasteful to the Hanover members since it left Professor Smith as the pastor of the whole church though assigning his chief duties to the Hartford branch. They did not wish Professor Smith as their pastor under any condition and they did wish Professor Shurtleff as their sole pastor. Accordingly on the next day they sent to the members living in Hartford a letter, supported by the signatures of twenty-two inhabitants in the vicinity of the College, admitting that the Hartford members were in the majority and could carry any vote they wished, but stating that if the Hartford members wished Professor Smith as their pastor they would gladly join with them in asking him to remain so, but on their part Professor Shurtleff was the man of their choice and they wished him "unshackled and unconnected with any other pastor" as related to them and that part of the church.¹ They expected to contribute without assistance to the support of Professor Shurtleff, and since the Hartford members had heretofore so far manifested their independence of the Hanover church as to call a minister to settle with them, the Hanover members merely asked a like privilege, and begged that the Hartford members would not persist in a course that would tend to disunite the church.

The committee appointed consisted of two members of the Hanover branch, Elias Weld and Chester Ingols, and one from Hartford, Hezekiah Hazen. The Hanover members appear not to have acted, but at a meeting held December 27 Hezekiah Hazen reported that "Professor Shurtleff was not ready to give his answer to the vote passed at the last meeting" and in view of the unanimous opposition of those on the east side of the river, except President Wheelock and Professor Smith, an adjourned meeting of the church was held on the 6th of January, 1805, at which the former vote was rescinded and another passed asking Professor Shurtleff to be ordained at large and to become a colleague of Professor Smith, but with a change of phrase directing that in case of the acceptance of Professor Shurtleff, each should "take particular pastoral care" of the branch to which he was assigned, and further adding that the two should "act as joint pastors in all matters which may require the attention of the whole church."

¹ The signers of this letter were the same as of the letter on page 29 except that Epaphras Merrill appears in place of Elias Weld who died May 9, 1805. The signers from the village were Ben. J. Gilbert, Eben^r Knowlton, Jesse Higgins, Jacob Kimball, Cady Simons, James Little, Uriel Bascom, Aaron Wright, Josiah Green, John S. Green, Elijah Tenney, Abr^m Dunklee, Timothy Farrar, Eben. Brewster, Aaron Kinsman, Richard Lang, Eben^r Woodward, Samuel Alden, Moses Davis, J. Bush, Increase Kimball, W^m Dewey, Jr.

It was added that "nothing is intended by this vote which shall ever be construed, or considered as opening the way to any future division or separation of said church, so as to make two distinct churches, which is to be viewed as one . . . and which it is hoped will long continue such, and on the Presbyterian plan of government, the advantages of which by the goodness of God have been so long experienced and realized." This addition was the response to the suggested division of the church coming from the defiance of the wishes of nearly half of the church, and the reference to the Presbyterian form of government was an attempt to forestall the action of a new church, should a division occur, that might leave the moribund Grafton Presbytery and join the large circle of Congregational churches that had sprung up in the vicinity.

But the change from the first vote found no more favor with the minority, and at a third meeting, held on the 18th of the month, the majority modified their previous action by adding that if Professor Shurtleff should consent to take particular pastoral care of the Hanover branch "it is intended and meant that the two pastors . . . be considered as perfectly equal in office and in all their administrations." This vote, however, was no more acceptable than the former. The meetings were stormy and attended with much feeling. The Hanover members were indignant at the attempt to influence the church by the paper signed by the Trustees and introduced by President Wheelock, and also at an attempt to secure a vote declaring the newly elected Professor Hubbard a member of the church. He had joined the church when he was a student, but had taken up his connection when he left Hanover. At that time he not only had no letter of recommendation but had not requested membership in the church. At a later time he brought his connection there and became a supporter of President Wheelock. When the several votes were taken the Hanover members, with the purpose of showing that the support of Professor Smith came almost wholly from the west side of the river, demanded the ayes and noes and that the names of the voters be recorded, but their demand was refused by the majority. Most of all they were indignant at the proposition that those who were dissatisfied with the doings of the majority should take dismissals from the church. Such a course would not only have left them without church connection but would have shut them out of the building which they had built and largely paid for as a place of worship for themselves,

and would have left it to the use of a body living in another state and having a church building of its own, and to the College whose representative was the one who was chiefly responsible for their alienation. Not content with contesting these measures at the meetings they sent on the 12th of February a letter ¹ remonstrating anew against them, and cogently refuting the one position taken by the Hartford members, viz., "that Dr. Smith has long served us as pastor, and that for another to take the pastoral office in this church, but as colleague or joint pastor with him, would be casting him out, treating him with indignity, and robbing him of that honor to which he is entitled," by maintaining that Professor Smith's usefulness was at an end in a place in which he was not wanted, and that to force him upon an unwilling people was a far greater dishonor to him than to allow him to withdraw. The purpose of establishing Professor Smith as pastor, "uncalled, as we think of God, and certainly unwished for by us," was described as "vain, sinister and irreligious." The letter further protested against the measures which had been pursued to promote the establishment of Professor Smith, especially the procuring of the certificate of the Trustees, who were without knowledge, "excepting what they got from an individual who procured the same, and who probably stated matters according to his own wishes," and the attempt to declare Professor Hubbard a member of the church when he had brought no letter, and also the refusal to take and record the ayes and noes on the question of Professor Smith's retention, lest the fact should appear that his supporters were almost wholly from the west side of the river.

As this remonstrance had no effect and as there was no prospect of a settlement of the controversy except by a division into two churches, the same signers on the 27th of the month wrote Professor Smith asking that a meeting be held to call a council to advise what measures would be best. The meeting was held March 8, but the proposition for a council was not accepted, the majority saying that they knew of nothing to submit to a council "unless it be whether the church shall continue in existence or not," but they added that should the "brethren remain dissatisfied, and not be content to walk with the church in christian love, we do not desire to embarrass their progress, or lay any obstacle in the way of what they may suppose their duty; and

¹ Signed by Benoni Dewey, Caleb Fuller, Jas. Wheelock, Saml. McClure, Chester Ingols, Jabez Kellogg, Stephen Kimball, John Mansfield and Jacob Ward. Ms. in possession of author.

therefore, if they should ultimately conclude that it will be best for them to leave our body, we shall consent and acquiesce, praying that the grace of God may abound to each of them. But as it appears that there is a difficulty between them and some of our brethren of our body, and the latter think themselves aggrieved by some expressions contained in a letter of the 12th of last month, from the former to them, it is our prayer that this wound may be healed, and though we do not pretend now to determine whether there is or is not ground of uneasiness, yet it seems that a difference subsists, and it is becoming that it should be settled on the principles of the gospel, that the professing followers of Christ may live and act in friendship and love, whether they be members of the same or of different churches."

A little later in a letter addressed to the ministers who were asked to organize the new church in Hanover, they declared that they did not intend this as a consent for any to withdraw from the church, and that they "had not the least conception that the brethren would, or could, regularly leave our body until they had settled the matter of grievance with the other members alluded to in that vote, in a regular gospel way. . . . Nor had the church in that vote, the least conception that on the relation of the said brethren being removed, they thereby had a right to be organized into a new church, in this place, so as to directly interfere with, and encroach on the rights and privileges of the church at Dartmouth College." ¹

The Hanover members, however, determined to ask advice and notified the Hartford members that they had called an *ex parte* council to meet in Hanover on the 17th of April, and further said; "As some of you have suggested that in our late address, of February last, we had made representations unbecoming christian brethren, we would now propose to you, if you are dissatisfied with anything contained in said address or remonstrance or at any other part of our conduct or proceedings towards you, . . . that we are heartily willing to answer before this reverend and respectable council to anything you may be pleased to allege, provided you will furnish us a copy of such allegations a short, reasonable time, say a day or two, previous to the sitting of said council."

¹ An Answer to the "Vindication of the Official Conduct of the Trustees of Dartmouth College," in confirmation of the "Sketches"; with remarks on the Removal of President Wheelock. By Josiah Dunham, Hanover: Printed by David Watson, January, 1816, p. 26.

The council met as desired ¹ at the house of Benoni Dewey, and after a public hearing in the church at which President Wheelock and members from Hartford appeared and urged their objections to a division of the church, adjourned to the house of Aaron Kinsman, where they reached the following conclusion:

We do not find that any special relation has ever been formed between this church and any preacher of the gospel, as their pastor, by any particular charge from an ecclesiastical council, as is usual in such cases. And whereas it appears that the two branches of this church have in times past found it most convenient to be united, yet, circumstances having changed, there now being a meeting house on each side of the river, in both which public worship is constantly attended—and whereas certain difficulties having arisen, between the two branches, which they have been unable to settle, it becomes a question, whether the interest of religion does not require, that the members of the branch on the east side of the river should be formed into a distinct church? This council having carefully weighed every circumstance suggested to their minds, respecting this question, give it as their opinion that such a measure is expedient and necessary. Further—with respect to the remonstrance which the brethren on this side of the river exhibited to the church, we are of opinion that it contains certain expressions which do not sufficiently savour of christian charity, and therefore ought to be disapproved by the remonstrants previous to their being organized. This being done, we see nothing in the way of their being formed into a church state, since the body have expressed their consent, as appears from a certain clause in a vote passed by them on the 8th of March last. . . .

Furthermore we conceive that the organization of a new church in this place will not in the least, affect the existence of the church originally formed here by the late Reverend Dr. Wheelock.

When the result was announced a statement was written on the back of the paper containing it and signed by all who had joined in the remonstrance to the effect, that "the council having pointed out those expressions in the remonstrance as exceptionable, the brethren do freely and unanimously disapprove of them as not being sufficiently savoury of christian charity." ²

The way was now open for the formation of a new church, but following the verbal advice of the council the Hanover members waited to see if the Vermont members might not be willing to form themselves into a new church and leave those on the east side of the river as the church originally founded in the place. The Hartford members in private conference expressed themselves as entirely willing to do so, but significantly added that "they could not bind the Sampson with cords and deliver him over."

¹ It consisted of the Rev. Isaiah Potter of Lebanon, *Moderator*, Nathaniel Lambert of Newbury, *Scribe*, Asa Burton of Thetford, Elijah Lyman of Brookfield, Sylvester Dana of Orford, Tilton Eastman of Randolph.

² The Hartford members said that they were not notified of this fact till a long time after.

Accordingly on the 1st of May a letter was addressed ¹ to President Wheelock pointing out the fact that the decision of the controversy rested solely with him, and urging him to remain with the Hanover members and allow the others to organize the new church, and making these inquiries:

"In case," said the writers, "the brethren on the other side remain of the church at Dartmouth College: as they will constitute the whole church, yourself and one or two others only excepted, and as divine worship, and the administration of the ordinances will probably be very generally there, will it not with propriety be considered that said church in reality is transplanted to Hartford, and of course that nothing of it here remains but the name?" If President Wheelock should continue with the west church, asked they, would not his attendance there at church be a great inconvenience? Or, if the church there should at times come to Hanover for service, would it not seem to be for the sake of the name only? Or, if they should settle a pastor there, "will he be ordained as pastor of the church at Dartmouth College? If not, in that case, and there not being enough on this side to constitute a church, will not even the name of that church become extinct?"

No reply was made to this letter but in place of it there was a declaration from the Hartford members,² dated May 10:

WHEREAS, it may have been supposed, that we, the subscribers, would be willing to take our dismission from the church of Christ at Dartmouth College, we do hereby declare that, as we have always been happy, in our connection, as members of said church, in which we have reason to believe we have experienced favors of Divine Providence, we esteem it our incumbent duty, to remain in future attached to the same, and to promote its spiritual interest: and we should exceedingly regret, and esteem ourselves deprived of our essential privileges were any cause to arise, which should by any means effect our separation.

This declaration drafted by President Wheelock, as indicated by his handwriting, artfully changed the proposition that the Hartford members should be organized into a new church to a proposition that they should take their dismission from the existing church. It was exactly what they had formerly proposed

¹ Signed by Elias Weld, Benoni Dewey, Huphrey Farrar, Chester Ingols, Jabez Kellogg, Jacob Ward, Caleb Fuller, Samuel McClure, Jas. Wheelock, Stephen Kimball, John Mansfield. Ms. in possession of the author.

² Samuel Dutton, John Dutton, Hez. Hazen, Reuben Hazen, David Newton, Seth Savage, Seth Fuller, Solomon Hazen, Philemon Hazen, Harvey Gibbs, Friend Ingraham, Joel Richards, Asahel Dutton, Asa Hazen, Gershom Dunham, Thomas Dutton. Ms. in possession of the author.

to the Hanover members, but it was no more acceptable when made to them now than it had been then when they made it to others. If President Wheelock had been willing to keep his connection in Hanover and to allow the Hartford members to organize by themselves they would have been glad to do so, but those who had expressed their willingness to form an independent church naturally refused the proposition presented by President Wheelock to take dismissals from the old church.

It was evident that the "Sampson" could not be bound, and the Hanover members prepared to follow the advice of the council and to form a new church. But they were not to do so without opposition, and the feelings of the two sides are shown by the correspondence that followed.

To our brethren in the vicinity of Dartmouth College,

DEAR BRETHREN:

We entreat you to consider the wrong you do us, in your attempt to sever us from the church of Dartmouth College, or deprive us of those privileges, which with equal right we might enjoy without any injury to you. To effect this purpose, the instruments you have used, those of us that feel them, esteem them to be instruments of cruelty.—Instead of rendering honor to whom it was due, we have seen with grief, conspicuous characters treated with language that was sufficiently savoury of contempt—of groundless allegations of an immoral nature. This question must necessarily affect the feeling and characters of the officers of College—as all their public measures are inspected by the most discerning men—It is evident that Judge Hubbard had an interest in this matter, both as an officer of College, a professor of religion, and the expectation of being a member of our body the remainder of his life—an attempt to admit his influence you have called criminal. What are the principles you have adopted for yourselves? You have said inhabitants are interested. The unthoughtful and those unconnected with the church, have been drawn in to bear their weight and influence in this important question—your remonstrance we think teems with allegations, of immorality and reproach; you have treated us with language not only calculated to wound our feelings, but grating to our ears, and we conceive contrary to gospel rules. The opinions of men cannot absolve you, nor can the result of an *ex parte* council be called a settlement, and should you leave us without making that satisfaction which the gospel requires, we fear that Heaven would frown upon you. We entreat you to consider your conduct above mentioned, and we sincerely pray, that you might be brought to repentance. Finally, brethren, when we reflect on the importance of the church to Dartmouth College, its venerable founder, the care of Heaven over it, the repeated instances in which the spirit of God has been poured upon it in copious effusions—how do we feel ourselves justified in our want of confidence to resign it into your hands, since you have attacked its constitution, and as you inform us you are about to forsake it; but how can you leave in a manner so irregular? But we earnestly hope, Heaven may

open your eyes to see your error, as it is our earnest desire to restore you in the spirit of meekness.

HEZEKIAH HAZEN.

In behalf of the brethren at Hartford, to be communicated.

HARTFORD, May 21st, 1805.

In reply the Hanover members admitted that if the allegations of this letter were true "repentance and gospel satisfaction therefor would most highly become" them, but as these allegations, as they believed, rested on a misunderstanding, of which it was not suitable that either side should be the judge, they proposed to submit "any and every thing to the hearing and determination of an impartial, respectable and mutually chosen ecclesiastical council." This proposition was not acceptable to the Hartford members, who asserting that the church had "the full power and right of judging and determining between any of its members for any conduct contrary to the gospel," were willing only "to hear the advice of any impartial and judicious persons respecting the matters of grievance," but they appointed Hezekiah Hazen, Eleazar Wheelock and Solomon Hazen a committee to confer with the other side. The conference which followed only accentuated the difference between the parties, as one side wished to refer everything to the decision of a council, the other only wished to obtain advice, reserving to itself as the majority the ultimate decision of all matters, and on its failure the Hanover members, on the 19th of June, made the last proposal to submit for hearing and determination all matters of dissension and grievance to "any seven judicious, respectable and impartial clergymen, living within a radius of fifty miles," whom the other side might choose. The reply to this was a prompt and emphatic negative.

DEAR BRETHREN:

In compliance with your request of the 23rd of May last, being desirous to remove every obstacle which stood in the way of, or had a tendency to prevent the most friendly and harmonious intercourse with you, becoming christians: Induced by these motives, we appointed a committee, vested with powers, to confer with you, and also to agree with you, in calling the aid of men of wisdom and knowledge to give their opinion respecting any matter called a breach of a moral precept, or bar of charity; hoping by their means we might be brought to see eye to eye, and become bound in the strongest bonds of love, like the true followers of the Lamb. In the plan you have proposed to us in your letter of the 19th instant, of submitting all matters indefinitely that may be called "matters of dissension and grievance," it is not reasonable for you to ask, nor us to grant. We view ourselves possessed of certain natural and unalienable rights, sacred to us, the exercise of which you have said is a great grief and burden to you. It would be a profane thing in us to resign them into the hands

of imperfect, mutable men, or voluntarily to submit them to the least danger or hazard: but they should be preserved inviolable. As the order of society cannot be preserved without this independent right of human creatures—we flatter ourselves, brethren, that on reflection, your own reason will point out to you the great impropriety of making this request. . . .

Unanimously voted
in behalf of said brethren
June 22, 1805.

SAMUEL DUTTON.

Further correspondence could effect nothing and the Hanover party replied on the 27th only to state their regret that no accommodation could be reached and to notify the Hartford members that they had asked a council to meet at Hanover to organize them into a church. The council, consisting of the Rev. Isaiah Potter of Lebanon, Asa Burton, D.D., of Thetford and Rev. Sylvester Dana of Orford, met as requested on the 2d of July, and the church was duly organized. It consisted of twenty-two members, all from the east side of the river.¹ On the same side twelve persons, President Wheelock, Professor Smith, Eleazar Wheelock and nine women, and on the west side thirty-five adhered to the old church. On August 21, 1805, the "Congregation in the vicinity of Dartmouth College" voted unanimously "that Mr. Professor Shurtleff be requested to receive ordination and to continue his labors as a Minister of the Gospel to the congregation in this place, so far as may be consistent, and not interfere with his duties as Professor of Divinity for Dartmouth College."

If the new church felt that its difficulties were removed by organization it was soon to find that such was not the case. The situation was peculiar. The church was small, though the majority of the community was in sympathy with it. Through the ownership of its members and that of its sympathizers in the village it retained possession of the meeting house, though the old church, having also a partial ownership in the house, had the use of it when necessary, and for several years the two churches worshipped in the same house, accommodating their times of worship to one another without either one attempting to dispossess the other, but not uniting in the ordinances. The new church had no pastor and its preacher was a professor in the College, on whose good will it was dependent for his services.

¹ Caleb Fuller, Benoni Dewey, Mrs. Sabra Dewey, James Wheelock, Mrs. Abigail Wheelock, Stephen Kimball, Mrs. Elizabeth Kimball, Samuel McClure, Chester Ingalls, Mrs. Sylva Ingalls, Jabez Kellogg, Humphrey Farrar, Epaphras Merrill, John Mansfield, Jacob Ward, Mrs. Sarah Lang, Mrs. Abigail Alden, Mrs. Amelia Bissell, Lucy Farrar, Susanna Bascom, Jane Green, Peggy Dowe, "a colored woman," eleven men and eleven women.

As he was by appointment the preacher to the students and they attended his preaching, the new church, if he was allowed to accept its invitation, became thereby in fact the College church. The President of the College was the leader of the opposition and determined not to yield a point. His first move was an attempt to deprive the new church of all outside aid by preventing Mr. Shurtleff from becoming its preacher and by withdrawing the students from it. Having failed in his attempt to establish Professor Shurtleff as a colleague to Professor Smith, and later in his opposition to the formation of a new church with Professor Shurtleff as its sole preacher, he now sought to bring the Trustees of the College into the controversy by enlisting them in his behalf.

At their meeting on the 31st of August, 1805, he laid in this petition:

To the Honorable Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College, the Executive Officers of said college respectfully represent,

That there are certain difficulties subsisting, which they hope may be removed; but which, as they have reason to fear, may possibly in their operation, render it necessary for them to attend worship, on the sabbath, in some place distinct from the meeting house in this place. Such an event, were it ever to happen, the undersigners will greatly deprecate, and nothing short of the impossibility of enjoying, any other way, their natural and religious rights, can lead them to the same; and which they shall be ready fully to prove to the public on any proper occasion. Should they, however, to this end eventually find it expedient, they desire the approbation of your honorable Board in favor of the measure, and they persuade themselves that your goodness will be induced to grant the same, from motives of humanity, science, religion, and the prosperity of this institution. Should such an event in future arise, notwithstanding every possible measure to prevent it, the undersigners conceive that it will become their duty, and that they shall have a right to meet on the sabbath at the Chapel, and that the Professor of Theology preach in that place, and they consider that they have a just claim to your protection for the measure, and they very respectfully desire and expect your sanction of the same.

JOHN WHEELOCK, President,

JOHN SMITH, Professor of Latin and Greek,
Hebrew and other Oriental Languages,

JOHN HUBBARD, Professor of Math. and Nat.
Philosophy.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Aug. 31, 1805.

N.B. We have full reason to believe that the professor of Medicine is full in opinion with us, concerning the above, though he is now absent.

On the same day an address in opposition to this petition was sent to the Trustees signed by ten male members of the new

church and thirty-two other inhabitants of the village and its vicinity. It recited the satisfaction which they had always felt at the association of the College and the village in the church, and lately at the coming of Professor Shurtleff, whose salary they had considerably increased by their subscriptions, and suggested that should he be now withdrawn from the meeting house to the chapel, which was too small to accommodate both the people and the students, there was danger that the people would not pay their subscriptions, and in the lack of this help and the lessened opportunities of doing good he might be unwilling to hold his office in the College which would then lose him as a professor. It further suggested that as the church could not support a pastor by itself the withdrawal of Professor Shurtleff would probably lead to the break-up of the church, which, in view of the past association of the college and the village, would be bad for both parties.

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of the Board were strong supporters of the President they hesitated to take part in a controversy in which they had no jurisdiction. They could not, however, pass without notice a petition coming from the President and other college officers and they, therefore, requested the petitioners "to specify the several matters of complaint intended to be included in the general representation," which they had officially made and presented to the Board. In compliance with this request the petitioners presented the following specifications:

1st. Individuals belonging to the Religious Society in this place, have treated the President with great disrespect and contumely, by saying, in substance, that they, said individuals, would reduce the power of the President, and would oblige him to conform and yield to them.

2ndly. That the Rev. Professor of Languages has been treated with unkindness and disrespect, by certain Christian brethren in this place, in this: The Reverend Professor, by invitation of the Church at Dartmouth College, acted as their pastor nearly twenty one years; and before he had declined acting longer in that, or they had desired him to decline, they addressed and styled him their late Pastor, and requested him to act as moderator of the church as a matter of civility under the idea that his pastoral relation had ceased.

3rdly. That certain members of the church at Dartmouth College, and others not belonging to said church, did in a certain memorial indirectly charge the President with a violation of the truth.

4thly. That certain members of the said church have in our opinion taken improper measures, and seceded from the church in an irregular and improper manner.

5thly. That in consequence of the foregoing reasons, our feelings are such, that we cannot commune as Christians with the said seceding brethren, neither

can we with comfort be present at the administration of the ordinances to the seceding members, and neither can we with edification and comfort, hear the preaching of those Clergymen who have assisted or deliberately countenanced the secession of said members.

6thly. That measures which respect the society in this place, have been pursued without a proper regard and respect to the officers of College, who, in their character as officers, as well as individuals, had an interest in the matters so transacted; and the Executive of College have in many instances, respecting concerns of that nature, been apparently treated with designed neglect.

We request liberty of making further specifications, if such should occur to us, as this specification has been of necessity made in haste.

[Signed as before.]

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Sept. 2, 1805.

The petition and the specifications, which the Trustees later, in their Vindication, justly described as "trifling and contemptible," were referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Thompson, Jacob and Freeman, which on the same day recommended that "the Executive be earnestly requested to make every exertion consistent with the honor of the College and the spirit of Christianity to remove the existing difficulties," and if they could not do this of themselves to call to their aid a mutual ecclesiastical council. In accordance with the expressed desire of the Executive that they might be "removed as far as possible from the necessity of deciding upon the measures to be adopted," the committee further recommended that a committee of five be appointed to attend to the specifications or any further ones that might be made, and to work with the Executive for the restoration of harmony, and if this could not be secured to request the President to call a meeting of the whole Board, to which a statement of facts should be made together with suggestions for action.

These recommendations were adopted and President Wheelock and Messrs. Farrar, Freeman, Burroughs and Jacob were appointed the committee. The last three were warm friends of the President, but from the fact that no authority was given the committee except to ascertain facts and to call a meeting of the Board if necessary, it is evident that the Board had no mind to enter into the controversy except with its eyes open, and that it was willing to be called together before the annual meeting is proof that it regarded the situation as a serious one. Its hesitancy to act was the more marked since two of its members, the President and Professor Smith, were among the petitioners. While they were not willing, however, to follow the lead of the

President blindly and to remove Professor Shurtleff from the church to the chapel they did pass two votes at this meeting, which were clearly inspired by the President, and had a bearing on the controversy not favorable to the new church. The first was a complimentary vote to Professor Smith:

Voted, that the Rev. Dr. John Smith, having retired, at his own request from the labour of preaching to the members of the College, and having for nearly twenty one years, ministered to the people, in this vicinity, and during all that time, walked in exemplary godliness and honesty, and proved himself to be a faithful and useful preacher and pastor—we deem it our duty to express an entire approbation of his past services, our grateful acknowledgments therefor, and fervent prayers for his happiness.

The intention of this vote was to give to Professor Smith the endorsement of the Board, and it was very skillfully worded to confuse two things. Professor Smith had retired of his own will from preaching to the College, but he was firmly holding onto his pastorate in the church. This does not appear in the vote, and the "entire approbation of his past services" is made to cover his relations to both College and church.

The other vote related to Professor Shurtleff:

Voted, that the Professor of Divinity be requested not to accept of ordination until the next session of this Board, or until he be notified by the President of the College, that the existing difficulties, which have occasioned the above mentioned executive representation, are removed.

The object for which President Wheelock was striving was to deprive the new church of its minister, and by this vote he seemed partially to gain it. He did not secure the removal of Professor Shurtleff from the meeting house to the chapel, but if Professor Shurtleff did not receive ordination, though he might continue to preach to the new church, he could not become its pastor or administer to it the ordinances. The church would, therefore, be dependent for the administration of the ordinances upon exchanges which Professor Shurtleff might make, and that there might be no exchanges by which ministers might be secured to administer the ordinances President Wheelock was trying to bring about. He with Professors Smith and Hubbard had already approached Professor Shurtleff¹ and told him that they thought that he ought not to exchange with any minister who would administer the ordinances to the new church, although at that time the President distinctly disclaimed the right

¹ Ms. memorandum by Professor Shurtleff of conversation July 13, 1805.

to determine with whom he might exchange, basing his objection solely on his conscientious scruples against communing with the new church under any minister. A little later a member of the Board asked Professor Shurtleff to make out a list of those with whom he would like to exchange and to submit it to the President.¹ This he did, putting into the list the names of all the clergymen within forty or fifty miles, and requested the President to mark those to whom he objected. The President made no objection to any for ordinary exchanges, though he preferred that Professor Shurtleff should not exchange with the three ministers who organized the church unless it was necessary, but he indicated those by whom only he was willing to have the ordinances administered. In this list he put the names of his particular friends, who, as the church believed, he thought would refuse to perform that service, but no clergyman who was asked refused, and the church was never at a loss for administrators.

The vote of the Trustees had earnestly requested the Executive to use all means to harmonize the conflicting parties. In accordance with that vote the Executive officers, henceforth identifying themselves with the old church, assuming responsibility for all its communications, except as an occasional vote gave formality to their opinions, and making the controversy a personal one between themselves and the new church, sent as the first effort for peace the following letter:

HANOVER, 25th Octr. 1805.

To Deacon Benoni Dewey and others residing in the vicinity of Dartmouth College, who have gone out from the church at said College.

SIRS,—We the undersigners would express our grief, as well as other members of said church, on account of the uncandid and unchristian reflections (as we esteem them), in the remonstrance, signed by you to the brethren of said church who live in Hartford; which remonstrance is dated 12th Febr. 1805.

1. In representing the pastor of the aforesaid church as unjustifiably endeavoring to retain his pastoral relation to the exclusion of another, and in treating him (the said pastor) with language involving contempt.

2. By representing the brethren of said church who live in Hartford, as acting a sinister part in combining with the pastor, in using such endeavors; and by implying that the said brethren would sacrifice the cause of religion to subserve their corrupt purposes.

3. In charging President Wheelock (by implication) with falsehood, in saying at our first church meeting in Decr. last, that Professor Hubbard desired to be received as a member of said church. And we cannot but consider the

¹ True and Concise Narrative, p. 58.

general tenor of your said remonstrance as containing unchristian asperity, and as too destitute of that benevolence which the gospel recommends.

We would also express our grief, that you have gone out from the church at Dartmouth College, without making satisfaction for these unchristian reflections, and without asking the consent of the church, which we conceive was in violation of the solemn covenant to which you had consented: in which you promised to "submit yourselves to the government of Christ in his church, and to the regular administration of it in this place; and that you would in brotherly love seek the peace and welfare of this church, so long as God should continue you here."

It is our sincere desire, that you would suitably attend to the foregoing matters of grievance, and be disposed in a Christian manner to condemn whatever may appear in the same as contrary to the rule of the gospel. We shall endeavor to communicate with you more fully in conversation, whenever it shall be agreeable to you. Happy should we be, were the way opened for the restoration of Christian friendship and confidence: and we feel a disposition, and, as we suppose, all the brethren of the church do, to adopt any measure to effect so desirable an end, which may comport with the rules of the gospel.

JOHN WHEELOCK,
JOHN SMITH,
JOHN HUBBARD.

A reply was made to this on the 28th by Caleb Fuller, Benoni Dewey and James Wheelock, a committee of the church, stating that in accordance with the suggestion of the Trustees, they were ready, as they always had been, to submit any and all matters of controversy to the decision of a mutual council, but asking whether the letter received represented the church or only the signers. In response to this question the old church voted November 7, to concur "with their brethren who are executive officers in the College in any regular measures which they may think proper to adopt" to induce the other party "to make christian satisfaction for their conduct which may appear unbecoming the professed followers of Christ," but to do nothing "to endanger the existence of this church, or to cause a separation of its members who are now in fellowship." A long correspondence followed in which, though both sides expressed an earnest desire for an agreement, each was more earnest to expose the weakness of the other's position than to find a basis of agreement. The case of the new church was the more ably presented, and the skillful statement of its view was what in the end made the council possible. The old church was willing to lay before a council all questions of "moral grievance" that had arisen, of which they had many against the new church, though for themselves they said, "if we have done anything

contrary to the rules of the gospel, we hope our imperfections will be overlooked by men and forgiven by God, but we find no abraidings of our own consciences." The question of the desirability of organizing the new church they would not submit to a council, as they conceived it to be "a natural right to be together," and to submit such a point was equivalent to submitting the existence of the church, "which would be condemned by the gospel and disapproved by all enlightened pious men." But they did concede that if their opinion on this point was a "matter of moral grievance" to any of the other party, that party could bring it before the council as such, and they proposed that the matters be submitted to the Windsor Association, together with a few other ministers, or that the committee of the Trustees appoint five or more ministers to act as a council.

The new church, on the other hand, insisted that all matters of dissension should be brought before the council, saying that it was of no use to settle one part of the disagreement if another important part was left untouched. Unless, therefore, the old church was willing to submit the whole case they could not consent to a partial submission, but in their desire to have a settlement, and with the view that neither party was a proper judge in the case, they proposed that each side should make a statement of the matters which in its judgment ought to be submitted to the council, and that the council should decide which statement was the proper basis for its deliberations. This proposition was not acceptable, and an agreement seemed impossible, when the new church acceded in apparent form to the other's demands by the following statement of its position:

We wish to be fully understood. We have no idea that a council, should one be convened, would undertake to determine the question, that began our controversy viz. whether Mr. Shurtleff be ordained as sole pastor of the church, but if either of us, or any member of the old church while that question was agitated, conducted unbecoming the followers of Christ and thereby have given just cause of offense; this we apprehend would be a proper subject for the consideration of the council.

We have no idea that the council would undertake to determine, whether we of the new church shall remain as distinct or be reunited to the old church, or whether the old church as it now is, shall be divided and some of its members against their will be annexed to the new church—these are matters which we conceive cannot be submitted—but if we or any of us have pursued any measures, unbecoming our Christian profession to procure our separation from the old, and formation into a new church—or if you or either of you have done anything unbecoming your Christian profession, stood in the way or

hindered our free and full enjoyment of any of the divine ordinances, these also we apprehend would be proper subjects for the consideration of the council.

The two parties had now reached a common position but from different reasons. The old church believing that it had an "inalienable right" to be connected with the other would not consent to have the question of that connection raised, but insisted that after the matters of moral grievance had been passed upon by the council the whole church as before constituted should decide by itself the relation of its members. The new church held that as it was *de facto* an independent church there was no question of its relation that could be submitted to a council but only the question of the conduct of its members. A mutual council was agreed upon, and each party was to present its grievances in writing. The council met on the 19th of February, 1806.

The new church presented as its complaints the "unjustifiable inconsistency" of Professor Smith and his supporters in refusing, after he had declared his wish to withdraw from the pulpit, to consent to settle Professor Shurtleff, whom "they chose," except as a colleague to Professor Smith, whom "they did not choose"; the unwillingness of the old church to listen to "expostulations on their unreasonable interference" and their "taking occasion wrongly to accuse the new church"; the various facts mentioned in the remonstrance of February 12; "their taking advantage of a majority" to vote what was of no profit to themselves, only "aggression, grievous, overbearing and oppressive"; their refusal to join in a mutual council and their attempt to neutralize the result of the *ex parte* council, "betraying an artful design to hold an advantage not consistent with simplicity"; their putting obstacles in the way of the organization of the new church; their stigmatizing them as "seceders"; their renouncing of fellowship with the organizing clergymen; their declaration to the Trustees, and their "measures to remove the college to the chapel and to limit the usefulness of Professor Shurtleff," and that "Dr. Smith denounced Jacob Ward."

The complaints presented by the old church, signed by John Wheelock, John Smith and John Hubbard, were in substance the same as those contained in the specifications to the Trustees. They were drawn out in wearisome iteration and detail and present the same elusive and unworthy opposition.

The council continued in session five days and on the 24th

reached and published a unanimous result. No charges of moral grievance were supported on either side, on the contrary both parties were bid to observe how easy it was in controversies for misinterpretation of the most sincere expressions to arise, and how necessary were self examination and forbearance. For the practical adjustment of difficulties they then made the following recommendations:

We judge it expedient that there be but one church at present in connection with the College, denominated as formerly, consisting of two branches one on the east side, and the other on the west side of Connecticut river, under the same covenant as heretofore, that each branch have an independent and exclusive right of admitting and disciplining its own members. That each branch also have the exclusive privilege of employing or settling a minister of their own choice. That should there be a Pastor in each branch they act as moderators exclusively in their respective branches. That there be annually the same number of communions in the meeting house on the college plain as heretofore, both branches then uniting in the solemnity. That in case there be only one administrator, to whichever branch he may belong, he administer to the whole church. That in case of two such administrators, and both present at the solemnity it be optional with them whether to divide the services of each solemnity, or each perform the whole alternately. That it be optional with each branch whether any, or how many intermediate communions they will have and at any intermediate communion of one branch the members of the other have free invitation to participate. In case of two ministers, that is one connected with each branch, each perform Parochial duties for such as stand related to him by their own choice. And should this result be mutually accepted it is proposed that there be a meeting of the whole church without unnecessary delay, when the Rev. Dr. Smith acting as moderator, some person be chosen Scribe to whom shall be committed the original records of this church, whose duty it may be to record any after vote of the whole church. Then let each branch in its distinct capacity, choose a standing Moderator and Scribe. And it is proposed that in any meetings of the whole church should there be an administrator in each branch they preside as Moderator alternately, and if there be but one administrator he preside in all such general meetings.

This plan, though it was afterward called by President Wheelock in his *Sketches* "vague and indeterminate," was cordially accepted by him in behalf of the members of the Hartford church when it was announced by the council, and it was in fact happily designed to produce harmony among those who really wished for harmony. Its provisions were few and simple and required for their success only a reasonable spirit on the part of the two parties. It gave to the church a formal unity in calling for a general meeting at the first for the election of a scribe as the custodian of the records, and in providing for possible though apparently unexpected general meetings in the future, and in bringing the whole

church together at times for the celebration of the sacrament. It also re-established the Presbyterian form of government in both branches. At a later time after the failure of this plan and after the east branch had reverted to the Congregational form, President Wheelock made the change the occasion of an acrimonious charge against the church, and bitterly assailed the Trustees of the College for allowing Professor Shurtleff to preach to the church, on the ground that the original principles of the institution had been subverted and that it was a breach of trust to use the proceeds of the Phillips fund to pay a professor who preached to a Congregational church, though there was no perversion when he preached to the same church on a Presbyterian basis, but if it had not been for his opposition this plan of the council would have resulted in the re-establishment of the Presbyterian form. On the other hand the plan made the two churches practically independent in the essential matters of admitting and disciplining members and calling and settling pastors.

Both churches accepted the result of the council but in different terms. The old church met in the meeting house in Hanover March 20 and expressed their acceptance and understanding of it in the following terms:

On taking into consideration the result of the mutual council . . . and being highly pleased and fully satisfied with the same, as proper and well adapted to the state of this church; unanimously voted, that agreeably to the intent, meaning and import of said result, this church shall continue in the future to be one and the same as heretofore, and the members of the same remain under the same covenant as formerly in said church. That accordingly, the same plan of government as heretofore shall continue in future to be the constitutional form of government for the church, embracing the two branches. That in case of a vacancy in the pastoral office in either branch the existing pastor may discharge the duties of administrator over both branches: and that members may be admitted, and discipline exercised in each branch separately. That there shall be no change in the ecclesiastical form of government in either branch unless the whole church composed of the two branches, at a regular meeting shall agree to the same. That individual members on the east or west side of the river shall have a right to belong to either branch, as they may incline. That in future any member or members having any difficulty with any other member or members of the Church, shall have a right, if he, she, or they should desire it, to be heard and tried by the pastors and elders of the two branches, composing one judicial tribunal. That there shall be a meeting of the two branches, whenever any member or members in either branch shall desire it for such reasons as shall appear important to the pastor or pastors, as heretofore, the same to be seasonably and duly published in the two branches by the existing pastor or pastors; and in case of a possible

vacancy in both these offices, by the elders of either branch. That the two pastors shall alternately act as moderators at the meeting of the whole church, which duty shall always be discharged by the existing pastor, when there shall be only one. That when the two branches shall meet to attend the special ordinances, there being two pastors, they shall officiate on these occasions by agreement, and when there is only one pastor, it shall be his duty to administer the same. That each branch shall have the right of admitting members into the same; but when any member applies for admission into either branch, he or she shall be publicly propounded a reasonable time in each branch.

Unanimously voted that this church do fully and cordially adopt the whole of the aforesaid result of the reverend council which we consider as embracing in its tenor, import, and meaning all the articles contained in the foregoing remarks. And should any concerned conceive that any of the said preceding remarks are not intended and embraced in the said results, we would hereby express our willingness and cheerfulness to enter into any amicable conference or discussion respecting the same, with the spirit of Christian accommodation. And should there finally remain any disagreement between this church and others concerned, as to the true intent and meaning of any part of said result, this church will be cheerfully ready to join in asking the opinion and advice of the honorable committee of the Trustees, or a majority of those who are nearest, and were present at the session of said council: and likewise of a majority of the members of the council who formed the result, and are nearest; and that in case of such reference, some one of said committee be intrusted with the whole business of obtaining such opinion and advice.

This interpretation was clearly intended to produce disagreement. Under the pretence of acceptance it modified or reversed every important recommendation of the council. The result emphasized the separateness of the two churches; the acceptance declared the church one and the same as before; the result gave to each church the exclusive right of admitting and disciplining its own members, the acceptance changed the "exclusive right" into the "right," and further modified it in the matter of admission by requiring that candidates be propounded in both branches, and in the matter of discipline by giving the discipline of members in controversies with one another into the hands of the whole church; the result made provision for one general meeting of the churches, and after that expected no more, but the acceptance allowed the pastors to call a meeting of the whole church at the request of any member. President Wheelock saw what would follow the acceptance of the recommendations of the council in their plain meaning. The new church would be firmly established with Professor Shurtleff for its pastor. There would be no reason why he and Professors Smith and Hubbard should not join it, as the two churches were on an absolute equality, and vicinity, association and college interests were all in favor of the

local relation. But such a step would be a complete victory for his opponents and a confession of his defeat, and to this he could not bring himself. Yet openly to refuse the result of the council would be to put himself manifestly in the wrong, as well as to defeat the suggestion of the Trustees in advising a council. He was, therefore, forced to assent, but while fully assenting in form he coupled his assent with explanations which nullified the whole, and to which he knew the other side could not agree. To the controversy which must inevitably ensue he tried again to make the Trustees a party by suggesting that disputed matters be referred to their committee, or that one of them should serve as a medium of communication between the churches and the council. In this he failed, as the local church would not agree to such a reference and the Trustees were not willing to be drawn into the controversy.

The meeting of the new church to consider the recommendations of the council was held April 4, 1806, at which they voted to accept the result, after having first stated in a preamble of rather aggressive terms their understanding of the recommendations.

It appearing to this church, that all those rights and privileges for which we have so long contended, are by the expression, spirit, meaning and implication of the said result, fully secured, and guaranteed to us—that according to the same, each branch has an independent and exclusive right of admitting, and disciplining its own members, which necessarily implies, and invests, an entire and separate jurisdiction to each branch. And that each branch has also the entire and exclusive privilege of settling a minister of its own choice, without the interference of the other. And altho' a meeting of the whole church is recommended for the particular purpose therein mentioned, yet we consider, that it was not meant or intended by sd. result: and the same does not express, or imply, that there should ever thereafter, be any meeting together of the two branches, and that should there ever be any such genl. meeting of the two branches, we consider it as meant and intended by sd. result, that in any matter that may relate to, come before, or be transacted at such a genl. meeting, each branch shall be on an equal footing, and have in every respect, an equal weight and voice with the other branch, without any reference to any majority of individual votes whatever, and that consequently it was the meaning and design of sd. council, by sd. result, that there should be only, as it were, a confederation or coalescion of the two churches; and on such a plan as to secure to each its separate exclusive and independent rights and privileges. Therefore unanimously Voted, that the result aforesaid, which we consider and esteem, as a *choice fruit* of the *wisdom, benevolence, piety, and christian love* of the Revd. council who formed the same, we will, and hereby do, with the utmost sincerity, most cheerfully, and cordially, *acquiesce, comply with and accept.*

The church further voted to adopt the name of the "East Branch of the Church at Dartmouth College," to adopt the old covenant, which did not differ in any essential from their own, and to admit the members of the other church on the east side of the river who wished to join them. To the other church, which had communicated to them a copy of its vote, they expressed surprise at its interpretation, but also their own willingness to enter upon a discussion of the points involved, adding that if an agreement were not reached the only proper thing to do was to ask the same council which had formed the result to interpret it. They appointed a committee to report their acceptance of the result, but they did not communicate the exact vote or the preamble. They then voted to ask Dr. Smith, appointed moderator of the first general meeting by the result, to call such a meeting, if agreeable, on some day of the next week.

This meeting was called, the other church agreeing, for Thursday the 10th of April, and held at the meeting house in Hanover.¹ The old church proposed that they enter at once upon a discussion of their differences, but the Hanover members urged that it was proper, first to attend to the special business for which they had met, the election of a scribe, and then to confer on other matters. After some debate a motion was made to proceed to elect a scribe, which was carried, ten to three, all the Hanover members voting in the affirmative, and on the ballot for scribe Professor Hubbard received ten votes, none of the Hartford members voting, and he was declared elected. A discussion was then begun as to the construction of the result, and, as might have been expected, each party held strictly to its own interpretation. Before the meeting, however, when it became known that there was a difference of understanding, James Wheelock, one of the new church, had written to the members of the council asking them their explanation of the result. In reply they sent him a certificate signed by them all, and a letter from Mr. Pruden, the moderator of the council, endorsed by each of the others. These were brought forward in the discussion in support of the position of the new church.

We the subscribers, members of the late ecclesiastical council convened at Dartmouth College on the 19th day of February last, do hereby certify—

That it was our meaning and understanding, in the Result we then published,

¹ There were present the ten male members of the new church mentioned on page 29 and eleven members of the old church: Dr. Smith, the moderator, President Wheelock, Professor Hubbard, Deacons Samuel Dutton and John Dutton, Hezekiah Hazen, Solomon Hazen, Philemon Hazen, Juniah Chapman, Hervey Gibbs and Friend Ingraham.

that neither of the branches of the church therein proposed should call any meeting of the whole church, after the first but by agreement of both branches therefor.

And that at any such meeting of the whole church, in any matter that may relate to the convenience, or any of the rights, or privileges of either of the branches, each branch should have equal weight in voting without reference to any majority of individuals.

March 1805.

The letter was equally definite on the other points in the result and wholly confirmed the position of the new church, but it was without effect except that after the meeting some of the Hartford members expressed privately their satisfaction that the letters had been read. Notwithstanding the disagreement the new church proceeded on the assumption that the union had been effected, and from then on for more than three years notified the other church of its communion seasons and invited its members to be present, although no such invitation was received in return. It was, however, increasingly evident that the controversy was not between the two churches, but between one church and President Wheelock,¹ and from this time on the Hartford church, except as it was approached again by the Hanover church in 1809 and passed in reply two formal votes, in which the President's hand was evident, takes no part. The struggle passed wholly to the east side of the river, where President Wheelock, as the church became secure, transferred it to the Board of Trustees and made them, instead of the church, the other party to the contest. Little by little, as the Hartford church dropped into the background, President Wheelock became more and more the aggrieved party and made increasing claims. At first he objected to some exchanges on Professor Shurtleff's part only on the ground of the bad conduct of some of the ministers in supporting the new church, but now he claimed a charter right to regulate

¹ James Wheelock in a letter to his brother, President Wheelock, dated April 19, 1806, very clearly shows that the decision rested with the President. After recalling the progress of the difficulty and showing how the council opened the way for reconciliation for those who wished it, he refers to a statement of the President that he had not and would not accept the result, and says, "What motive can influence you thereto—the reasons you offered the Trustees are now done away. We insist on no privilege, but what the other branch has a right to, and which it is our choice that they should enjoy as well as we. What you insist on, it seems cannot be, and you do not pretend that it is any matter of conscience—it is not my business to conjecture what motive then it is that does or can influence you in this matter—but whatever it may be, I beg you . . . to consider the consequences which will probably follow." Again in August he wrote in connection with the attempt of the President to have the Trustees remove Professor Shurtleff to the chapel: "Should you persist in your design, and attain the object of your wishes by a decree from the Trustees of the College, that Mr. Shurtleff may be removed from the meeting house to the Chapel, what advantage can possibly result to the Institution or to yourself thereby other than (if any it can be) of having *carried your point*?"

all of Professor Shurtleff's exchanges, and before the Board he complained of him for "taciturnity respecting church difficulties," for injudicious conduct in the management of meetings and for "being shy of him and the other college officers."

Not long after the action of the churches the committee of the Trustees met and prepared a report,¹ dated May 16 and signed by all the members except Mr. Farrar. They did not think it best to call an extra meeting of the Trustees, but the substance of the report prepared long before the annual meeting, which did not come till the 27th of August, was allowed to be generally known and served to intensify the feeling locally and among those interested in other places. It declared that the President and professors had made overtures of conciliation to the members of the new church, that the result of a mutual council which was called was so open to different constructions that it was without effect, and that no reconciliation could be effected compatible with the dignity and interest of the College, and, therefore, recommended that the Trustees "devise some effectual measures to protect the officers of the College in the enjoyment of their natural and religious rights and privileges; that they render them, in the discharge of their respective professional duties, independent of all others than the Trustees, and that their public services be solely directed to the benefit of the institution and its members." It further recommended that "such place of public worship be provided for the officers and students of College, as will enable them and the whole of the Church of Dartmouth College to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, without the interruption or intervention of any; and that the salaries and perquisites of the officers be so far increased that they shall need no foreign aid for their support."

The object of this report was to force the Trustees to act, by representing that there was an infringement of the rights of the College in the person of its officers, and to withdraw the officers and the students from the meeting house to the chapel, and to require Professor Shurtleff to preach to them instead of to the congregation. The increase in his salary was to be a partial compensation for his loss of the support of the church. Action by the Trustees could not have been, like that by a council, a subject of discussion and disagreement between the churches, while it would have controlled the college officers to whom it related. The adoption of the report would have been, therefore, a complete

¹ Answer to the Vindication, etc., p. 28.

victory for President Wheelock, and would have left the new church without a minister or the means of supporting one. If Professor Shurtleff had been unwilling to leave the people and go to the chapel, where they could not come, he might have resigned his professorship, as many thought that he would do, but the church could not have given him sufficient financial support and he would have been forced to leave the College and the church and to go to another more lucrative position to which he was invited.

There was no little apprehension as to the effect of this report upon the Trustees. The names of four members of the Board were affixed to it, and as the twelve Trustees were seldom all present at a meeting the addition of two names would almost assure its adoption, and if but nine were present at the next meeting a single addition would give a majority in its favor. As the people in the village had presented their wishes to the Board the year before it was not desirable for them to repeat them, and there came to their aid the ministers of New Hampshire and Vermont, who, through the action of the two councils, had become acquainted with the affairs of the church and the College, and were almost wholly on the side of the new church. When the meeting of the Board came the report of the committee was met by an opposing address signed by thirty-eight ministers.¹ Excusing themselves for their address on the ground of their interest in the College, they expressed their "very deep regret" at the existing controversy at Hanover. They understood that an application "from a very respectable source" had been made at the last Commencement to have Professor Shurtleff perform his ministerial labors in the chapel, and they apprehended "it not unlikely that a renewal of that request" might be made at this meeting. They asked the Trustees to make careful inquiry whether the reasons were "sufficiently weighty and important, or duly substantiated, . . . to justify a measure so pregnant, apparently, with consequences as the change and innovation

¹ Isaiah Potter of Lebanon, Sam^l. Wood of Boscawen, W^m. Conant of Lime, Nathan Waldo of Williamstown, Vt., James Hobart, of Berlin, Vt., Drury Fairbanks of Plymouth, Daniel Dickinson of Meriden, Asa Burton of Thetford, Vt., John Smith of Haverhill, Nathaniel Lambert of Newbury, Vt., Thos. Worcester of Salisbury, W^m. Patrick of Canterbury, Ethan Smith of Hopkinton, David L. Morrill of Goffstown, Moses Sawyer of Henniker, Lemuel Bliss of Bradford, Stephen Chapin of Hillsborough, Abraham Bordwell of Sanbornton, Tilton Eastman of Randolph, Vt., Gardiner Kellogg of Bradford, Vt., Daniel Stanniford, Enoch Whipple, Walter Harris of Dunbarton, Josiah Babcock of Andover, Noah Worcester of Thornton, Micaiah Porter of Plainfield, Jacob Haven of Croyden, Abijah Wines of Newport, Joseph Rowell of Cornish, Asa McFarland of Concord, Josiah Carpenter of Chichester, Ebenezer Price of Boscawen, Jon^s Strong of Randolph, Mass., Josiah Webster of Hampton, Bancroft Fowler of Windsor, Vt., John Lord of Washington, Leonard Worcester of Peacham, Vt., John Fitch of Danville, Vt.

proposed." Many of the signers of the address were in Hanover at Commencement to enforce their views in person.

When the report and the address came up for discussion in the Board on the 29th the address was laid upon the table and the report was recommitted to the same committee with the request that they "point out particularly the place of public worship contemplated: the means proposed by the committee to enlarge the salaries of the officers," and that they suggest definite proposals for carrying their ideas into effect. In response the committee made on the same day a supplementary report in which they recommended that Mills Olcott be appointed the agent of the Board to purchase seats in the meeting house not exceeding in value \$1,000, the purchase to be made, however, only "on the condition that the owners of the residue of said house shall agree, in proper form, that the said house shall be under the control of the Trustees and the Executive Authority of the College, for the purpose of usual and stated times of religious worship, and for administering the ordinances to the Presbyterian Church at Dartmouth College, and for such collegiate exercises as they may from time to time deem proper." The house was to be open for the use of the other owners when it was not occupied by the direction of the Executive Authority. It was further recommended that the professor of theology perform divine service in the house on Sunday and other appointed times, making such exchanges only as should be approved by the President or a majority of the Executive Authority, and deliver at least one theological lecture a week at the College chapel in term time; that he receive the same salary as the other professors, which was to be raised to \$600 a year, and that he "take upon him no parochial charge other than the church, officers and students of Dartmouth College; nor shall he, by any contract or subscription receive any emoluments except from the Trustees of said College"; and also, to meet the expense of purchasing seats in the meeting house, that the tuition be raised one dollar a quarter and room rent fifty cents a quarter.

This report was an advance upon the preceding one in that it definitely sought to control the meeting house, and to separate Professor Shurtleff from the new church by forbidding him to have any "parochial charge except the church, officers and students of Dartmouth College," which in the President's view constituted the Hartford church, or to receive any emolument from any one except the Trustees. These prohibitions, if effect-

ive, would have given the President the entire control of the situation. The report was received and accepted and Mills Olcott was appointed to treat with the proprietors of the meeting house. On the next day he reported that the desired purchase of pews could not be made. The owners were for the most part members of the new church or sympathizers with it, and they did not propose to sell themselves out of home. The situation indicated by this report was referred to a new committee consisting of Messrs. Jacob and Burroughs, friends of the President, who spent three days in examining the situation and consulting the parties in interest, and then made a report differing in material points from that of the former committee, and attempting to conciliate the opposing parties.

They proposed that the Trustees and the executive officers should have the control of the meeting house for Commencement days and for the public college exercises, in accordance with a previous agreement with the proprietors, that on Sundays the officers and students should have free enjoyment of the building, that if two bodies of worshipers, not having fellowship with one another, used the building they should have stated times of worship so as not to interrupt each other, that the professor of theology should perform divine service in the house on Sunday or by exchange not disapproved by the President, and should by exchange provide administrators agreeable to the two bodies, that if a professor of theology should be appointed who was not acceptable to the proprietors the Trustees would then sell to them any interest they might have in the house for a cash payment determined by agreement or arbitration, and specially, "as the people in this vicinity esteem it a duty and privilege to contribute, according to their abilities, toward a compensation to the Professor of Theology for his administration to them, that they have that privilege, provided it be not done in a way repugnant to the true intent of the resolution of the honorable Board of Trustees, in relation to the matter of his receiving his yearly compensation for his services as Professor of Theology." The requirement of one theological lecture a week in the chapel was changed to one in three weeks.¹

The main differences between the two reports were that the first gave the control of the meeting house into the hands of the

¹ The burden of one such lecture every week in addition to his preaching on Sunday and his other college work was regarded by Professor Shurtleff as "intolerably severe and cruel," as it was afterward admitted to be by Dr. Burroughs, who voted for the measure, yet President Wheelock on his part regarded the change as unjustifiable leniency.

College for itself and the Presbyterian church, while the second left it to the proprietors except for public college exercises; the first appointed Professor Shurtleff to preach on Sunday, but to the church approved by the Executive, which was of course the old one, while the second continued the existing arrangement, and the first left the new church without a minister or administrators, while the second gave equal privileges to the two churches. How, according to the second report, the people could contribute toward the compensation of the professor of theology in a way not repugnant to a resolution of the Board which declared that he should not "by contract or subscription receive any emolument except from the Trustees of the College," was a riddle which they did not attempt to solve, and it is no clearer now than it was then.

In his "Answer to the Vindication of the Trustees" Mr. Dunham states¹ that the President and Mr. Freeman opposed this report, the President declaring that its acceptance "would ruin the institution," but it was nevertheless adopted. In modification of their previous action the Trustees appointed Mills Olcott their agent to rent pews in the meeting house, excused the professor of theology from delivering a public lecture oftener than once in three weeks in addition to his other duties, and retained the salaries of the professors at \$500, but gave an addition for the year of \$50. The memorial of the ministers was the occasion of much debate. The President attempted to secure condemnation both at this and the next annual meeting, without success, but at an adjourned meeting January 8, 1808, carried by his casting vote a resolve² "that whether the representations contained therein were founded in mistake or otherwise, the Board consider this attempt to influence their determination on the subject to which the memorial refers as highly improper."

After this unsuccessful attempt to enlist the Trustees in the controversy, matters went on for three years without any outward change till the death of Professor Smith. By this event the old church was left without a pastor and President Wheelock lost his chief supporter in Hanover. To one who really wished for the end of strife it would seem as if the opportunity for it had come. No question was any longer possible as to the relation of Professor Smith and Professor Shurtleff in the churches, and to Professor Shurtleff the Hartford church had no objection, as was shown by

¹ Page 31.

² Yeas, President Wheelock, Messrs. Burroughs, Smith, Freeman, Gilman and Jacob. Nays, Messrs. Olcott, Niles, Thompson, Farrar and Paine.

their action two years later in asking him to be their pastor, so that if he had been taken as the pastor of the whole church, as Professor Smith had been before him, there would have been no longer any occasion of contention. But this was not the wish of President Wheelock who by such a settlement of the contest would have lost his leadership of the Hartford body. He felt that it was important for him that the church should be at once supplied with a pastor and one who would support him in his attitude toward the new church, and he turned to the Rev. Dr. Eden Burroughs whose good-will he had secured in 1805. The relation of Mr. Burroughs to the church in Hanover Center, his conflict with the Grafton Presbytery, his excommunication by that body and subsequent refusal to accept reinstatement except on a confession of error on the part of the Presbytery, and his connection with the Windsor Association of Congregational churches, have been told in the first volume. Among his strongest opponents were President Wheelock and Professor Smith, both of whom had been prominent in the deliberations of the Presbytery when his case was tried and decision given against him.¹ For nearly twenty years "such had been the enmity between them that Dr. Wheelock would not hear him preach nor suffer him to pray in the college chapel, neither would Dr. Smith exchange parochial labor with him," but in 1805 when President Wheelock as the champion of Presbyterianism was looking round for support for the old church he turned to Mr. Burroughs, whose favor he sought to secure by recalling the action of the Grafton Presbytery. That body had gone out of existence, many of the important members who had taken part in the trial of Mr. Burroughs were dead, and its records were not available, but at a meeting on November 7 the old church at the suggestion of President Wheelock reviewed the action of the Presbytery, and "without any previous reason being assigned" passed the following vote censuring the Presbytery and taking Mr. Burroughs into their fellowship:

Upon a review and careful examination of the proceedings of the Grafton Presbytery against the Rev. Eden Burroughs and the church under his care, in the year 1784, and from time to time since that period, it was unanimously voted that we think it our duty publicly to declare, that, in our view through some unhappy inattention or whatever cause, the proceedings of said presbytery were founded upon principles which the gospel does not approve:

¹ President Wheelock was in Europe in 1784 when Mr. Burroughs was excommunicated, but he was one of the committee that subsequently considered the case in 1793 and approved the previous action of the Presbytery.

and that through misrepresentation, they were led into those mistakes which it sacredly behooves professing Christians carefully to avoid. And we earnestly recommend to one and all the same review and examination of those matters; and we are well persuaded that they will stand convinced that the proceedings of the Rev. Eden Burroughs and his Church have been governed by a sincere regard to that order and fellowship, which the word of God requires, and that it is the duty and privilege of Churches to hold them in fellowship as brethren beloved, and as becometh saints.

This action of the church was the ratification of the friendship, of which the first public intimation had been the nomination to the Trustees in 1805 of Mr. Burroughs for the degree of D. D., an honor which, after the delay of a year in accordance with the practise of the Board at that time, was conferred upon him at the next annual meeting. By this friendship President Wheelock secured in Mr. Burroughs an adviser to whom he immediately turned in his controversy with the church, and also a consistent supporter in the Board, and the further advantage of having one who was ready to take the place left vacant by the death of Professor Smith. This occurred April 30, 1809, and on the 4th of June, the Hartford church, which had so recently restored Dr. Burroughs to the Presbyterian fold, chose him as its moderator so long as the church should be destitute of a pastor, and on September 8 gave him a unanimous call to take the pastoral care of the church. This call coincided with a movement on the part of the two churches at Hanover Center to unite. Dr. Burroughs's church had assented to the union, but many of the other church felt that they would not "feel privileged under his administration," and as Dr. Burroughs's church was not willing to abandon him the matter halted. The invitation to Hartford relieved the situation in Hanover and a council which met November 15, 1809, advised the dissolution of Dr. Burroughs's long standing relation and his transfer to Hartford. The action of the council was only the ratification of a fact, as Dr. Burroughs had taken charge of the Dothan church on November 1. To secure him more definitely for this church President Wheelock is stated to have added to his small stipend \$100 a year from his own funds.¹

Very soon after the settlement of Dr. Burroughs the Hanover church began a correspondence with his church looking toward

¹ True and Concise Narrative, page 44. Mr. Peyton R. Freeman in his pamphlet, "A Refutation of Sundry Aspersions in the 'Vindication' of the Present Trustees of Dartmouth College on the Memory of their Predecessors, Portsmouth, 1816," states that he is "credibly informed" that President Wheelock did not make this contribution, but defends it as a worthy act.

a reconciliation. What they hoped for was not a union into one church, but a definite recognition of the separate existence of the two branches, which perhaps they thought would be more easily attained now that another pastor than Professor Smith was at the head of the other branch. On December 12, 1809, the Hanover church, by a committee consisting of Caleb Fuller, Benoni Dewey and James Wheelock, addressed a letter to Dr. Burroughs for his church, recalling the fact of the mutual council of three years before, and that each church claimed that it had accepted the result of the council and that the other had erred in its interpretation. They, therefore, proposed that another mutual council should be called to which should be submitted the question which of the two, if either, had really accepted the result, and if either was at fault in interpretation or practice what should be done to rectify the fault. In reply to this the Hartford church proposed as more effectual the appointment by both parties of committees of conference which might bring about the desired reconciliation, and chose for their committee the pastor, Professor Hubbard and Hezekiah Hazen.

As might have been expected the conference that followed was fruitless, the Hartford members holding on to dead issues by insisting on discussing "moral questions" and that both parties should "have full liberty to open the wounds they have received," while those from Hanover wished to establish the result of the last council or to call another. On the report of the committees the Hartford church declared that it had never accepted the result of the former council except on its own understanding of the result and that it did not favor another council as it would have no authority and either party might decline to accept its conclusions. The Hanover church, feeling that further conference was useless, addressed on the 9th of March, 1810, a letter to the Orange Association, the successor of the Grafton Presbytery, which was to meet at Cornish on the 14th, rehearsing the disagreements that had arisen over the action of the former council and asking advice as to what further duty was incumbent on them, and requesting that a committee of two or three from each branch of the Association should meet in Hanover on the 27th to make inquiries and to report to the next meeting of the Association.¹

The committee was appointed and met as suggested, the Hartford church being present by invitation and presenting its side,

¹ True and Concise Narrative, p. 47.

and reported at the meeting which was held in Norwich, May 9, at the house of Rev. James Woodward. President Wheelock attended the meeting and presented an address on the subject before it, and after deliberation the Association declared that under the result of the mutual council no rational prospect remained for a union of the two churches,

Inasmuch as the church at Dartmouth College have explicitly declined admitting that result as a basis of union. It is, therefore, the opinion of this Association, that the situation of the church in the vicinity of Dartmouth College ought not to be considered as having been materially affected by their vote to accept of said result. Accordingly we consider this church as standing on the same ground, on which it stood previous to the calling of that council; and as being, to all intents and purposes, a regular organized church, in fellowship with the churches belonging to this Association.

In the hope that a union might still be effected they suggested another council of seven members, three to be chosen by the Londonderry Presbytery, three by the Orange Association, and one, who was to be moderator, by the other six. This council was to propose a plan of union, to adjust differences, and to decide upon all matters of difficulty. The result of the council was to be decisive if unanimous, otherwise advisory. The association itself, however, suggested as a plan of union that those on the west side of the river be formed into one church, and those on the east side into another, and, for the sake of harmonizing the opposing elements on the east side, that if difficulty rose with a member he should have the option of being heard by the whole church or by the pastor and elders, and if his case were referred it should be to a mutual tribunal or the Presbytery, as he should choose. The Hartford church did not accept these suggestions, and after a year of discussion of various plans of union, all of which came to naught, the Hanover church again applied to the Orange Association at a meeting held at Windsor, June, 1811, when it was voted, "That the Association see no reason to alter the advice then given [at its meeting in 1810], or to give any further advice with respect to the subject at present." This was the last appeal by the Hanover church to any outside body for advice on the subject of the controversy, and from that time it maintained its independence under the Congregational form.

But during the year of discussion President Wheelock made another attempt to detach Professor Shurtleff. On July 13, 1810, the Hartford church voted to invite Professor Shurtleff to take the pastoral care of that part of the church which was on the

east side of the river, meaning, of course, those persons, President Wheelock, Professor Hubbard and a few women, who kept their connection with the original church. The invitation was shrewdly worded to present its acceptance as an obligation. Professor Shurtleff was reminded that he was dependent for his office and support on the Trustees, that they had consented to his relation to the College church, and that this was the College church, which would be deprived of the ordinances, if he should refuse, and on personal grounds the church particularly urged his acceptance, "as we unanimously respect Mr. Professor Shurtleff and are fully satisfied with his talents, his doctrinal and practical principles." This last statement is especially noteworthy in view of President Wheelock's later charge that there had been a fundamental change in the principles and teachings of the Institution.

As long as there was a hope that he could bring Professor Shurtleff to his side he was satisfied with his principles; when that was shown to be impossible he regarded him as the subverter of the religious order of the College. The situation of Professor Shurtleff was very trying. The President and the oldest member of the Board were united in support of this vote, and in personal interviews urged upon him its acceptance, the President strongly setting forth, among other arguments, the desirability of a union among the officers of the College. But he did not waver and his declination of the invitation was the last public passage in the long controversy between the two churches. Three years before, in 1807, the Hartford church, feeling its isolation as the only Presbyterian church in this section of Congregational churches, asked admission to the Londonderry Presbytery in the southern part of the state. It was admitted during the next year, and continued in that connection till it adopted the Congregational polity in 1839. But in settling Dr. Burroughs it acted on its own responsibility without regard to the Presbytery, and partly perhaps to set itself right in this matter and partly as a countermove to the endorsement of the other church by the Orange Association, it asked the Presbytery "to inquire into and consider its situation and concerns and to give any advice relative thereto, which they may think proper." By those outside it was believed that the Presbytery was called "for the purpose of preparing the way for something to be done to injure the . . . new church at the next meeting of the Board."¹ The Presbytery

¹ Ms. Letter of Rev. J. H. Church to Professor Shurtleff.

met at Hanover, July 3, 1811, at the house of President Wheelock, and in recognition of the fact that the new church was Congregational and, therefore, not under its jurisdiction, it invited to sit with it and to take part in its proceedings three Congregational ministers, the Rev. John Smith of Salem, Seth Payson of Rindge, and J. H. Church of Pelham, all of whom afterward became Trustees of the College.

A notice was sent to the new church that the Presbytery proposed to consider the grounds and progress of the difficulties which had arisen between the two churches, and desired that any who had objections to any of the proceedings of the old church, or to the conduct of any of its members, should appear and present their objections. To this notice the church replied through a committee, consisting of James Wheelock, Benoni Dewey and Caleb Fuller, that while it distinctly denied any direct or implied authority of the Presbytery over it, yet, as it had important documents and evidence that might be necessary to a complete understanding of the case, it "was ready and willing and for the cause of *truth*, glad to afford any light and information" that was in its power. The committee, therefore, came before the Presbytery and presented its side of the case orally and with documents. The hearing occupied several days, though the investigation was not as thorough as some wished, and was followed by a long session of the Presbytery spent in formulating its result.

Naturally there were divergent views and the result was a compromise. A proposition to censure the new church or the conduct of its members was warded off by the three Congregational ministers present, but in turn they had to assent to commendations of the old church, "on the ground of compromise," which of themselves they regarded as too strong. As a whole the result commended the old church as standing "on regular and gospel ground, agreeably to Presbyterian order."¹ Some sharp controversy followed in the public prints, but as each church had now secured the public support of the ecclesiastical body to which it belonged, there was nothing to be gained by such exchange of feeling, and each kept its several way, except for the invitation which the Hartford church gave to Professor Moore to become the pastor of its eastern members.

At the meeting of the Trustees, August 27, 1811, the President again brought forward the local difficulties, but this time not to

¹ Report of Presbytery, *Dartmouth Gazette*, July 17, 1811. President Wheelock's paraphrase of this in the *Sketches*, p. 22, was "regular and consistent from the beginning."

win the Board over to his view, but to force them to such measures as he wished. He presented a letter in which with a long review of the affairs of the church he represented Professor Shurtleff as delinquent in his college duties, saying that he had failed to deliver theological lectures to the students as had been directed by the Board, and that he had not preached as frequently as he ought, and he further charged the Trustees with a misappropriation of the Phillips fund, the foundation of the professorship of divinity, because they allowed the professor receiving its income to preach to the new church, but he suggested that if the "former arrangement" were restored, that is, if Professor Shurtleff should be required to preach to his branch of the church, "the wounds of the Institution might be healed." The consideration of this letter was put over to an adjourned meeting, in the following October. The Trustees then declared that it was due the President that they should state distinctly their position on the important matters contained in his letter. Premising that in their opinion regular gospel instruction and regular administration of the ordinances were highly important, that no church should be dependent on the funds of the College for its support, and also that no measure of the Trustees should in any way abridge the rights of conscience, they defined their position on the matters in question:

The trustees consider that they have made such provision for religious instruction, and the administration of the ordinances, as circumstances required; but as a very unhappy division among the professors of religion has taken place, and the President by his memorial seems to express a desire that some place, other than the meeting house, should be provided where religious ordinances and administrations may be attended to, the Trustees hereby express their consent that the President, and those officers of College who cannot with comfort and edification worship with the society usually worshipping in the meeting house, may withdraw from the meeting house, and hold religious exercises on Sabbaths, and other days of public worship, in the College Chapel, or in such place as the President and those officers may appoint: at which meetings, such students of College may attend, as request that permission of any of the Executive officers.

The Trustees cannot accede to the idea contained in the memorial, that any deviation from the will of the late Doct. Phillips, or any perversion of the Phillips fund, hath taken place, by requiring Mr. Professor Shurtleff to preach in the meeting house on Sabbath and other days of public worship; or by permitting him to administer Gospel ordinances, when such administration does not interfere with the prescribed duties of his Professorship.

The Trustees, however, expressly declare any administration of the ordinances, or attention to Parochial concerns, which interfere with the regular

discharge of the duties of the Professor of Theology, to be in their opinion improper and unjustifiable.

The Trustees have long labored to restore the harmony which formerly prevailed in this Institution, without success: and it is with reluctance they express their apprehension, that if the present state of things is suffered to remain any great length of time, the College will be essentially injured.¹

This vote for the first time formally placed the Trustees in opposition to the President. Before this they had failed to adopt his suggestions or follow his wishes, but now they definitely declared against him, not merely in the local controversy but as to the use of college funds. What he declared was perversion they maintained was lawful. In his view the quarrel in the church and the misuse of college funds were inseparable. The Trustees felt that they had nothing to do with the one and were not guilty of the other. They were, therefore, forced to take a definite position in opposition to him. But the President would not accept the vote as settling the controversy, and on the next day presented the following petition, which accentuated the personal element in his relations to the Board and rendered the division between him and its members more marked.

Whereas in the opinion of several of the executive officers of this College, the difficulties and disputes which have unhappily existed here for several years, have arisen and are in a great measure increased and extended by an unnecessary connexion of the College in ecclesiastical matters, with the people residing in its vicinity—I do, in behalf of myself and them earnestly request the Honble Board of Trustees, that, as the most probable means of restoring the peace and harmony so necessary to the important interests of the Institution—They would countenance the publick worship of the college to be held, in future, in the College Chapel which was originally erected for that as its most important purpose—and we are the more desirous that such a measure should be adopted as we have full reason to believe that a large majority of the members of the Institutions are also desirous of the same.

John Wheelock Presid^t and in behalf of other officers.

[N.B. Other officers being Professor Perkins and Tutor Mann &c.]

Dartmouth College

Octo. 25, 1811.

The records of the Board do not contain any reference to the petition, and the fact that a direct request of the President of the College was thus passed over indicates the degree of the estrangement.

The President was defeated too, in his contest in the village;

¹ On this vote the yeas were Messrs. Niles, Farrar, Paine, Marsh, McFarland, Thompson and Smith; the nays Messrs. Burroughs, Gilman and Jacob.

the new church was established; Professor Shurtleff, who had been ordained at Lyme as an evangelist, January 1, 1811, though not its formal pastor, was closely and permanently identified with it in a pastoral relation; and the Trustees, instead of giving the President a decided or wavering support, were opposed to his measures by a large majority.

The course of events was also unfavorable to the President. Within a year he lost his two supporters on the Faculty. Professor Smith died, as has been said, April 30, 1809, and Professor Hubbard, August 14, 1810.

Ebenezer Adams was appointed Professor of Languages to succeed Professor Smith in 1809, but in the following year, on the death of Professor Hubbard, he was transferred to the chair of mathematics, and the Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore was chosen to the chair of languages. The latter was chosen against the wish of the President who urged the appointment of the Rev. Elijah Parish as one "who might act as administrator to those of the old church at the College"; and this he said "would remove all difficulties and disorders, which had so long afflicted the peace of the College."

Both the newly elected professors were earnestly besought by President Wheelock to throw in their lot with him and the old church, and Professor Moore was asked to take charge, as a colleague to Dr. Burroughs, of the east branch of the old church, the position which Professor Shurtleff had refused, but Mr. Moore at once declined the pastorate, and after long consideration both connected themselves with the new church in 1812. The venerable Dr. Burroughs also died, May 22, 1813, and his place on the Board was filled by the Rev. Seth Payson of Rindge. The Rev. Asa McFarland of Concord had already taken the place left vacant by the death of Professor Smith, and both these new members of the Board soon found themselves in the exercise of an independent judgment uniting with those opposed to President Wheelock, thus leaving as his only supporters in the Board Messrs. Gilman and Jacob. It was charged by President Wheelock in his *Sketches* that men were chosen to the Board only after they had been prepared by the majority to accept their views and adopt their policy, but in their *Vindication* the Trustees declared that no person was ever approached by them to ascertain or influence his judgment in advance of an election, and that the attitude taken by the new members was solely the result of their unbiased observations.

The breach between the President and the Board rapidly widened. Distrust having once received expression found many occasions of growth. The Trustees on their side were wearied by the constant friction of his relations with them and others, and believed, as was expressed by Dr. McFarland, that he was determined "to be the *omnis homo* of the College" and that nothing would "satisfy him but the removal of every man, who may ever turn to express and maintain opinions of their own." On the other hand their failure to elect his nominees to positions on the Board or to professorships led the President to charge them with infringing upon his charter rights, and the charge was the more direct when in November, 1814, the Board, believing that his instruction was ineffective, relieved the President of the teaching of the senior class in Edwards on the Will and gave it, with some change, to the different professors. A vote passed in August, 1811, which committed certain powers of discipline to a majority of the executive officers of the College instead of leaving it solely in the hands of the President, was regarded by him as a distinct invasion of his rights. Having the idea, which came to him from his father, that the College was a family institution, he believed that the Trustees were guilty of usurpation, as well as of perversion of the Phillips fund. His contest with the church passed over into one with the Trustees and assumed a much more personal character, for here he was one party, and with the natural impulse of intense, narrow and domineering minds he believed that those opposed to him acted from wicked or mistaken motives and should be put down. Failing in all his efforts to carry the Board with him he looked about for outside help and determined to appeal to the Legislature of the State. In 1812 he proposed to the Board to apply to the "General Court and desire it to look into, and examine all concerns, and managements in relation to the funds, the government and education of the College and School." The matter was put over, and not being called up the next year, was a second time presented by President Wheelock in November, 1814, when it was definitely negatived by the Board on the ground that it knew of no occasion for such an examination. Here the matter rested till the next year when the President made his appeal to the public.

CHAPTER X.

THE COLLEGE AND THE UNIVERSITY, THE COLLEGE CASE, BETWEEN 1815 AND 1820.

THE COLLEGE was distinguished at this period, beyond any parallel in its history, by a Board of Trust made up of gentlemen of commanding ability and position. Its members in 1815 were:¹

¹ From 1813 to 1816 the Board consisted of but eleven members, since Mr. Gilman was *ex officio* member as Governor during that period, and also a member by previous election.

Nathaniel Niles, born at South Kingston, R. I., April 3, 1741, entered Harvard College, but was graduated at Princeton, 1766. He studied successively law, and medicine, and also (under Dr. Bellamy) theology, and preached for a time at Norwich and Torrington, Ct., and quite regularly for twelve years of his early residence in Vermont. His views were Hopkinsian. Several of his sermons were published. He also (among other poems) wrote in 1775 an ode, in an extraordinary metre, entitled "The American Hero," which was set to music by our Professor Ripley and was very popular during the war in the churches and among the soldiers. He settled in West Fairlee in 1779, and from 1784 was exceedingly prominent in Vermont affairs. He was a member of the Council in 1785, 1789 and 1790 and was elected in 1786 and 1787 but declined, and was a member of the third Council of Censors in 1799, and Speaker of the Vermont House of Representatives in 1784, six times Presidential elector, judge of the Vermont Supreme Court, 1784-87, and was elected in 1791 but declined. He was also member of Congress from the admission of Vermont in 1791 to 1795. He died October 31, 1828, aged 87. Jefferson declared him the ablest man he ever knew. "He was (says Professor S. G. Brown) a school-mate of the Elder Adams whom he loved his life long, and mainly it would seem because at school John Adams was the terror of the big bad boys, who in his absence would oppress the little ones—a follower of Jefferson in politics (yet practically rather conservative), and of Calvin in theology (yet apparently sometimes verging toward his opponent)—an acute metaphysician, a little inclined to the opposite side—half author with Dr. Burton of the 'taste scheme' so called, yet walking independently and not precisely agreeing with his sharp minded friend—a great reader, keeping up remarkably with the progress of science, and renewing in his old age his knowledge of Latin—a shrewd judge and an indefatigable opponent." Brown's Alumni Address, 1855. See Vt. Gov. and Council III, 76.

Thomas W. Thompson [the W. was adopted in 1807] was born in Boston, Mass., March 10, 1766. His father, Thomas, a native of England, and his mother of Glasgow, moved to Newburyport, Mass., when the son was quite young. He prepared for college at Dummer Academy, was graduated at Harvard College, 1786, and studied theology. He was tutor at Harvard, 1789; aide to General Lincoln in the Shay's rebellion; read law with Chief Justice Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport and in 1791 settled near the South Meeting House in Salisbury, N. H. After 1792 he lived near the Webster place in what is now Franklin. Daniel Webster studied law with him there. He was member of Congress, 1805-07, and removed to Concord, 1809; Treasurer of New Hampshire, 1810; Speaker New Hampshire House of Representatives, 1813-14; United States Senator, 1814-17. "He was an accomplished gentleman, distinguished for the dignity and urbanity of his manners, for integrity and piety." His wife was a daughter of Colonel Asa Porter of Haverhill, and sister to the wife of Mills Olcott. He died October 10, 1821, aged 55, of consumption contracted under the following circumstances: In August, 1819, he set out on a journey to Quebec, via Burlington. The steamboat *Phoenix* on which he embarked took fire in the night and the crew and passengers escaped in two small boats. Mr. Thompson awaked from sleep just as the last boat was quitting the vessel, and jumped in as it was putting off, loaded to the point of sinking. He was the last person to escape. From the shock and exposure he never recovered. Bouton's History of Concord, p. 718; Farmer and Moore's Hist. Coll. III, 238.

Stephen Jacob, son of Richard, born in Sheffield, Mass., 1756, entered Dartmouth College but was transferred in 1775 to Yale, where he was graduated in 1778, and settled as a lawyer in



Francis Brown

John Wheelock, *President*, chosen 1779.
 Nathaniel Niles of Fairlee, Vt., chosen 1793.
 Thomas W. Thompson of Salisbury, N. H., chosen 1801.
 Stephen Jacob of Windsor, Vt., chosen 1802.
 Timothy Farrar of New Ipswich, N. H., chosen 1804.
 Elijah Paine of Williamstown, Vt., chosen 1806.
 John Taylor Gilman of Exeter, N. H., chosen 1807.
 Charles Marsh of Woodstock, Vt., chosen 1809.
 Rev. Asa McFarland of Concord, N. H., chosen 1809.
 Rev. John Smith of Salem, N. H., chosen 1811.
 Rev. Seth Payson of Rindge, N. H., chosen 1813.

The College was no less fortunate in the character of its Faculty of three professors, reduced in August of that year to two by the acceptance, by Professor Moore, of the presidency of Williams College. Professors Shurtleff and Adams were both eminently qualified by talents and learning and by an indomitable spirit to sustain the responsibilities about to be cast upon them. We have the best of authority for saying that hesitancy on their part at the outset of the contest with the State would have determined the Trustees to surrender.

Windsor, Vt. He first appeared in Vermont records as poet at the Bennington Celebration in 1778. In 1781 and at other times he represented Windsor in the General Assembly. He was a member of the first Council of Censors, in 1785, commissioner to treat with New York, 1789, councillor, 1796 to 1802, and chief judge of Windsor County, 1797 to 1801. He died February, 1817, aged 61. Vt. Gov. and Council IV, 106.

Timothy Farrar, born July 11, 1747, at Concord, Mass., was graduated at Harvard College, 1767, and settled at New Ipswich, N. H. He carried a musket to Concord, Mass., April 19, 1775. When 28 years of age he was made associate justice of the Common Pleas in Hillsboro County, and served till 1791. From March, 1791, to January, 1803, he was associate justice of the Supreme Court. In 1802 he was appointed chief justice, but declined. He died February 21, 1849, aged 102. Farrar Family Memoirs; N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg. VI, 318.

Elijah Paine, born in Brooklyn, Ct., January 21, 1757, was graduated at Harvard College, 1781. He was the first President of the Harvard chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and pronounced its first anniversary oration. He then studied law, but in 1784 settled as a farmer in Windsor, Vt., whence he shortly removed to a large farm in Williamstown, Vt. He became at once prominent in public affairs. He was a member of the General Assembly of Vermont, 1787 to 1791, commissioner to treat with New York, 1789, a member of the Council Censors, 1792, judge of the Supreme Court, 1791-93, United States Senator, 1795 to 1801, and then, till his death, United States district judge for Vermont, by appointment of President Adams in 1801. He died April 28, 1842, aged 85. He was an active Christian, and noted to an extraordinary degree for high-toned integrity. In personal stature he was a giant, with a frame of iron. His voice was clear and audible at a distance of three quarters of a mile. Brown's Alumni Address, 1855, p. 23; Vt. Gov. and Council, IV, 433.

John Taylor Gilman, son of Nicholas Gilman, the early treasurer of New Hampshire, was born at Exeter, December 19, 1753, and resided there all his life. He marched with the minute men to Cambridge in 1775. He was member of Congress, 1782; state treasurer, 1783-1791; one of the commissioners appointed by the Continental Congress to settle the accounts of the States, 1780, and governor of New Hampshire by annual election from 1794 to 1805, and from 1813 to 1816. He died September 1, 1828, aged 74.

Charles Marsh, son of Lieut.-Governor Marsh of Hartford, Vt., was born at Lebanon, Ct., July 10, 1765, and brought by his father to Hartford in 1774. He was graduated at Dart-

The first public hint of the approaching troubles appeared in the *Boston Repertory* of April 26. It was stated that in consequence of some "difficulties of a serious and unpleasant nature" a vacancy in the presidency of the College was expected soon to occur and that the friends of the College were already looking about for a successor. Dr. Dana of Newburyport, Dr. Parish of Byfield, Dr. Worcester of Salem, and Professor Shurtleff were mentioned as candidates. The *Dartmouth Gazette* of May 3 characterized this as a "gross and infamous misrepresentation," and asserted that "there never was a time in the history of the College when more unanimity prevailed among instructors and students or when the affairs of the Institution were conducted with more ability or gave more general satisfaction."

About two weeks later, matters were unexpectedly precipitated before the public by an anonymous pamphlet of 88 pages, widely and gratuitously circulated, entitled *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School*. It was speedily followed, or accompanied, by a smaller pamphlet of 32 pages, also anonymous, purporting to be *A Candid and Analytical Review of the Sketches*. The two pamphlets were animated with a common spirit of bitter hostility to the majority of the Board of Trustees, and were evidently directed to a common

mouth College, 1786, studied law with Hon. Tapping Reeve at Litchfield, Ct., and was there admitted to the bar. He settled at Woodstock, Vt., in the fall of 1788, and was admitted to the Vermont bar by special act of the General Assembly. He was appointed by Washington the first United States attorney for Vermont, in 1797. He was member of Congress 1815-1817. For nearly half a century he stood at the head of the bar in his state. He declined in 1813 the appointment of chief justice. He was own cousin to Jeremiah Mason, being three years his senior, and much like him in mental and professional traits. He was equally distinguished in philanthropy as in law, having official connection with several important missionary and philanthropic societies. He died January 11, 1849, aged 83. See Memorial Address to Vermont Historical Society by James Barrett, 1870; *Life of George P. Marsh*, Vol. I.

Rev. Asa McFarland, D. D., was born in Worcester, Mass., April 19, 1769; was graduated from Dartmouth College, 1793; was pastor of First Congregational church at Concord, N. H. from 1798 to 1824. He died February 18, 1827, aged 57.

Rev. John Smith, D. D., the son of Joseph and Eunice Smith, was born in Belchertown, Mass., March 5, 1766. Graduating from Dartmouth in 1794 he studied divinity under Dr. Emmons and was settled in the ministry at Salem, N. H., January 2, 1797, where he remained till 1816. Removing to Wenham, Mass., he left there in 1819 to become Professor of Systematic Theology at Bangor Seminary, a position which he held till his death, April 14, 1831. He stammered slightly in his delivery, which was not effective, but as a teacher he impressed himself to an extraordinary degree upon his pupils. Sprague's *Annals of the Am. Pulpit*, II, 389f.

Seth Payson, the son of Rev. Phillips and Grata Payson, was born in Walpole, Mass., September, 29, 1758. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1777, and studying theology was settled at Rindge, N. H., where he remained till his death February 26, 1820. He received the degree of D. D. from Dartmouth in 1809. He was a man of "sharp and vigorous intellect, lively imagination and highly retentive memory." His style of preaching was "solemn and impressive, didactic and argumentative rather than hortatory and pathetic." He served three terms in the State Senate from 1802 to 1805. He published occasional sermons and a small volume entitled "Proofs of the Existence and Dangerous Tendency of Modern Illuminism." Sprague's *Annals*, II, 209f.

purpose. This was, indeed, tacitly admitted by the publication of a part of the edition with both pamphlets in one cover. It was avowed in the opening of the *Sketches* that the facts with which it dealt were furnished by President Wheelock, and the spirit and style pointed unmistakably to him as the actual author. The *Review*, in some respects still more savage in its tone, was ascribed, to the President's friend Rev. Elijah Parish of Byfield, Mass. It was ascertained that the pamphlets were printed in Newburyport under Dr. Parish's supervision, and neither he nor the President ever denied their share in the authorship. It was afterwards expressly admitted, so far as the President was concerned, by his son-in-law and biographer and also appears by his private correspondence. The newspapers took the matter up, led off by the *Patriot* in its issue of May 23d, whose editor, Mr. Isaac Hill, with his usual violence, espoused from the start the cause of Wheelock, mainly upon the ostensible theory that the trouble grew out of theological differences wherein the Trustees were bigots, and the President liberal; but really, of course, for the sake of the political capital that might be made of it. The controversy accordingly took shape as a political issue. It led, as usual in politics, forthwith, to strange partnerships.

President Wheelock, himself, and his immediate friends, as well as all of his opponents in the Board, save one, were federalists of the old school, and some of them of great prominence in their party, while Judge Niles, whom the President viewed with unmitigated rancor as the leader of his foes, was equally prominent as a Democrat. Governor Gilman had just gained his fourteenth and last election by the narrow Federal majority of 320 votes, in a total of 36,194. Even a less sagacious leader than Isaac Hill could not fail to perceive the political advantage likely in these circumstances to flow from an espousal of a cause that promised so fairly to divide his adversaries, especially when it would harmonize so well with the characteristic jealousy of his party towards close corporations like that of the College and perhaps with other ancient jealousies that lapse of years had not wholly extinguished. Wheelock and his supporters had no sympathy in general with democratic ideas, but, blind to all else, were ready to follow any party that would take up his quarrel. The promptness and virulence of the *Patriot* gave evidence of pre-arrangement. The *Portsmouth Gazette* joined in on the same side, while the *Concord Gazette*, the *Portsmouth Oracle*, and the *Dartmouth Gazette* adhered to the side of the

College. The *Washingtonian*, at Windsor, Vt., though Federal in politics, under the direction of Wheelock's staunch friend, Dunham, seconded the *Patriot*.

But this was not all; in religious as well as in political faith the antecedents of Wheelock and of Hill and Plumer were as wide apart as the poles. The last two stood, above everything else, for the fullest freedom of religious thought and action, as opposed to the dominance of orthodoxy; while the starting point of Wheelock's complaints, as will be remembered, was the countenance given by the Trustees to those "who had dared to encroach on Presbyterian ground," and to subvert the ancient order of things. The absurdity of such a coalition on such an issue was apparent even to Wheelock himself, hence his efforts to shift the positions, by which, however, he gave the clearest evidence of the personal character of his motives, and sealed the alienation of substantially the entire body of the clergy.

Sentiment among the people was not divided in this matter by party lines nearly as sharply as it came to be in the legislature. A considerable number of Federalists clung to Wheelock's fortunes and for his sake joined with the Democrats; while on the other hand the ranks of the latter furnished some strong friends to the College. Many in both parties, who were at first inclined to sympathize with Wheelock under the belief that he had been injured, when they came to understand the situation transferred their sympathy to the College. Governor Gilman himself must be counted of this number.

On the whole, however, in the course of a year the College question came to be, with that of the judiciary, the chief political issue in the State, and party lines in the legislature of 1816 were drawn upon both with equal strictness. But in 1815 the legislature was still in the control of the Federalists. Governor Gilman, not yet left behind by the violence of the Wheelock party, was undoubtedly at this time on their side. Care had been used through Mr. Hill and others to place freely in the hands of the members of the legislature copies of the *Sketches* and its supplement the *Review*. The publication was adroitly timed so as to preclude any chance of meeting it in a similar fashion before the sitting of the General Court.

On the assembling of the legislature in June, President Wheelock followed up the published attack with a memorial, reiterating

his complaints in a general way, and soliciting the intervention of the legislature.¹

But he now advanced a step farther and himself openly thrust his affair into the domain of politics, by artfully alleging, with all the emphasis of italics and capitals, the object of his opponents to be, "to strengthen the interest of a party or sect, which by extending its influence under the fairest professions, *will eventually affect the political independence of the people*, AND MOVE THE SPRINGS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT," as arrant a piece of demagoguery as ever was penned.

The memorial was referred on the 10th of June, to a joint special committee of ten on the part of the House and two from the Senate.²

The President being in attendance was heard before them at considerable length, but entirely *ex parte*. Admitting himself to be in religious belief a Calvinist, according to the Westminster Confession, he yet managed to impress upon the committee that he stood for tolerance and liberality against the Trustees who were striving to establish the College in a still more rigid, "Hopkinsian," system. His object was to obtain an enlargement of the Board in order to drown out that supposed spirit, and put him once more in control. He was reported as intimating in conversation to some of the members, that unless he could have six added to the Board he should inevitably resign, but that if he should be supported he had it in contemplation to give a large part of his estate to the College.

The Trustees having had no notice and no way of getting together in legal session in time to act, were not officially represented, and no one had authority to speak for them. But those of their number living near took unofficially such action as seemed indispensable. They caused a brief appeal, dated June 11, to be inserted in the *Concord Gazette*, alluding to the pamphlets as calculated to inflame and mislead the public mind; and urged that the public should suspend judgment "until a plain statement of facts accompanied with the proper evidence appear, which [said they] will be published within a reasonable time. And as those pamphlets may produce an impression that the College is

¹ See Appendix A.

² The committee consisted of Messrs. Josiah Butler of Deerfield, Joseph Tilton of Exeter, T. W. Hale of Barrington, Richard Odell of Conway, Saml. Batchelder of New Ipswich, D. L. Moody of Goffstown, P. Henderson of Chesterfield, Benj. Prescott of Jaffrey, James Poole of Hanover, and A. N. Brackett of Lancaster on the part of the House, and Levi Jackson and Ezekiel Webster on the part of the Senate. H. J., 29; S. J., 29.

not in a prosperous situation, they deem it their duty to state that in their opinion the College never has been, since its foundation, in a more prosperous condition as it respects science, morality, religion, internal order and funds than it was at the moment those publications appeared. As this is a subject of public concern the editors of newspapers in this state, Massachusetts and Vermont, who are so disposed, will please to give this notice in their respective papers."

The joint committee brought in, on June 23, a recommendation for the appointment by the Governor and Council of a Commission to visit the College between sessions and examine and report. The proposition in this shape was at first accepted in the House by a vote of 123 to 56; but on the afternoon of the 27th was replaced with a resolution whereby both Houses, without a division, upon the nomination of a special committee appointed in the forenoon of the same day, elected¹ Hon. Daniel A. White of Newburyport, Hon. Nathaniel A. Haven of Portsmouth, and Rev. Ephraim P. Bradford of New Boston, none of them members of the legislature, as a "Committee to investigate the concerns of Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School generally, and the acts and proceedings of the Trustees, and to report a statement of facts at the next session." The first and second of these gentlemen were liberal in religious views, and the third was a Presbyterian clergyman. President Wheelock expressed his satisfaction with the Committee in a letter to Mr. Allen, saying that he was assured "that there could not be better men found in New England for the purpose assigned them."

This action was not deemed necessarily hostile to the College. The legislative committees were largely composed of its friends, and they had a voice in the selection of the visiting board. Of the Trustees present Judge Niles favored the measure, though against the judgment of others. It was said that but for him no committee would have been sent out.² It was, doubtless, expected that in the course of a year animosities might subside and the matter grow cold.

The legislature adjourned June 29 for a year. On August 2 the Committee sent to President Wheelock by mail a letter, which he received on the 5th, appointing a hearing at Hanover to be held on Wednesday, August 16. He loudly complained of the shortness of the notice; asserted that he was left to learn of the appointment by *accident*; also, verily likely with truth, that the

¹ H. J., 134, 144.

² Marsh to Brown, April 13, 1816.

date had been fixed in advance by arrangement with his opponents; and, which is unlikely, that it had been purposely concealed from him so as to take him unawares. An incident of the affair, that took on some consequence, was a misunderstanding between the President and Daniel Webster. Wheelock had some months before intimated through a friend to Webster that in case he should institute proceedings, which he contemplated, for the recovery of money that he claimed to be due to him from the College, and also to determine whether there had been a perversion of the Phillips fund, he would be glad of Webster's assistance as his legal adviser. While at Concord in June he had personally suggested to Webster in general terms that he might wish for his professional assistance on some future occasion, which Webster readily promised.

On being notified of the coming of the Committee he wrote to Webster August 5, enclosing \$20, and desiring him to come at once to Hanover and undertake the management of this matter on his behalf before the Committee.¹ The letter was delayed so that Webster did not receive it in time to reply before the meeting. He had besides no wish to appear in the existing state of affairs nor in a capacity which he regarded as not professional. But, with a negligence not unusual with him, he made no immediate reply, so that Wheelock was left, without explanation, to his own resources, with such council as could be got in the neighborhood, Hon. Jonathan H. Hubbard, one of the judges of the Superior Court of Vermont, and Mr. Josiah Dunham of Windsor. Right upon this came the publication of a confidential letter, obtained, as was supposed, through the violation of a seal in the Hanover postoffice, written by Mr. Thompson to Professor Adams, in which Webster's name was mentioned in a manner not calculated to allay Wheelock's suspicions. Mr. Thompson's letter was, early in September, given to the public by Dunham in the columns of the *Boston Repertory*, and furnished occasion for no end of bitterness. The prominence it acquired makes it necessary to exhibit it here:

I have had a long conversation with Mr. D. W., by which it appears, that a strong desire prevails, that the *Reply*, with the *Committee's Report*, should

¹ Letter in possession of the College. Also the Dartmouth College Cases, by John M. Shirley, p. 88. This book, to which reference will be often made, is an elaborate discussion of the above Cases. Though lacking orderly arrangement, and betraying a strong bias against the College in the controversy, and drawing some unwarrantable conclusions from distorted facts, it is crammed with learning and information, and I am happy to acknowledge my considerable indebtedness to Mr. Shirley's labors. F. C.

effectually put down a certain man. Mr. W., Dr. McFarland and I are very desirous that affidavits should be immediately taken, relative to such facts as will show that person's character in a just point of view. I can't name all the points to which the testimony should be directed; but you and our friends must hold a conversation and select such points as will be productive of the greatest effect. Full and satisfactory testimony should be taken relative to the *usury*, and particularly Mr. Kellogg's deposition.

It will be very useful to obtain testimony (or documents, if practicable) to show that the college had to pay Col. Kinsman \$—, in consequence of the executive neglecting to enforce the laws and orders of the trustees. Testimony should be had of every trick, contrivance and management of his to show his true character.

On the part of our friends at Hanover, great, unceasing, and systematic efforts should be made to collect evidence. It is impossible for the trustees to collect it but through our friends. The expense must be clubbed amongst us.

I intend, *if possible*, to collect testimony here, to show that with the democrats he was a democrat—with every sect of religionists he was one of them—with federalists he was a federalist, and thus he descended to base means to make influence.

I have a *scrap of an envelope* of the communication to the Repertory, which will show the handwriting. I wish not to communicate my suspicions, until I exhibit at the commencement. I can say this much, I think the writer is a president's man. Perhaps this ought not to be mentioned just yet.

I shall depend much upon the exertions of our friends to procure evidence, and shall be much disappointed if it is not immediately and effectually attended to.

Your friend,

THO. W. THOMPSON.

No notice to the president will be necessary.

Before the publication of this letter Mr. Dunham wrote Mr. Webster enclosing a copy of it and upbraiding him, on Wheelock's behalf, with characteristic ferocity, and elicited a reply of dignified explanation. Referring to the lateness of Wheelock's letter Mr. Webster wrote:¹

If I had received it earlier, I could not have attended, because the court engaged me at home; and I ought to add here, that if I had no other engagements at the time, and had also been seasonably notified, I should have exercised my own discretion about undertaking to act a part before the committee at Hanover. I regard that as no professional call. . . .

As to what you are pleased to say about my extricating myself from this affair, or of its being otherwise unpleasant to me, as also what you observe of a suspicion entertained by some that Mr. Thompson had employed me to feel of Mr. Haven on the subject, give me leave to say that I should know better how to answer these remarks if I were not writing to one for whom I have the highest and warmest esteem, and of whose sense of delicacy and propriety very few certainly at any time have had occasion to complain.

¹ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 251.

I am not quite so fully convinced as you are, that the president is altogether right, and the trustees altogether wrong.

On August 16, the Wednesday morning of the week preceding Commencement, the Committee met at Hanover at the home of the President and continued in session two days and a half. The Trustees, who were in attendance, expressed a wish that the hearing might be in the chapel or meeting house, "but the Committee chose not to have it in a place so public," yet it was not held strictly in private. The first day was occupied by the President and his friends in reading the resolve of the Board respecting the subjects of complaint, which he laid before the Committee in the following form as a "specification of charges against the Trustees of Dartmouth College," and comprising all the subjects to which he wished the attention of the committee.¹

I. That the funds established in 1789 by Dr. Phillips for the purpose of maintaining a professor of Theology have been diverted by the Trustees for objects different from the will of the donor, viz. for the purpose of paying for village preaching.

II. Separating the church founded in College, and blending the ecclesiastical concerns of the College with those of the neighboring people and clergy; thus subjecting this public institution to inconvenience and degradation, by means of private interference.

III. That they have diverted the funds of the college for the support of Union Academy, and have placed the funds of this college at the disposal of that institution; granting to individuals, selected by and under the patronage and government of a body of men of a particular religious persuasion, special and exclusive advantages of education.

IV. Expending the funds to an amount unnecessary and extravagant, compared with the sum total of instruction.

V. Refusing to apply any of the funds, of which they have control, to the instruction of Indians.

VI. Interfering with the power of the President, as granted by charter, in the education of the students, and also with his rights, as an executive officer.

On Friday morning the Trustees who were present, Messrs. Marsh, Thompson, McFarland and Smith, placed before the Committee all the resolves of the Board respecting the Phillips fund from its first establishment. By these it appeared that all the acts of which the President complained had been adopted, with his acquiescence, at a time when a majority of the Board were in his favor and disposed to accede to his wishes, and that no alteration had been made in the application of that fund since 1809, when the majority of the Board turned against his policy.

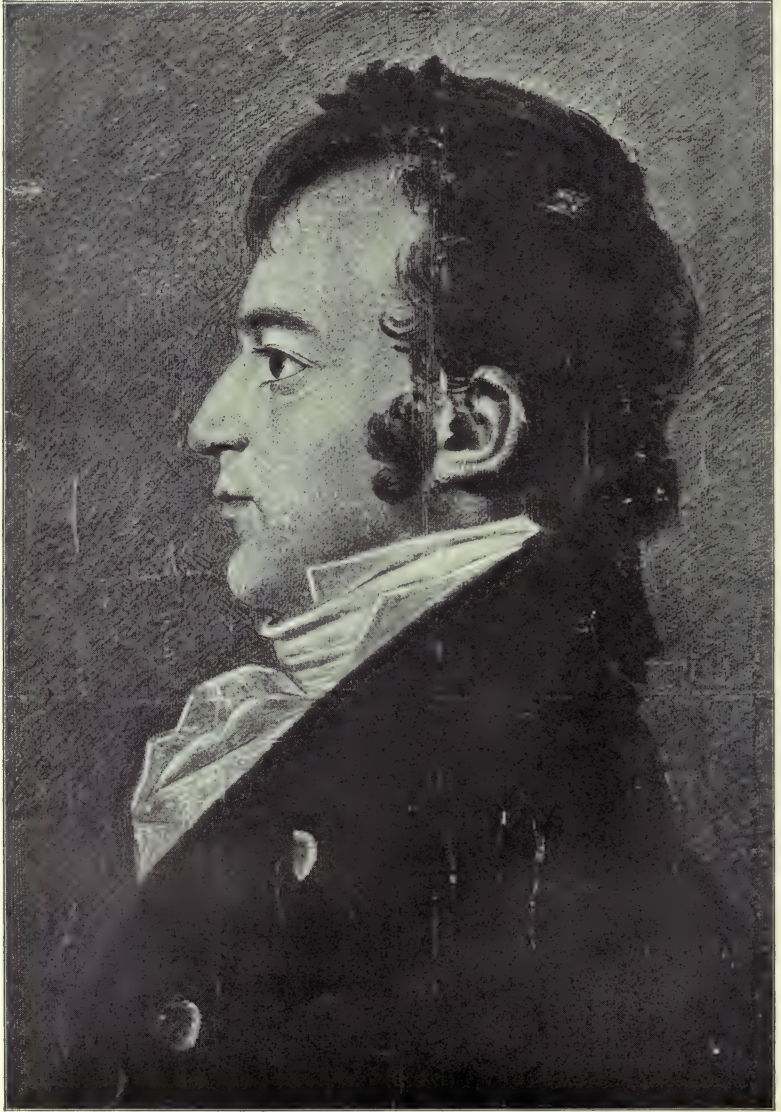
¹Report of the Committee, p. 10

The President was asked by Mr. Thompson and also by Mr. Marsh whether he had ever known of any difference in religious opinion between him and the Trustees, or between him and the professors whom the Trustees had chosen, and after some hesitation he replied that he "knew of no speculative difference in religious opinions," and admitted that there had never been in the Board any question about religious sentiments.

Dr. Parish, who was present during the hearing as the friend and adviser of the President, remarked to one of the Trustees that he perceived the examination would be hurtful to Dr. Wheelock; and after it was over, asked what could be done to put an end to the controversy. Propositions were made on both sides, the Trustees insisting that the President should withdraw his *charges*, as having grown out of misunderstanding, and Dr. Parish with Capt. Dunham, who joined him in the negotiation, proposing on the part of the President simply a cessation of the controversy, and a withdrawal of the *memorial* provided the Trustees would appoint such Professor of Languages or of Rhetoric as the President should approve. It was found impossible to agree, and the matter was dropped, but it afterwards became the subject of dispute and recrimination between the parties to it, and added not a little to the heat of the contest, Mr. Dunham declaring that he and Dr. Parish had had no authority to agree to anything for the President, and that their object was only to draw out their opponents, for the purpose of sacrifice. The President desired an adjournment for further hearing, but the Committee thought it unnecessary and closed their labors on Saturday.

On the following Tuesday, August 22, the Board convened for its annual meeting, and Commencement occurred on the next day. On Thursday, the 24th, this matter was brought to the surface in the Board by a resolution offered by Mr. Marsh as follows:

Whereas since the last session of this board two certain anonymous pamphlets have been ushered into the world, one under the title of *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College, etc.*, the other entitled *A Candid Analytical Review*. And whereas there is reason to believe that some member of this board or officer of the College is the author of or has had some agency in the publication of said pamphlets, and whereas the said pamphlets contain many charges defamatory to the board and the individual members thereof and calculated to injure the reputation of this institution, and impair the usefulness thereof—therefore, Resolved that a committee of three be appointed by ballot to enquire into the origin of the said pamphlets and whether any member of this board



Wm. Thompson

or of the executive authority is the author of them or either of them or had any agency in the publication or in the distribution of them in the community.

The resolution was adopted by eight votes, Messrs. Gilman and Jacob voting nay, and the President being absent. Messrs. Thompson, Paine and Payson were chosen as the Committee, and on the following day, August 25, presented their report:

The committee appointed to enquire into the origin of the pamphlets entitled *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College*, and *A Candid Analytical Review etc.*, report that the nature of the case precludes the committee from obtaining positive evidence as to the author or authors of the said pamphlets, but evidence of a circumstantial kind has been obtained which leaves no room in the minds of your committee to doubt that President Wheelock was the principle, if not the sole, author of the pamphlet entitled *Sketches etc.*, and that through his means both the pamphlets mentioned were published and circulated.

Amongst other evidence in proof of the first point it appeared to your committee that President Wheelock when last at Concord last June and before the committee of the legislature, to whom was referred his memorial, treated the *Sketches* as a work entitled to the highest credit—that in the *Sketches* President Wheelock is alleged to have furnished the facts therein stated—that the *Sketches* have ever been treated in President Wheelock's hearing as his production and one for which he was responsible, without any disavowal on his part—that even his counsel at the hearing before the committee appointed to enquire into the state of affairs at Dartmouth College alluded to the *Sketches* as the President's book—and that there is a singular peculiarity of style common to the *Sketches* and to the memorial presented to the legislature last June by President Wheelock, as well as to his eulogium on the late Doctor John Smith.

In proof of President Wheelock's having been instrumental in publishing and circulating both said pamphlets your committee have obtained the following: Amongst other evidence that an anonymous letter in the hand writing of President Wheelock was in May or June last sent to Isaac Hill Editor of the New Hampshire Patriot, accompanied with a bundle of the said pamphlets in which letter the said Hill was requested to distribute them amongst the members of the legislature.

THOMAS W. THOMPSON,
for the Committee.

The President being absent a copy was sent to him by the hands of Messrs. Paine and Jacob with notice that the subject would be taken up at eight o'clock the next (Saturday) morning. He did not appear but sent in the following letter denying their jurisdiction:

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, August 26, 1815.

To the honorable board of Trustees of Dartmouth College:

GENTLEMEN.—For six and thirty years my life has been devoted to raise and build up this Seminary, from the foundation which was laid by my venera-

ble father and predecessor. With my multiplied labors and successful undertakings through the different departments of the College and School, the world are acquainted. I am but a worm of the dust in the hand of the Sovereign of the Universe and whatever use he has been pleased in infinite mercy to make of my feeble and imperfect faculties to promote the happiness of the present and succeeding ages, to him through the blessed Redeemer be all the praise and glory.

Great was my consolation under divine Providence through the years of the most trying and distressing scenes of this institution in being associated in counsels and toils with beloved trustees and instructors. Great has been my regret that a spirit of opposition to me has been of late years forming till matured in a majority of your body. Greatly do I lament the course of events and that they have at length arisen to the present alarming crisis, ominous to the existence of this establishment and to the rights of humanity.

Liable to human imperfections, my mind enjoys repose by a consciousness that through the course of my various exertions it has been my unremitted endeavor faithfully honestly and honorably to discharge my duties. With this impression, when within a few years the darts of calumny were hurled at my character and secretly and cautiously as it is said sustained. I have in times past repeatedly and at successive periods, in the most open and unqualified measure, desired any one to identify and bring forward any supposed facts with their evidences against me, in whatever way they pleased. As often have I desired your board or any member of the same to present any charge of whatever nature affecting my official or moral relations. But notwithstanding never was there even a single hint given by the board or any of its members in open meetings suggesting any thing reproachful in my conduct, nor anything unfavorable in my official proceedings, except one allusion of a member at the adjourned meeting in last November that some individuals of the Senior class were dissatisfied with my instructions, a clue to which remark has been as is supposed since discovered. Under these circumstances it appears singular and extraordinary that at this period charges against me should lie before the board, and you become ready to take up the same. Add to the foregoing considerations that the constitution of the civil government has made ample provision for the cognizance of such charges; that in the present alarming state of party spirit, in which the leaders from appropriate motives have combined in one interest in common with the majority of the board, which has reduced this Seminary to the verge of ruin; that the spirit of this majority is hostile to me, and their minds in a degree irritated in the present posture of affairs, in which their views and feelings are wholly repugnant to my own, and finally considering the hon^l legislature of the State have, for the public good, taken into their own hands to examine and regulate the concerns of the college and School, and to apply a remedy to the evils which have arisen and to rectify whatever may be amiss, I conclude on serious reflection that it would be wholly improper and unbecoming to me to submit to any trial on charges now exhibited before your body. Not that I wish to avoid any enquiries. I shrink from no accusations that any may be disposed to bring against me. I am most sincerely disposed to meet them of whatever name or nature, before our hon^l legislature, which as a Sovereign is the proper visitor and controller of this institution, or before any proper counsel or tribunal. But for these

reasons given I hereby protest against the proceedings of your board, and utterly deny your right of jurisdiction in the present case.

I am, etc.

JOHN WHEELOCK.

What followed is best told in the language of the statement drafted by Mr. Thompson which was entered on the records by order of the Board:

On Saturday the 26th inst., having adjourned to two o'clock P.M., Judge Paine introduced the resolutions for the removal of the President from certain offices. The resolutions together with the preamble were read by the Secretary. It was soon moved and seconded that a committee of two be appointed to wait on the President with a copy of said resolutions and preamble which was accordingly done. A committee was accordingly appointed, and afterwards reported verbally that they had waited on the President and delivered him the copy of said resolutions and preamble. The board after sitting about an hour longer adjourned to six o'clock in the evening. Gov. Gilman had previously informed the board that he should be under the necessity of leaving town in the stage on Monday morning (which was understood to start at 8 o'clock) and Judge Paine likewise informed the board that he must be absent after this evening and might not be present when the vote should be taken. At six o'clock the board met, when they requested the committee appointed to present the President with a copy of the said resolutions to wait on him again and enquire of him if he had any communication to make on the subject. The committee made return that they had waited on the President and delivered the message, and that the President replied it was a business of great consequence to him—that he could have wished for a longer time—but the board could do as they pleased. The committee further reported verbally that they enquired of the President how long time he wished, who replied he could not name any time. Gov. Gilman was then verbally requested to wait on the President and inform him that the board were disposed to adjourn until Monday or Tuesday if he wished for time to make any communication on the subject. Gov. Gilman afterwards reported verbally that he had waited on the President to ask him if he had any reply to make to the resolutions before the board respecting the removal and that the President had informed him he should not have sufficient time and that the board could proceed as they should think proper. The question was then moved and called for. It was then moved that the deposition of the Rev. Mr. Merrill of Middlebury be read, which was done. No member of the board called in question the truth of any reason stated in the preamble. The final question was then taken, and the protest of Gov. Gilman and Judge Jacob was then read, before the protest was read an alteration was made in it respecting the reading of Mr. Merrill's deposition.

The Board adjourned to Monday morning at 6 o'clock A.M.

The resolutions of removal drawn by Judge Paine were as follows:

Cases sometimes occur when it becomes expedient that corporate bodies, whatever confidence they may feel respecting the rectitude and propriety of their own measures should explain the grounds of them to the public. Such an explanation becomes peculiarly important when the concerns committed to their care are dependent on public opinion for their prosperity and success. Into such a situation the Trustees of Dartmouth College consider themselves now brought. Under a sense of duty they have already cheerfully submitted their past acts to the inspection of a committee of the legislature of the State, and from a similar view of that duty they now proceed to state the reasons that lead them to withdraw their further assent to the nomination and appointment of Doctor John Wheelock to the Presidency of Dartmouth College.

First he has had an agency in publishing and circulating a certain anonymous pamphlet entitled *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and Moor's Charity School*, and espoused the charges therein contained before a committee of the legislature. Whatever might be our view of the principles which had gained an ascendancy in the mind of President Wheelock, we could not without the most undeniable evidence have believed that he could have communicated sentiments so entirely repugnant to truth, or that any person who was not as destitute of discernment as of integrity would have charged on a public body as a crime, those things which notoriously received his unqualified concurrence, and some of which were done by his special recommendation. The Trustees consider the above mentioned publication as a gross and unprovoked libel on the Institution; and the said Dr. Wheelock neglects to take any measures to repair an injury which is directly aimed at its reputation, and calculated to destroy its usefulness.

Secondly, He has set up and insists on claims which the charter by no fair construction does allow—claims which in their operation would deprive the corporation of all its powers. He claims a right to exercise the whole Executive authority of the college, which the charter has expressly committed to "the Trustees with the President, Tutors and Professors by them appointed." He also seems to claim a right to control the corporation in the appointment of Executive officers, inasmuch as he has reproached them with great severity for choosing men who do not in all respects meet his wishes, and thereby embarrasses the proceedings of the Board.

Thirdly, From a variety of circumstances the Trustees have had reason to conclude that he has embarrassed the proceedings of the Executive officers, by causing an impression to be made on the minds of such students as have fallen under censure for transgressions of the laws of the institution, that if he could have had his will they would not have suffered disgrace or punishment.

Fourthly, The Trustees have obtained satisfactory evidence that Dr. Wheelock has been guilty of manifest fraud in the application of the funds of Moor's School, by taking a youth who was not an Indian, but adopted by an Indian tribe under an Indian name, and supporting him on the Scotch fund which is granted for the sole purpose of instructing and civilizing Indians.

Fifthly, It is manifest to the Trustees that Dr. Wheelock has in various ways given rise and circulation to a report that the real cause of the dissatisfaction of the Trustees with him was a diversity of religious opinions between him and them, when in truth and in fact no such diversity was known or is now known

to exist, as he has publicly acknowledged before the committee of the legislature appointed to investigate the affairs of the College.

The Trustees adopt this solemn measure from a full conviction that the cause of truth, the interest of this institution, and of science in general, require it. It is from a deep conviction that the College can no longer prosper under his Presidency. They would gladly have avoided this painful crisis. From a respect to the honored father of Dr. Wheelock the founder of this institution, they had hoped that they might have continued him in the Presidency as long as he was competent to discharge its duties.

They feel that this measure cannot be construed into any disrespect to the legislature of New Hampshire, whose sole object in the appointment of a committee to investigate the affairs of the College must have been to ascertain if the Trustees had forfeited their charter, and not whether they had exercised their charter powers discreetly or indiscreetly—not whether they had treated either of the executive officers of the College with propriety or impropriety. They will ever submit to the authority of law. The legislature have appointed a committee to examine the concerns of the College and the School generally, the Trustees met that committee with promptitude, and frankly exhibited every measure of theirs which had been a subject of complaint, and all the concerns of the institution as far as their knowledge and means would permit. They wish to have their acts made as public as possible. The Committee of the legislature will report the facts, and the Trustees will cheerfully meet the issue before any tribunal competent to try them, according to the principles of their charter.

They consider this crisis as a severe trial to the institution, but they believe that in order to entertain a hope that it will flourish and be useful, they must be faithful to their trust,—that they must not approve of an officer who labors to destroy its reputation, and embarrass its internal concerns. They will yet hope that under the smiles of Divine Providence this institution will continue to flourish, and be a great blessing to generations to come.

Therefore Resolved that the appointment of Dr. John Wheelock to the presidency of this college by the last will of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock the founder and first President of this College be and the same is hereby, by the trustees of said College, disapproved, and it is further Resolved that the said Dr. John Wheelock for the reason aforesaid, be and he is hereby displaced and removed from the office of President of said College.

Then followed resolutions removing him from his offices as Trustee, and as Professor of History. To all these resolutions Messrs. Gilman and Jacob filed a formal protest:

The undersigned members of the board of Trustees of Dartmouth College having given their votes against the resolutions for removing the Honorable John Wheelock from the office of President of Dartmouth College, and from the offices of a trustee and professor of history, considering the great importance of the measure, and its probable consequences cannot content themselves with giving only their votes, but make the following protest against the same which they request may according to general usage be placed upon the records.

First, We doubt the authority of the board for removal in this case, the said

John Wheelock having been duly appointed as President by the will of his father, and there having been an acquiescence and approval of the same by the board for about thirty six years; and we are of opinion that if cause for removal were supposed to exist, the subject ought to be considered by some other Tribunal.

Secondly, Whatever evidence might exist in the minds of the framers of the resolutions in proof of the allegations contained in the preamble, no evidence was laid before the board respecting the same nor any paper whatever relative thereto, not even respecting the serious charge of "a manifest fraud in the application of the funds of Moor's School" [excepting a deposition signed Thomas A. Merrill, sworn to on the 24th instant and laid before the board this evening, relative to the last article.] For these and other reasons which for want of time we have it not in our power to specify particularly, we enter our solemn protest against the adoption of the said preamble and resolutions.

J. T. GILMAN,
STEPHEN JACOB.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Saturday evening

August 26, 1815.

On Monday morning Rev. Francis Brown of Yarmouth, Me., was unanimously elected President, and a further adjournment had until September 26. It was charged (probably with truth) that conference had been had with Mr. Brown in anticipation of the event. President Wheelock wrote immediately to Mr. Brown notice of his contention that the action of the Trustees was illegal and inoperative. The question of Mr. Brown's acceptance was submitted to an ecclesiastical council at Yarmouth, which advised it, and on September 27 at two o'clock in the afternoon he was duly installed with appropriate ceremonies.¹

By this prompt and decisive action of the Board, as may well be conceived, the excitement was intensified to the last degree. The actual and speedy result would seem to have been a surprise to the President and to the public. Something of the kind had indeed been naturally anticipated, but many firm friends of the College deprecated it as too hasty, and as likely to create additional prejudice and injure the cause of the College before the public and the legislature.

Mr. Jeremiah Mason gave expression to this feeling in a long

¹ The exercises were as follows: 1, Sacred music; 2, Prayer by Rev. Dr. McFarland; 3, Music; 4, Discourse by Rev. Dr. McFarland; 5, The ceremony of induction consisting of a short address in Latin by Rev. Dr. Payson, acting president of the Board, signifying the appointment of Mr. Brown and requesting his acceptance, to which Mr. Brown assented. Then the charter was delivered to him and he was declared President; 6, Inaugural address; 7, Prayer by Rev. Dr. Payson.—*Portsmouth Oracle*, October 7, 1815. President Brown's inaugural was in Latin; and portions of it were written at the taverns on his way to Hanover. S. G. Brown's Address to the Alumni, 1855, p. 62.

and earnest letter to Mr. Marsh. Under date of the 15th of August he wrote:¹

. . . From certain intimations which I have lately had, I am led to believe an intention is entertained by some members of the Board of ending all difficulty with the president by removing him from office. I greatly fear such a measure adopted under present circumstances, and, at the present time, would have a very unhappy effect upon the public mind. An inquiry is now pending, instituted after considerable discussion, by the Legislature of this State apparently for the purpose of granting relief for the subject matter of complaint. The Trustees acquiesce in this inquiry; whether they appear before the committee appointed to make it formally as a body, or informally as individuals, the public will not deem of much importance. . . . Should the Trustees, during the pendency of the inquiry in a cause in which they are supposed to be a party, take judgment into their own hands, and summarily end the dispute by destroying the other party, they will offend and irritate at least all those who were in favor of making the inquiry. Such will not be satisfied with the answer that the Trustees have the power and feel it to be their duty to exercise it. It will be said that the reasons which justify a removal (if there be any) have existed for a long time. A removal after so long a forbearance, at the present time, will be attributed to recent irritations. . . .

I see no danger in delay, but fear much in too great haste. Perhaps there is no occasion at present to determine how long the Trustees should delay adopting their final course. Circumstances may render that expedient at a future time which is not now. I feel much confidence that a very decisive course against the president by the Trustees at the present time would create an unpleasant sensation in the public mind, and would, I fear, be attended with unpleasant consequences.

But the crisis could not be avoided, though if what followed could have been then foreseen it is reasonable to doubt if the Trustees would have proceeded so quickly to extremities. They evidently underestimated the hostile forces, and failed correctly to interpret the signs on the political horizon. They certainly had reason to believe that the report of the legislative committee, though confined to a statement of facts, would be not unfavorable to them; and undoubtedly expected in the existing state of parties to come out right with the legislature. But the accession of the Democrats to power before the committee could report put a different face upon the matter, and taking all into consideration one cannot now be sure that the Trustees did not pursue the wisest course. The possession of the presidency proved in the end their only salvation. It was the turning point of their fortunes on several occasions. That alone rendered possible the contest they made against the power of the State, and it is not

¹ Shirley, p. 94.

safe to assume that forbearance on their part would have prevented the hostile legislation. Certain it is that it would have been too late to act after the laws were passed. Indeed, the regret that then found expression among the Trustees was that they had not seasonably removed also their secretary and treasurer, Judge Woodward, so as to preserve control of their records.

That the Board did not exceed its powers was, notwithstanding the most vigorous outcry, at least tacitly admitted by the acquiescence of all parties without any appeal to the courts, or any practical opposition beyond the idle form of a protest; even the hostile majority in the legislature raised no question upon that point, but gave to it the strongest affirmative support by recognizing Mr. Brown as legal President.

Immediately after Commencement appeared the promised statement to the public, in the shape of a pamphlet of 104 pages, entitled *A Vindication of the Official Conduct of the Trustees*, signed by the eight members of the Board. It was an able presentation of the case, largely from the pen of Mr. Marsh. Wherever circulated it exerted a decided influence to relieve doubts and restore friendship, but it labored under the disadvantage of being sold at 25 cents a copy whereas the *Sketches*, being freely given away, enjoyed a much wider circulation.¹ It was preceded some six weeks by a pamphlet of 62 pages written mainly by Benjamin J. Gilbert, Esq., entitled *A True and Concise Narrative of the Origin and Progress of the Church Difficulties, etc.*, and prepared and issued by a Committee of the Congregational church specially appointed for the purpose. Among the articles with which the newspapers were deluged there appeared during the autumn in the columns of the *Concord Gazette* a series of four articles from the pen of Judge Niles, going over a part of the ground covered by the pamphlet, which were widely copied into other papers. There were also others by Dr. McFarland. On the other side Hill's *Patriot* continued to pour out denunciations and Captain Dunham in the winter favored the public with a pamphlet of 94 pages, an *Answer to the Vindication*, bright, keen and sarcastic, and at the same time peculiarly unfair and illogical. The pamphlet war closed with a *Refutation*, by Peyton R. Freeman, Esq., of *Sundry Aspersions*, that he discovered in the *Vindication*,

¹ Samuel Woodbury, a lawyer of Portsmouth, writing to Professor Shurtleff, December 9, 1815, says that the *Sketches*, which had been freely distributed, had produced much effect in that section, and this effect was not counteracted by the *Vindication*, "as people are more willing to remain ignorant of the merits of a case than to purchase a 25 cent pamphlet," and that the "poison of the *Sketches* had full effect because the antidote was not applied in the same way."

upon the memory of his father, Hon. Jonathan Freeman, then deceased.

The course of political affairs seemed now to justify Mr. Mason's forecast. The newspapers which had declared for Wheelock, led of course by the *Patriot*, redoubled their outcry, and advantage was taken of every circumstance to cast further odium on the Board and to present them in a position of antagonism and disrespect to the legislature. The village paper, the *Gazette*, still holding to the Board, another weekly paper was established at Hanover in the interest of Wheelock. It was styled the *American*, and professed to be of Federal inclination yet impartial, truly *American*, in politics. Like its constituency, it became by the course of events virtually Democratic. It began February 4, 1816, and stopped abruptly with the death of Wheelock in April, 1817.

The President's immediate friends entered actively into political combinations. It was understood that their emissaries went from town to town through the state to procure so far as possible the choice of members to the legislature who should be favorable to their cause.¹ Color was given to this allegation by an attempt of certain prominent Federalists of Hanover to arrange a coalition with the Democrats in the nomination of a senator in the eleventh district. The Democratic convention met at Merrill's Tavern in Enfield January 24, and was adjourned two weeks in consequence of a statement by John Durkee of Hanover that Judge Woodward, Dr. Perkins, Col. Brewster, Col. Poole and Henry Hutchinson (all Hanover Federalists and stanch friends of Wheelock) had arranged with others of the same party for a caucus at Canaan January 30, and desired the Democrats to adjourn over with a view to uniting with them in the choice of a candidate. This statement, becoming public, raised a great flutter among these gentlemen; some of them strove to escape the charge by throwing doubt and discredit upon it, but Dr. Perkins manfully avowed it, with expressions of regret that the scheme "miscarried in consequence of the timidity and prudery of some of their own party."² The result was that three candidates were put into the field, Abiathar G. Britton by the Federalists in caucus at Haverhill, John Durkee by the Democrats, and Aaron Hutchinson of Lebanon for the Wheelock Federalists by the caucus at Mr. Dole's inn at Canaan, January 30, consisting of Federalists from twelve towns in the

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, February 14, 1816.

² *American*, February 28, 1816.

district; and there was no choice. The legislature proving Democratic elected Mr. Durkee, who stood a faithful partisan of President Wheelock. The vote in Hanover gave Britton 202, Hutchinson 59 and Durkee 122. For Governor the Federalists had 265, and the Democrats 124. Before the next election the Wheelock Federalists were fully incorporated into the Democratic ranks.

Mr. Durkee's attitude was not wholly determined by political considerations. While the inhabitants of the College district were with few exceptions opposed to Wheelock, he had many sympathizers in the other parts of the town. This difference arose in part from a traditional jealousy directed against the College district which continued nearly to the present time, but more from a diversity in religious views. Deists and Universalists were numerous and strong in district number seven, and in number five, where Mr. Durkee lived, they had for many years an incorporated society, with a library for the dissemination of their views. Their headquarters were at the mill neighborhood, now called Etna. They controlled to a great extent the Democratic party in the town, and were able, about 1830, to commit it in caucus to the expressed determination that no professor of religion should be elected to any town office. Mr. Durkee was a leader among them. He and they accepted Wheelock, in the light of his memorial and his own utterances as well as of those made by his organ, the *Patriot*, as their champion against the supposed orthodox bigotry of the Board. But this alliance brought in the end its own punishment, for the same reasons which drew the freethinkers to Wheelock's support served to confirm and intensify the opposition of the clergy, and of the classes naturally in sympathy with them and drew them all to the support of the College. If it had not been for the division among the Federalists in Grafton County, and the part which the so called *Liberal Christians* took in it, neither the College nor the State Judiciary could have been overturned.

The course taken by Wheelock and his friends was exceedingly distasteful to Governor Gilman. He used every means in his power by letter and otherwise to dissuade them from it, and, failing, quietly withdrew his support. He was desirous to resign from the Board of Trust, but at the request of Mr. Thompson and others of the majority refrained from doing so until the controversy should be ended, "having reason to believe," as he afterwards avowed, "that he could thus best serve the interests of

the College." He could not in honor, after what had passed, take his seat with the opposing trustees under President Brown, neither would he co-operate against them. Upon this circumstance depended, as it proved, a result of the highest importance.

In March of 1816 Governor Plumer was elected by a majority of 2,269, both branches of the legislature were Democratic, and that party assumed the supremacy which with brief intervals it retained for forty years. Notwithstanding the narrow Federal majority of the previous year, and the confusion brought about by the College troubles, the result of the election was a surprise to the Federalists and to the friends of the College. By it the position of the latter was rendered doubly difficult. It was now certain that trouble must be expected at the coming session of the legislature, and they began to marshal their forces to meet it. Messrs. Marsh and Thompson were in attendance on Congress at Washington and Webster and Mason with them; Marsh and Webster in the House, and Mason and Thompson in the Senate. Marsh and Mason were cousins, Webster and Thompson shared the same lodgings. Though in hearty sympathy with the two trustees Webster was held back by the influence of the cooler and more cautious Mason to such a degree that the others were disposed at first to blame them both for lukewarmness. All were Federalists, and together with Jeremiah Smith, were, with the exception of Marsh who was a citizen of Vermont, the leaders of the Federal party in New Hampshire. It was inevitable that they should stand shoulder to shoulder in this affair.

Mr. Thompson wrote from Washington to President Brown, February 28, 1816:

With respect to Governor Gilman's writing to Judge W. I have no doubt of the truth of it. The information has come here in various ways. We have been repeatedly assured from Exeter that Governor Gilman is making great exertions to check the erratic movements of his Hanover friends. . . .

When Mr. Marsh comes to this place I will consult with him respecting the the best mode of enlisting Mr. Mason. If we could have him heartily engaged for us I am clearly of opinion with you he would be preferable to any other counsel under existing circumstances. . . .

The progress of events in New Hampshire never had so much interest in my view as at the present moment. Upon the result depends not only the security of our civil rights and enjoyment but the best hopes of the friends of literature and religion in relation to their diffusion through that state.

Mr. Marsh also wrote from Washington to President Brown, April 4, 1816:

After much conversation and patient waiting I now find that we can expect no assistance at the legislature from either of the gentlemen of whom we conversed. It is probable however that we can have the professional aid of at least one of them in case we should be involved hereafter in a suit [at] law, and I think it may be of some consequence to us to secure such assistance. The unfortunate issue of the New Hampshire election renders it very difficult for us to determine what course it is best to pursue. We have sometimes doubts whether as the petition now pending before the legislature does not ask for specific relief, and as we are not made parties to it, it would be expedient for us to enter an appearance or make any defense, but on the whole we have concluded that even in the present state of parties it will not be duty to omit making a defense. In case any counsel is to be employed, and probably we should employ some one, we think that nothing better can be done than to employ Mr. Richardson. In case he should be applied to, the principal and perhaps the only real points to which his attention need be drawn is whether the legislature can interfere in any way to vacate the charter or change the number or powers of the trustees under it; and, second, whether, if this point be conceded, the conduct of the trustees has been such as to render such interference either proper or expedient? That they may institute (as indeed they have done) an enquiry preparatory to some legal process, or pass any law which may be deemed necessary to give the Supreme Court jurisdiction or pointing out the mode of proceeding, cannot probably be denied with propriety.

I feel much embarrassment in writing, inasmuch as in your vicinity it is deemed no crime to violate a seal.

A letter from Mr. Marsh to President Brown, April 13, 1816, protests against the appointment of Mr. Niles as the agent before the legislature, and even against any intimation that it is desirable that he should attend as an individual.

I have found [he wrote] that because he is a Democrat and might therefore influence his own party some might deem it proper to appoint him. I believe that if he is there he will unwittingly compromise us just as far as he is empowered to do. He will have such confidence in his party that he will be likely to resign the charter expecting a better from such good men, or do some other act which will work our ruin. I believe that had it not been for him no committee would have been appointed last session. I dare not trust the interests of the institution in his hands though I have entire confidence in his integrity.

A special meeting was held in April and necessary arrangements made.

The excitement did not subside as the time approached for the assembling of the General Court. Mr. Webster advised making an effort to soften the irritated feelings of the Democracy by encouraging the idea of a new college, a favorite one with some, in order to afford opportunity for the ill humors to work off. His plan was to procure some person, known to be favorably inclined to Wheelock, to propose, for the sake of peace, a

joint committee to report at the next session upon the expediency of establishing at Concord a "University of New Hampshire," to be governed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, and by the chief officers of the State as overseers; and protected from any religious test.¹ But the hostile spirit was now too much in earnest to be turned aside in that way. Governor Plumer, whose sympathies were drawn to Wheelock by various motives, not the least of which was the supposed liberal attitude of the latter in religious matters, ardently espoused his cause. In the Governor's address to the General Court June 6, attention was particularly called to the College charter, which, he said, "as it emanated from royalty contained, as was natural it should, principles congenial to monarchy. Among others it established trustees, made seven a quorum, and authorized a majority of those present to remove any of its members which they might consider unfit or incapable, and the survivors to perpetuate the board by themselves electing others to supply vacancies." "This last principle" he declared to be "hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government." The College, he truly said, was founded for the public good, not for the benefit or emolument of its trustees; and he entered into an argument of some length in support of an assertion that "the right to amend and improve acts of incorporation of this nature had been exercised by all governments both monarchical and republican." This portion of the speech was on June 8 entrusted to a committee of fifteen² (three from each county, counting Grafton and Coos as one) nominated by a preliminary committee chosen for the purpose on the 6th, the day when the address was received. To them was also referred the report of the visiting committee of the last session which came down to the House on the 10th. The Wheelock party made such efforts as they could to explain it and oppose its printing, but it was ordered to be printed, together with the memorial which gave rise to it. This report was confined to a mere statement of facts touching the four heads of charges specified by Wheelock, and, while strictly impartial, was on the whole clearly favorable to the Trustees.

On Tuesday, the 18th, the committee reported a bill, without

¹ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 259.

² From the Senate, Durkee, Hanover, Vose, Atkinson and Harvey, Sutton; from the House, Tilton, Exeter, Parrott, Portsmouth, McClary, Epsom, Durell, Dover, Wentworth, Ossipee, Shepherd, Gilmanton, Claggett, Amherst, Bachelder, New Ipswich, Harvey, Hopkinton, Dwight, Westmoreland, Prescott, Jaffrey, Wood, Keene, Pettingill, Canaan, Poole, Hanover, Sawyer, Piermont. H. J. pp. 30, 45, 51, 52.

waiting for the return of the visiting committee's report from the printer, Gen. Poole and others being heard to say that they intended to ignore it. But the indecency was too glaring and they were forced afterwards to notice it, but contented themselves with reporting¹ that difficulties in the College had been "aggravated if they did not originate from some radical defect in the charter. Whatever inferences therefore as to the conduct of the persons in dispute may be deduced from the report (which inferences all are enabled to make for themselves, all having the report) your committee apprehend the legislature are not called on to arbitrate in favor of either party provided the cause of the difficulties can without that invidious and unpleasant task be effectually removed. . . . Without criminating therefore the members or officers of the corporation for measures which have reached their present crisis if not originated from defects in the charter we conclude that the interests of the State do not require the legislature to act any further than by amending the charter."

A bill was accordingly brought in that had been prepared by a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Poole, Claggett and Durell, essentially changing the character of the College. It was entitled "An Act to amend, enlarge and improve the Corporation of Dartmouth College," and provided that the corporate name of the College should be changed from the "Trustees of Dartmouth College" to the "Trustees of Dartmouth University," that the whole number of Trustees should not exceed twenty-one or be less than fourteen, at the discretion of the Governor and Council, of which two thirds were to form a quorum. No person except a resident of the state was eligible as a member, and all seats then held by non-residents were declared vacant. A Board of Overseers was established whose number was not to "exceed fifty nor be less than thirty." The President of the Senate was to be President of the Board and the Speaker of the House Vice-President *ex-officio*. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont for the time being were to be members, as were also the members of the old Board of Trustees, Messrs. Jacob, Marsh, Niles and Paine, whose seats were vacated by the Act. The Overseers had power "to inspect and confirm or disapprove and negative such votes and proceedings of the Board of Trustees, as shall relate to the appointment and removal of President, Professors and other permanent Officers of the University; and

¹H. J., p. 129; *Portsmouth Oracle*, July 29, 1816.

determining their salaries, to the establishment of Colleges and Professorships and to the erection of new College-buildings." The secretary of the Trustees was to certify to the Overseers copies of the records and votes of the Trustees, and both bodies were to render an annual account through the President to the Governor of "all important votes and proceedings" of the Board. The President, to whom was given "the superintendence of the government and instruction of the students" and the performance of "all the duties devolving by usage on the President of a University," was also to render to the Governor an annual account "of the number of the Students, and of the state of the funds of the University." Each of the two Boards had power "to suspend and remove any member of their respective Boards." The Governor and Council were authorized to fill all vacancies in the two Boards, original or occasioned by death or resignation except that the President of the University was *ex-officio* a member of the Board of Trustees.

The bill was read and ordered to be printed. The strength of the respective parties was shown upon an immediate motion to recommit, which was lost, 86 to 91, and the second reading was ordered for four o'clock the next day.¹ Early in the forenoon of the 19th the bill was printed, and Messrs. Thompson, Paine and McFarland, who were in attendance on the part of the Board, as soon as they could get sight of it, put in a demand for a public hearing, which was denied. They laid in, however, on the same day an able remonstrance of eight printed pages, wherein they dwelt at length upon the unjust and illegal features of the bill, and the unfairness of bringing it forward without considering the result of the labors of their own investigating committee.² They ended with a proposition on the part of the College Board, similar to that contemplated in 1806, to accept a board of overseers consisting of the councillors and senators together with the Speaker of the House, with power substantially the same as was afterwards enacted for the University. This paper was read in the House on the 20th, after a vain effort to exclude it, and referred to a special committee consisting of Messrs. Butler, Toppan and Claggett of the House with Mr. Ham of the Senate, a proposition to send it to the committee of fifteen being lost in the House, 85 to 94; as a motion to postpone the bill until this committee on the remonstrance should have reasonable time to report was also lost, 84 to 97.³ A few days later a proposition, moved by

¹ H. J., p. 91.² See Appendix B.³ H. J., pp. 119, 124.

Mr. Paige of Hancock, to postpone the bill to the next session and take the opinion of the Court as to whether it would conflict with the Constitution of the State or of the United States, and whether it would endanger the title of the College to any of its present funds or donations in this State or any other, shared the same fate. But the remonstrance had evidently its effect for, on the 20th, seven sections of the bill were recommitted¹ and shorn of several most objectionable features. On their return Messrs. Thompson and McFarland filed a further remonstrance, June 24, which effected nothing.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire in General Court convened:

Respectfully show the undersigned two of the Trustees of Dartmouth¹ College that they have heard that the bill before the Honorable House relating to the College had been recommitted and reported with considerable alterations a few hours before their last adjournment and that it received at the same time a first reading. They have also heard that four o'clock this afternoon is assigned for its second reading. They have not been able to obtain a sight of it but have heard it contains provisions for an increase of the board of Trustees to the number of twenty one, a majority of whom to constitute a quorum, and that the additional number are to be appointed by his Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council.

The undersigned would not trouble the honorable legislature with any remarks in addition to those contained in their remonstrance of the 19th instant did they not believe it were a duty not to be omitted. They cannot but persuade themselves that their reiterated applications will be received by the honorable legislature with indulgence when it is considered that the Trustees of Dartmouth College are the sole legal representatives and guardians of the College property and that the legislature cannot pass a law essentially altering the provisions of the charter without giving sanction to the heavy charges preferred against them by Dr. John Wheelock at the last session of the General Court.

To many of the topics of argument suggested in their former remonstrance (which are equally applicable against the passage of the bill in its present shape) they respectfully ask leave to add.

That the bill in its present shape destroys the identity of the corporation known in law by the name of the Trustees of Dartmouth College, *without the consent of the corporation*, and consequently the corporation to be created by the present bill must and will be deemed by courts of law altogether diverse and distinct from the corporation to which all the grants of property have hitherto been made: and therefore the new corporation cannot hold the property granted to the corporation created by the charter of 1769.

By the charter of Dartmouth College a contract was made by the then supreme power of the State with the twelve persons therein named by which *when accepted by the persons therein named*, certain rights and privileges were vested in them and their successors for the guarantee of which the faith of

¹ H. J., p. 133.

government was pledged by necessary implication. In the same instrument the faith of government was pledged that the corporation should consist of twelve Trustees and no more. The change in the government of the State since taken place does not in the least possible degree impair the validity of this contract—otherwise nearly all the titles to real estate held by our fellow citizens must be deemed invalid.

The passage of the bill now before the honorable house will in the deliberate opinion of the undersigned violate the plighted faith of the government. If the undersigned are correct in considering the charter of 1769 in the nature of a contract and if the bill in its present shape becomes a law, we think it necessarily follows that it will also violate an important clause in the tenth section of the first article in the Constitution of the United States, which provides that no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contract.

The honorable legislature will permit us to add that as it is well known the Trustees have as a Board been divided on certain important subjects, although the minority has been very small. Should the legislature now provide for nine new Trustees to be appointed by his Excellency the Governor and the honorable Council *and that without any facts being proved to the legislature or any legislative report having been made showing that the state of things at the College rendered the measure necessary*, it must be seen by our fellow citizens that the majority of the Trustees have been by the legislature for some unacknowledged cause, *condemned unheard*.

The honorable legislature will do the undersigned the justice to believe that they would not intentionally suggest any idea in relation to this subject which they did not deem worthy the consideration of the highest authorities, legislative or judicial in the State or nation. They cannot after much deliberation bring themselves to believe that circumstanced as they are it ought reasonably to be considered disrespectful in them to defend the rights of the corporation to which they belong, by submitting to the hon. legislature any arguments drawn from the general principles of acknowledged law, or from inexpediency since the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States and Congress likewise grant similar indulgence.

The undersigned have discharged a painful duty. They devoutly hope the result may accord with the highest wisdom and the security of the great principles upon which many of our invaluable civil rights depend.

THOMAS W. THOMPSON.

ASA MCFARLAND.

June 24, 1816.

The House passed the bill June 26, by essentially a strict party vote, ayes 96, noes 86, no Federalist voting for it, and two Democrats, Messrs. Paige and Shepard, voting against it,¹ and the next day it became a law.² On the 28th Mr. Toppan filed a protest in behalf of the minority with 75 signatures, including that of Augustus Storrs, one of the Hanover members. Mr. Bachelder, therefore, moved resolutions reciting the charges against the

¹ The Judiciary act passed the same day with 97 votes against 83, and the address for removal of the judges, 94 to 80.

² H. J., pp. 199, 235.

Trustees and exonerating them point by point, but they were lost, 71 to 93¹. There were ten roll calls on this bill in its course through the House. The member from Hanover Plain was Gen. James Poole, a neighbor of Wheelock's and an ardent supporter of the University Party. There were also on the ground in the same interest Col. Brewster of Hanover, President Wheelock's son-in-law, Rev. William Allen, and his nephew, Gen. E. W. Ripley. Eclat was given to the party by a splendid dinner and reception to the General on June 13.

The act as passed, after changing the name of the College to "Dartmouth University," provided that there be a board of twenty-one Trustees, of whom a majority should constitute a quorum, having all the powers and rights of the old board except as limited by the Act. There was also to be a board of twenty-five overseers, of whom fifteen formed a quorum, having perpetual succession, except that the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Vermont were *ex-officio* members. It had a veto power over the Trustees on all appointments of permanent officers, determination of salaries, establishment of colleges and professorships, and the erection of buildings. Each board had authority to suspend and remove its own members. The President of the University, who was an *ex-officio* member of the Trustees, was to have the "superintendence of the government and instruction of the students," and was to make annual report to the Governor of the number of the students, the state of the funds of the University and all important proceedings of the Overseers. The Governor and Council were to appoint the first Board of Overseers, to fill up the existing Board of Trustees to the number of twenty-one, and also to fill all vacancies that might occur during the first meeting of the Board. The Governor and Council were to inspect the College and make report to the legislature as often as once in five years.²

It will be noticed that this Act preserved the "monarchical" features which the Governor thought so dangerous in the old charter. The Board of Trustees was still a close corporation, after the first injection of new blood in nine new members, though there could of course be no guaranty that the process of legislative interference might not be repeated as often as party whims

¹ H. J., 241.

² The act is given in full in Appendix D, in the preamble to *the resolution* of the Trustees declining to accept its provisions.

might dictate. There were in the Act some features radically different from those in the first draft. The most important was the retention of all the old board, so that the adhesion of one of them at least was requisite for a quorum. Had the Act passed as at first drafted the subsequent difficulty about a quorum could not have occurred, and the whole aspect of matters would have been different. The Governor and Council proceeded at once to fill up the Boards.¹

The effect of the passage of the law upon the minds of the friends of the College appears in the following letters:

Professor Mussey wrote to President Brown, July 3, 1816, from Weston, Mass.:

The proceedings of the N. H. Legislature relative to D. College have excited universal alarm and indignation among the Federalists. "Hold on" say they, "till the last finger is cut off."

Mr. Marsh from Woodstock wrote to President Brown, July 4, 1816:

I was not much surprised at the information which your letter brought though I had been led to hope that something would arrest the progress of the enemy. I have not had much time to examine authorities on the subject of the power of the legislature in relation to existing corporations yet I have no doubt in my own mind that the Act is altogether unconstitutional and must be so decided could the question come before a competent and dispassionate court. But whether we can ever hope in our situation for a correct decision is a very different question.

I think we shall never be able to act with such trustees as will probably be appointed, and of course must act independently of them or not act at all. We shall however be better able to judge after knowing who are appointed and I hope that before we shall be called to act the path of duty will be more plain than it appears to me at present. . . . I think we shall be more likely to bring them to terms by resisting the act than by yielding to its provisions. . . . I now wish that we had seasonably removed the secretary so as to have possessed ourselves of the records. . . . You ask what can or will the legislature do if we refuse to submit to the act. They can legally do nothing, what in the wantonness of power they may have the madness to attempt no one can tell. If we refuse, the new trustees may attempt to possess themselves of the control and appoint new officers &c. but regularly they ought to bring legal process against the present board or their officers.

Mr. Thompson wrote to President Brown, July 15, 1816:

Mr. Farrar of Portsmouth advises and I think his advice good, that one or more of the Trustees should immediately wait upon Judge Smith, Messrs. Mason and Webster and consult them and take their written directions as to

¹ See Appendix C.

the measures the Trustees ought to pursue. I do ardently wish that Mr. Marsh would accompany you to Exeter and Portsmouth and be present at the interview.

All whom I see in my travels without an exception urge us to a legal resistance.

Mr. McFarland's letter to President Brown, July 15, 1816, was of the same tenor:

Mr. Thompson saw Judge Peabody, Mr. Mason, Webster and Farrar. They gave it as their decided opinion that it would be the duty of the Trustees to maintain their original corporate right, and try the issue. That so far as my information extends is the opinion of the most considerate part of the community. Judge Peabody informed Mr. Thompson that Gov. Gilman is decidedly opposed to the late act, but that he could not be prevailed on to attend a meeting of the Board. Mr. T. desired Judge Peabody to request the old Governor not to resign his seat in the Board at present.

Mr. Marsh again wrote to President Brown, July 17, 1816:

The more I think of this subject the more important it appears to me for the old Trustees to stand entirely aloof from those newly created by the appointment of the Gov. under the Act, with a view if crowded out to revive the institution in the future either here or at some other place. I have no doubt that we can now in our own courts (Vermont) control the rents of the township of Wheelock, and these funds may serve hereafter as a rallying point for future exertions.

Respecting the approaching meeting of the new board he wrote ten days later, "I still think it a great object to prevent their having a quorum, for in that case they can do no official act, nor accept the grant. Gov. Gilman must be seen on this head—Cannot Mr. Webster or some other friend induce him to write Mr. Jacob." Mr. Jacob was much out of health and it was anticipated that he would be unable to attend or would resign.

During the interval before Commencement legal opinions were sought from quite a number of gentlemen prominent in New Hampshire and elsewhere, as Parker Noyes, Arthur Livermore and Daniel Davis of Boston. These were, almost without exception, unequivocally against the legality of the new Acts. Among other questions laid before them was the subject of a possible removal hinted at by Mr. Marsh, but it found little encouragement.

Commencement fell on the last week of August. The College Trustees took the precaution to come together on the Friday preceding, but had as yet come to no conclusion respecting their course of action when the day arrived for the organization of the

University Board agreeably to the Act. The Governor was promptly on the ground and the following correspondence passed:

HANOVER, Monday morning, August 26, 1816.

SIR,—As this is the day appointed by law for the meeting of the Trustees of Dartmouth University, as several of the members of that Board are now in town, and as you are President of that University and member of the Board, permit me to enquire whether you have provided a place for their assembling and where?

If you have not designated the hour and place of their meeting will you be so obliging as to make the appointment and give me information thereof.

I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

REV'D FRANCIS BROWN.

President of Dartmouth University.

Monday morning, August 26, 1816.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WM. PLUMER:

SIR,—I have had the honor to receive your note of this morning. In reply permit me to observe that on inspecting the Act of the 27th June last entitled "An Act to amend the charter and enlarge and improve the corporation of Dartmouth College" I noticed that "the Governor" was "authorized and requested to summon the first meeting of the Trustees and Overseers" of Dartmouth University "to be held at Hanover" &c. From this clause I conclude that the right of designating the hour and the place of the meeting belongs according to the Act to the Governor and to him only. I have not therefore presumed to provide a place for their assembling. On inspecting the Act anew this morning I am confirmed in the construction which I put on the above recited clause and must beg therefore to excuse myself from making the appointment to which you invite me.

I have the honor &c.

FRANCIS BROWN.

Monday morning, August 26, 1816.

SIR,—Since the receipt of your polite letter of this morning I have addressed a note to Professor Shurtleff as librarian, requesting information whether the condition of the library room appertaining to the University was such as to accommodate the Trustees thereof in assembling and holding their meeting during the present session. To which he replied verbally that . . . he had previously delivered the key of the library room to you. These circumstances induce me to request that you would be so obliging as to inform me whether there is any objection to the Trustees occupying said room for the purpose of holding their meetings.

I am &c

WILLIAM PLUMER.

REV'D FRANCIS BROWN. &c.

To this reply was made that there was some mistake respecting the key which Professor Shurtleff would explain in person, as he afterward did.

Monday afternoon, August 26, 1816.

SIR,—Permit me to enquire whether I am to understand by your second note of this morning taken in connection with Professor Shurtleff's explanation that you decline giving consent to the use of the library room in the buildings belonging to Dartmouth University to the Trustees thereof. If you do not decline will you have the goodness to have that room opened; or is there any other room in those buildings or elsewhere in this town that is convenient for the Trustees to hold their meeting in, that I may take measures to notify them thereof. Your answer is requested as soon as convenient.

I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

PRESIDENT BROWN.

Monday afternoon, August 26, 1816.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WILLIAM PLUMER:

SIR,—In answer to your Excellency's note just received, I have the honor to inform you that I have not, either by law or usage, in my office as President the control of the library room. Of course my note to your Excellency taken in connection with Professor Shurtleff's explanation is not to be understood as implying that I decline giving consent to the use of the library room for the purpose mentioned by your Excellency. If I rightly understand my official duties it does not belong to me either to refuse or to give my consent in the case. I have no authority to cause the room occupied by the library to be opened according to your Excellency's request, and as to rooms in other buildings Judge Woodward from his superior acquaintance in the place will be able to give your Excellency more satisfactory information than myself.

I have the honor to be &c.

FRANCIS BROWN.

The meeting was finally convened in Judge Woodward's office (afterward for many years the study of President Lord), at five o'clock the same afternoon, but without the number requisite to organize, only nine being present.¹ Next morning ten were in attendance, including all the new members, save Matthew Harvey who was detained by sickness, and the Governor and a single member of the old Board, Hon. Stephen Jacob of Windsor. As they still lacked one of a quorum, the Governor by their order once more addressed the President. The note is in the handwriting of Judge Levi Woodbury.

HANOVER, Tuesday, August 27th 1816.

SIR,—A number of the Trustees of Dartmouth University are convened at the Treasurer's office of Judge Woodward. They are authorized and prepared to proceed in the transaction of business provided you will give your attendance as required by Statute to preside over their meeting.

¹ Governor Plumer, Dr. Josiah Bartlett, Joshua Darling, William H. Woodward, Levi Woodbury, Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Aaron Hutchinson, Daniel M. Durell, Stephen Jacob. Henry Hubbard who appeared next morning was the tenth. The room was the one on the right as one enters the front door of the house next Webster Hall.

I am requested therefore by the gentlemen present to notify you of the above circumstances in order that by repairing here as soon as possible the necessary measures may be seasonably adopted preparatory to the duties and exercises of tomorrow.

Your attendance or reasons for non-attendance are wished for immediately if agreeable.

I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

MR. PRESIDENT BROWN.

Tuesday evening, August 27, 1816.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY WM. PLUMER.

SIR,—Your note has just been received requesting my attendance at Judge Woodward's office or my reasons for non-attendance.

With respect to the Act of 27th June last, referred to by your Excellency, I would remark that I have not supposed any individual of the twenty one persons contemplated in that Act as the Trustees of Dartmouth University was bound to act under it unless with his own deliberate consent.

I have taken that Act into consideration together with the other Trustees constituted according to the provisions of the Charter of 1769. But no decision has as yet been taken; and until the last mentioned Trustees shall conclude to abandon their said Charter and to accept the before mentioned Act, I shall probably deem it duty not to attend. The Trustees did not, as I in the morning expected they would, act on the report of their committee. It is therefore still under consideration.

I have &c.

FRANCIS BROWN.

Early on Wednesday, the morning of Commencement day, a like summons was sent by the Governor, from the University Trustees then in session, to Professors Shurtleff and Adams requesting their attendance on the Board at half past nine o'clock, as "the conferring of degrees and the other duties and exercises of this day deserve immediate attention." Professor Shurtleff replied that as it did not appear that a quorum of the Trustees had as yet convened he "did not deem it proper to proceed with individual gentlemen who may be assembled"; and, Professor Adams answered in like fashion, adding that "Professors have not heretofore been consulted on similar occasions." Meanwhile the College Board, in session at the house of President Brown, near the present site of the Observatory, had reached a decision which, for the sake of promptness, was at once communicated to the Governor in the form of a resolution, though the long preamble giving the reasons for the decision, was delayed.¹

Resolved, that we the Trustees of Dartmouth College do not accept the provisions of an act of the legislature of New Hampshire approved June 27, 1816,

¹ For the preamble see Appendix D.

entitled "An Act to amend the Charter and enlarge and improve the Corporation of Dartmouth College," but do hereby expressly refuse to act under the same.

Eight members were present and concurring; Judge Niles though in sympathy with the action was absent on account of sickness, and ex-Governor Gilman was not present in execution of his purpose of neutrality.

The members of the University Board retorted with a remonstrance and protest, and a preamble as long as its rival, drafted by Messrs. Durell, Hubbard and Woodbury.¹ But neither remonstrance nor preamble could disguise the fact that the University gentlemen were left stranded in a very ridiculous position, of which they were keenly sensible. Had they obtained a quorum an embarrassing conflict could not have been avoided; as it was the exercises of Commencement went on in the usual orderly manner under the College authority. Not to be wanting in courtesy President Brown presented "his respectful compliments to Governor Plumer and," so he wrote, "has the honor to acquaint his Excellency that the procession preparatory to the public exercises of the day will be formed at the College chapel between the hours of ten and eleven. The Trustees of the College would be highly gratified could your Excellency think it proper to join them as one of their number. Should you decline this, permit me to request for myself and the other Trustees that your Excellency would honor the occasion by giving your attendance as the Chief Magistrate of the State and taking a seat on the stage. Mr. Woodbury, the bearer, will superintend the procession and will wait on your Excellency when it shall be ready to form if agreeable."

The Governor turned the tables on him with a grim humor that is very amusing:

Wednesday morning, August 28, 1816.

SIR:—In answer to your polite note of this morning requesting my attendance at the Chapel, and to take a seat on the stage as chief magistrate of the State, permit me to observe that I came to this town in the character of a Trustee of Dartmouth University and that if the Trustees of that Institution who were appointed by the Executive authority of New Hampshire in pursuance of the statute of the 27th of June last, should in their official character as Trustees of said University join the procession and take seats as such on the stage, I will do myself the honor of accompanying them.

I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

PRESIDENT BROWN.

¹ For the remonstrance see Appendix E.

There were present many of President Wheelock's friends from abroad. The *Patriot* announced¹ that "the company collected at Hanover, especially from other states, as the friends of President Wheelock, was numerous and respectable beyond all former example. The polite attentions paid them by the late President and his friends residing at Hanover were such as rendered their visit to the seat of our University highly agreeable and satisfactory."

Among them was General Ripley, and opportunity was taken to make to him on August 29 a presentation of a sword through a self-constituted committee consisting of Senator John Durkee, Silas Tenney, W. H. Woodward, James Poole and Amos A. Brewster. Under other circumstances all parties would have eagerly joined in honoring so distinguished a native of the village, though he had been often in town since the war, but in existing conditions the affair took on an entirely partisan and somewhat private character. Commodore Bainbridge, who came to town as a companion of General Ripley, won golden opinions from the College people by attending the exercises in a prominent position, in the procession, on the stage and at dinner, while the General himself only ventured *incognito* for a short time into the crowd near the door of the meeting house and on being recognized hastily withdrew.²

The University Trustees adjourned to September 17. Before doing so they laid out upon the recommendation of a committee, composed of Messrs. Durell, Woodward, Perkins, Hubbard and Woodbury, the following elaborate and extensive scheme of organization.

The committee appointed to consider the necessary regulations for the government of Dartmouth University and the organization of different colleges therein respectfully report:

That as only ten of the Trustees of Dartmouth University have taken their seats at the place assigned and notified by his Excellency the Governor to all the members of the Board now in town, we do not consider it expedient or proper at this time to pass any votes except such as existing circumstances immediately require.

On examination of the early records of the Institution we discover that although at neither of the first two meetings of its Trustees did a majority of them assemble, yet it was deemed proper by those present to recommend many measures promotive of its important interests, and to pass a number of necessary votes and preliminary resolves. These proceedings, at a subsequent meeting, were expressly approved and adopted.

¹ *New Hampshire Patriot*, September 13, 1816.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, September 18, 1816.

We therefore regard it as expedient for those now convened to continue acting in a manner similar to the above and on the different subjects connected with the University. We also beg leave to propose the following system for organizing Colleges therein, and for governing its various concerns. All which measures we recommend for adoption, and indulge the hope that they will be approbated by the Board of Trustees when hereafter convened under more favorable circumstances.

Resolved that the officers of Dartmouth University shall consist of a President, Secretary, Treasurer, Librarian, Steward and Inspector of buildings.

Resolved that the following Professorships be instituted for the general course of instruction in said University:

- 1st Mathematics and Natural Philosophy,
- 2nd Logic Metaphysics and Ethics,
- 3rd Rhetoric Oratory and the Belles Lettres,
- 4th Latin and Greek Literature,

and in addition to the foregoing it is highly desirable that the following professorships should be established so soon as funds can be obtained for the purpose:

- 1st English and other modern Literature,
- 2nd Civil History,

Resolved that for the particular instruction of those who have made requisite progress in a general course of education, the following Colleges shall be organized in said University so soon as the funds thereof will permit, to each of which shall be appointed a Principal or presiding officer—viz:

- A College of Theology,
- A College of Medicine,
- A College of Law,

Each of said Colleges shall respectively be under the superintendence of the President of the University.

That in the College of Theology shall be established the following Professorships:

- 1st Divinity and Sacred Eloquence,
- 2nd Hebrew and other Oriental Languages,
- 3rd Sacred History,

That the College of Medicine shall be organized and regulated as follows—the faculty and officers of instruction in which shall be

- 1st A Professor of the Institutes and practice of Medicine,
- 2nd A Professor of Anatomy and Surgery,
- 3rd A Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick,
- 4th A Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica,
- 5th A Professor of Natural History and Botany,

That the College of Law shall be organized under the following Professorships:

- 1st Civil Law,
- 2nd Natural and National Law,
- 3rd The Science of Government and Political Economy.

In relation to the government of the students of said University we recommend that till otherwise directed by the Trustees thereof it should continue under the particular regulations and the several professors existing in the then Dartmouth College before the passage of the acts of June last, and we recom-

mend the person designated as treasurer till the event above named to manage the funds of said University in a provident manner and to take the buildings, lands and other property appertaining thereto under his immediate care and direction.

Daniel M. Durell
for the Committee.

Voted that said report be accepted and as far as possible complied with.

The Board of Overseers also lacked one of a quorum. Fourteen¹ were in attendance. They "resolved unanimously as our opinion that we deem the measures pursued by the afore-said trustees highly expedient, wise and dignified; and that they meet the cordial and unqualified approbation and sanction of the members of the Board of Overseers now present." So far as we know this was the only official act ever attempted by the Overseers. It does not appear that their board was organized, or made any further serious effort to do so, though we learn from the contemporary newspapers that several members of it attended at least the succeeding Commencement in 1817.

Among the subjects which required the attention of the College Board at the June meeting in 1816 was the attitude of their secretary, Judge Woodward, who adhered to their opponents and declined to attend their repeated summons or to surrender their records. When the Board met by adjournment on the 27th of September, Mr. Woodward still persisted in his refusal, the office was declared vacant, and on the 30th Mills Olcott, Esq., was chosen secretary in his stead, and instructed to demand of him the records and the seal, and to take measures to obtain them by process of law if necessary. The demand was of course unsuccessful. In place of the ancient seal withheld by Mr. Woodward a new one, having for a device a spread eagle encircled by the same legend as the old, was for the time adopted, being improvised by the aid of a half dollar and a circle of type. This was made to serve the purpose until the restoration of the old seal, unchanged, in April, 1819.

To secure moral and financial support for the College it was voted

That immediate application be made to the liberal and benevolent part of the community for benefactions to the College: that the President be requested

¹ Henry Dearborn, B. W. Crowninshield, Paul Brigham, Benj. Greene, Elisha Ticknor, Dudley Chase, H. A. S. Dearborn, James T. Austin, Levi Lincoln, Jr., Wm. A. Griswold, Albion K. Parris, Amos Twitchell, David L. Morrill, Clement Storer.

to prepare an address for that purpose preparatory to a subscription and procure printed copies of the same and distribute them among the Trustees and other friends of the College. That each Trustee consider himself a committee and use his best endeavors for the purpose of procuring the benefactions contemplated. That President Brown take more particular charge of this business in the County of Grafton and the northerly part of Cheshire, Judge Niles, Judge Paine and Mr. Marsh in Vermont, Dr. Payson in the southerly part of Cheshire, Judge Farrar in the southerly part of Hillsborough, Rev. Mr. Smith in the southwesterly part of Rockingham and Dr. McFarland and Mr. Thompson in the residue of Rockingham and Hillsborough and in the County of Strafford, and that President Brown visit Boston, Salem and Newburyport for the same purpose as soon as practicable.

The College was poor and hard pressed for means to meet ordinary current expenses, and the outlook upon what evidently promised to be a bitter, protracted and expensive controversy was in the last degree discouraging.

There was present at Commencement a merchant of Orford—let his name be ever held in honorable remembrance—John B. Wheeler—"who had learned his letters by 'light-wood candles,' and was but six weeks in any school until by his own labor he paid for six months tuition and board" at New Ipswich Academy under Professor John Hubbard, and then "axe in hand entered the woods and felled trees for a farm. . . . After the exercises of the day were over as he was sitting in his chair [at the home of Professor Adams where he lodged] and bidding *adieu* to a professor of the College, he said, 'If the Trustees intend to test their rights by a suit at law, and should want means, I have a *thousand dollars* at their command.'"¹ The offer was instantly communicated to the Board then in session. It came as the first glimpse of light in the darkness and was joyfully accepted. But for this unsolicited and unlooked-for aid it was said that the struggle would hardly have been continued. Mr. Wheeler received the formal thanks of the Board at the next meeting, and in 1905, in grateful memory of his timely aid, the Trustees gave his name to a large and attractive dormitory erected in that year.

In November the following printed appeal was circulated, accompanied by subscription blanks:

The Trustees of Dartmouth College, after much deliberation, have deemed it their duty to make application to the friends of religion and learning for pecuniary assistance to the Institution, of which they are the guardians. If they need any apology for this application, it might be sufficient to mention

¹Proceedings of the Alumni, 1855, p. 60.

the recent example of two sister Institutions, one of them the oldest and best endowed in the United States: if they entertain strong hope of the success of this application, they are justified in it, not only by the liberal aid afforded to Harvard and Middlebury, but by the acknowledged importance of the object, and by the opinions of numerous friends of the College in every part of the state, and of not a few in the neighboring states. Many, they even fear, begin almost to suspect them of supineness for having delayed the application to the present time.

On the utility of Dartmouth College as the principal Literary Institution in New Hampshire, as the nursery where are reared so many of that portion of our youth, to whom chiefly the country looks for the defence of her religion, the interpretation of her laws, and the health of her citizens, it is unnecessary to enlarge. Equally unnecessary is it to speak of the present tranquil and prosperous state of the College, with respect to its internal administration. These are points generally known and admitted. When, then, it shall be as generally known, that the College is extremely deficient in pecuniary means, and that, unless this deficiency is supplied, its usefulness must be greatly impeded, will not the lovers of literature, will not the friends of religion and their country come forward to its aid?

The aggregate annual income from all the permanent funds (exclusive of room-rent), even if these were free from embarrassment, would scarcely exceed fifteen hundred dollars,—a sum, which, if the Trustees are rightly informed, is not more than half the income of Phillips Exeter Academy. But of this pittance, insufficient as it is, the College is deprived for the present, by the refusal of its late Treasurer to deliver up the evidences of property in his hands. The only resource, therefore, remaining to the Trustees, is the tuition bills of the students, together with the rent of rooms in the College buildings. To this alone they must look for the means, which are to pay the salaries of the officers, to erect a new edifice, to enlarge the Library and Philosophical Apparatus, to prosecute and defend suits at law, and to pay every other expense. Who, with these facts before him, can hesitate to admit, that a necessity is imposed on them of making an appeal to the generosity of the publick? And who, that knows with what munificence most of the other Colleges in New England are patronised, will entertain a doubt, that this appeal will be promptly met and honourably sustained? While Harvard and Yale, Brown and Williams, Bowdoin and Middlebury are enriched by public or private benefactions, shall Dartmouth decay merely for want of necessary funds? Will New-Hampshire suffer her college to languish, while her neighbouring sister states are extending to theirs a fostering hand? Will the alumni of Dartmouth stand aloof from their Alma Mater in the day of her necessity and danger? Will the friends of Zion hear without an effort the call of the Seminary, in which many of the sons of Zion are trained for her defence, and on which God has so recently and so signally bestowed his blessing? To believe this were to imply a reproach, which, we trust, is unmerited.

As different individuals may have a preference with respect to the particular uses to which their benefactions shall be applied, it may be proper to mention some of the objects, which are deemed most immediately to demand notice.

The Professorship of Languages is now vacant, and it is indispensable

that a Professor in that department shall be appointed without delay. To gentlemen, who appreciate the importance of this branch of literature, it is suggested, that they may usefully appropriate a portion of their surplus property by founding, or assisting to found, a Professorship of Languages.

The Phillips Professor of Theology receives not more than half his salary from the proceeds of the Phillips fund. Other gentlemen, who may prefer to consecrate their gifts specially to Religion, will have opportunity to gratify their pious and liberal feelings by completing the establishment of the Theological Professorship.

The erection of a new edifice has become necessary, as well for the publick purposes of the College, as for the proper accommodation of the students, more than half of whom are now obliged to occupy private rooms. A third class of Benefactors may find it best to accord with their views to increase the respectability and usefulness of the College by contributing to the erection of such an edifice.

It is also suggested, that Dartmouth College does not furnish its President a dwelling house; a deficiency, which it is believed not to exist at more than one similar institution in New-England, and which the Trustees are anxious to see supplied.

Other objects might be named; but these are of urgent importance, and must be provided for with all convenient despatch.

Whatever sums may be subscribed without the designation of a particular object, the Trustees will consider as submitted to their discretionary application. The will of the donors, where this shall be expressed, shall invariably regulate the application of their gifts.

This address is intended to be made not only to those, whom the Sovereign Dispenser of favours has blessed with opulence, and who can of their abundance contribute their hundreds or their thousands, but to those also, who, though not rich, enjoy somewhat more than a competence for their families, and in whom, happily, our country greatly abounds. The smallest sums will be gratefully acknowledged. And if any, instead of making donations, should prefer to subscribe an annual sum, to be paid for a given number of years, this method of affording aid would be perfectly acceptable.

It is requested, that the subscription papers accompanying this address may be returned to the President by the first of February next. As soon as may be, after that time, agents will be appointed to receive and transmit to the Treasurer the sums, which may be subscribed, an account of which will be regularly published in the Dartmouth Gazette.

Dartmouth College, Nov. 8, 1816.

It being more than doubtful whether the adjournment of the University Trustees to a set date in default of a quorum had any legal effect, no meeting was attempted on the 17th of September. But on the 16th the Governor with Messrs. Hall, Quarles and B. Pierce of the Council met by appointment at Hanover,¹ designing among other things to fill up certain vacancies that had occurred in the Board of Overseers by refusal

¹ *New Hampshire Patriot*, September 3 and 24.

of original appointees to serve. Encountering similar doubts as to their powers in that direction, they contented themselves with requesting on the 19th the opinion of the Supreme Court on two questions, one of which would have been more timely before the Act was passed.¹

First. Has the Legislature of this State authority to amend the charters or acts of incorporation of literary corporations by increasing the number of trustees, adding boards of overseers, and prescribing modes of visitation in cases where such corporations were established by the present government of this State or by John Wentworth formerly Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, exercising authority in the name of the British King?

Second. Have the Governor and Council of this State in virtue of an act passed June 27th, 1816, entitled "An act to amend the charter, and enlarge and improve the corporation of Dartmouth College," authority to fill any vacancies in the Board of Trustees or Overseers happening since the 26th of August last, there not having been on that day a meeting of a quorum of either of said Boards as prescribed by said act?

Answer was made by Judges Richardson and Bell on November 25th adverse to the further exercise of power under the existing law, but declining in view of possible litigation to respond at this stage to the constitutional question.

On the 20th of November, 1816, while these questions were still pending before the judges, the General Court convened for their winter session. The Governor in his speech rehearsed the proceedings above related, and added:²

It is an important question and merits your serious consideration whether a law passed and approved by all the constituted authorities of the State shall be carried into effect, or whether *a few individuals* not vested with *any judicial authority* shall be permitted to declare your statutes *dangerous and arbitrary, unconstitutional and void*: whether a *minority* of the trustees of a literary institution formed for the education of your children shall be encouraged to inculcate the doctrine of resistance to the law and their example tolerated in disseminating principles of insubordination and rebellion against government.

Believing you cannot doubt the course proper to be adopted on this occasion permit me to recommend the passage of a bill to amend the law respecting Dartmouth University. Give authority to some person to call a new meeting of the Trustees and Overseers; reduce the number necessary to form a quorum in each Board; authorize those who may hereafter meet to adjourn from time to time till a quorum shall assemble; give each of the Boards the same authority to transact business at their first as they have at their annual meetings, and to remove all doubts give power to the Executive to fill up vacancies that have or hereafter may happen in the Board of Trustees, and make such other provisions as will enable the Boards to carry the law into effect and render the Institution useful to the public.

¹ Shirley, p. 119.

² S. J. p. 13.

A special committee consisting of Young and Shepard of the Senate and Butler, Clark, R. Woodbury, M. Hale, Miller, Wallace, Healey, Wood, Poole and Sawyer of the House, to whom the matter was referred, brought in a bill which passed the House by 100 votes to 87, and became a law on the 18th of December.¹ The Governor was authorized to call the first meeting of both boards which was given the validity of an annual meeting. Both boards were authorized, in the lack of a quorum, to adjourn from time to time till one should be obtained, but to facilitate organization by the Trustees nine were constituted a quorum. On the 26th of December the first act was supplemented by a bill of penalties designed to prevent the old officers from continuing the contest.² Any person assuming to perform the duties of president, trustee or any officer of the College, except in conformity to the Acts of the Legislature, should forfeit for each offence \$500, to be recovered by any person who should sue therefor, one half to go to the complainant and one half to the University. On December 27th the medical building, which had been erected at the expense of the State, was by special resolve placed in charge of General James Poole as agent of the State.³

The denunciation of penalties shook for a time the resolution of some of the College people. Mr. Thompson, then in Washington, was, out of regard to the Faculty, at first strongly of the opinion that they should give up all assumption of college machinery, and confine themselves to private instruction of pupils, in hope of better times, but he seems to have been alone in that opinion. Mr. Marsh especially was earnest against it. Advice was sought from numerous quarters.

Now what shall we do? [wrote the President to Judge Farrar].⁴ One of these four courses must be taken. We must either keep possession and go on and instruct as usual, without any regard to the law, or withdrawing from the College edifice and all the College property continue to instruct as the officers of Dartmouth College or relinquishing this name for the present collect as many students as will join us and instruct them as private but associated individuals, or else we must give up all and disperse. Will you give us your opinion what may be our duty or what expedient as soon as convenient? Particularly will you give us your opinion whether supposing this oppressive act to be judged constitutional we should be liable to the fine if we instruct as the officers of Dartmouth College relinquishing however the College buildings, the library apparatus, &c. . . .

¹ Statutes of New Hampshire, p. 74.

² Statutes of New Hampshire, p. 94.

³ Statutes of New Hampshire, p. 99.

⁴ Shirley, p. 125.

If we resolve to persevere in our duties as the officers of Dartmouth College and to meet the consequences . . . we must have substantial aid or it will be impossible to go on.

Mr. Marsh wrote to Professor Shurtleff January 16, 1817:

I find myself very much embarrassed in attempting to give any advice respecting the mode of proceeding in relation to the affairs of the College. Our embarrassments seem to me to be of such a nature that we cannot decide to-day what may be duty to-morrow, but that we must from day to day trust our Heavenly Father for a "mouth and wisdom" which our adversaries may not be able to gainsay.

As to the query which you propose I am persuaded that the new board will not consent to your tarrying and administering the government of the Institution on neutral ground. Indeed you cannot take one step in this way, you must act under the charter or under the new acts of the legislature—you must consider that and make of it a Dartmouth College or the University.

Judge Paine wrote to President Brown January 27, 1817:

I believe your only way is to persevere fully in the old order, or to submit fully to the new order of things or to abandon altogether. After I left Hanover I went as far as Westminster in Vermont and saw several gentlemen from Cheshire County. They were uniformly of the opinion that we ought to persevere or the latter end would be worse than the beginning, or in other words that since we have put our hands to the plow, which they commend, we ought not to look back. In August I was governed as one of the Trustees in a great measure by what I understood to be the determination of the College Executive. I was disposed to consult their feelings and disposition. If they were not disposed to adhere I knew every effort of the old Trustees would be fruitless.

A letter from the President to Judge Smith elicited a reply, declining to advise, but filled with characteristic suggestions.

As to the question [he says], whether the officers of the College would be liable for instructing &c. in case they should give up the buildings and other College property, it seems to me unnecessary to consider it. The act of surrendering the property would be a clear admission that they had no right to retain it. With it I think they ought to give up all things, the franchise, name &c. which are wholly insignificant. It would be no offence under the new act to instruct, and it will be as useful without as with the name of Dartmouth College. If I were one of the Trustees, at the same time I surrendered the property I would ask Governor Plumer's pardon for my error in having treated his authority so ill. I have no doubt he will forgive them. . . . If their confidence in the course *adopted and hitherto pursued* remains unimpaired there is no reason for my adding anything to it. If they begin to feel doubts and think of a compromise this is a matter in which the patient must minister to himself. I never advise. I would not advise to an opposition *even to the letter* of an act of the legislature. . . . From your letter I conclude that the penal act of the last session had produced the consequence which I am confident it was chiefly intended to produce.

The hesitancy was short lived, courage revived, and not in a single instance was an attempt made to put the penalties in force. Indeed, able and uncompromising as were the majority of the Board of Trust the salvation of the College depended after all upon the firmness and ability of the executive officers. Surrender was inevitable unless *they* would take the main brunt of the contest, and conduct it wisely. Fortunately the three, President Brown and Professors Shurtleff and Adams, composing the Academic Faculty were eminent for the qualities necessary for the struggle, and promptly determined at all hazards of financial loss and inconvenience to see the matter through. Of the three gentlemen composing the Medical Faculty, Professor Mussey adhered strongly to the College, while Dr. Cyrus Perkins clung with equal ardor to the University, of which he was appointed a Trustee. The only effect of the penal act was to drive away Dr. Nathan Smith, whom both parties were anxious to retain. He had resigned in 1813, but had again accepted an election from the College Board at the annual meeting in 1816 as professor of theory and practice of medicine and surgery, and delivered lectures during the fall of that year, but alarmed by the threatened penalties he again abandoned his position and finally withdrew from the institution.¹

¹Nathan Smith, son of John and Elizabeth (Ide) Hills Smith, being fourth in descent from Henry Smith who came to this country in the ship *Diligent* landing August 10, 1638, was born in Rehoboth, Mass., September 30, 1762, and soon after the family removed to Chester, Vt., where he grew to young manhood with very little education. Happening to be present at a surgical operation by Dr. Goodhue of Putney, Vt., he was seized with the desire of becoming a physician, and on opening his mind to Dr. Goodhue was told by him that it would be impossible without much more preliminary education than he had. He at once devoted himself to acquiring the necessary preparation and then returning to the doctor was accepted as a student and after studying began the practice of medicine in Cornish, N. H., where he soon attained a good practice. But being dissatisfied with his attainments he went to Harvard Medical School where he received the degree of M. B. in 1790, taking as the subject of his thesis "On Causes and Effects of Spasms in Fevers," [See Mass. Mag. Vol. 3, 1791, for January, p. 33 and for February, p. 81, containing a "Review" and a "Reply" by Dr. Smith.] After making arrangements to open a Medical School in Hanover he went to Edinburgh in December, 1796, and studied there and in London, returning home the next September. He was chosen to organize the Medical School at Yale and became professor of theory and practice of medicine there in 1813. In 1820 Maine established a Medical School, which Dr. Smith was invited to organize, and it became the third which owed its organization to him. For five years, 1821-25 inclusive, he gave all the lectures except in chemistry and anatomy. He also lectured from 1822 to 1825 on "Medicine and Surgery" at the University of Vermont. Between 1797 and 1828 "he was connected with forty-two general courses and gave instruction in different departments in about one hundred and thirty-eight special courses." "To him more than to any other man, it is believed, may be ascribed the rapid increase in the advantages for medical education in America." He was famous as a surgeon and performed in 1821 an original operation for ovariectomy, not having heard of the operation by McDowell which was earlier. He died at New Haven January 26, 1829.

The indefatigable nature of the man and his skill in making use of all means for his advan-



Nathan Smith



In the midst of these perplexities it was ascertained that an invitation was about to be given to President Brown to take the presidency of Hamilton College at a salary of \$1,800, a sum nearly double his emoluments at Dartmouth. By a man of different mould the offer would probably have been joyfully accepted as a welcome release from a hopeless burden. Mr. Marsh wrote him from Washington:

Without saying at all what may be duty I will only ask you to take into consideration the position *that with your abandonment will expire the remaining hopes of the friends of Dartmouth College*. I do not know that this should deter you, as our prospects are already so much clouded. They are however yet such that I am not prepared to abandon the interests of the College though I am much perplexed to know what measures to adopt in order to promote them.

A little later he wrote again:

My own feelings and opinion have been that if you remain with us we ought to proceed directly forward as though nothing had happened, and pursue the course we marked out to ourselves the last Commencement. But should you leave us it would be impossible to supply your place so as still to go on in that way and we must necessarily abandon the pursuit, and can do no more than merely to perpetuate the corporation. . . . Do you not think that if we abandon, Professor Adams can be provided for at Middlebury, where it is likely many of our students will repair. If my brethren of the trustees and the executive choose to proceed I think I shall not hesitate.

But President Brown, like his colleagues, was made of sterner stuff than to surrender or abandon the cause in its direst extremity though he did not finally decline the invitation till summer. On the 18th of January he communicated to the Trustees at

tage are shown by the following extracts from two letters written to his friend Dr. George C. Shattuck. Both are in the possession of Mrs. Allen Penniman Smith of Baltimore.

The first is dated November 28, 1798.

"I had to struggle with a weight of business and with very ill health for two months past; till within a very few days I have been wretched and more than half the time have been in torture with an affection of my stomach, which I have concealed as much as possible that I might not alarm my class, which is very numerous and respectable, and alarm my friends, but I had almost determined to yield to the complaint, when on a sudden after taking some pretty powerful medicine several days since, my complaint seemed to leave me, and this is the first evening which I have felt like myself for more than two months."

The second was written December 20, 1811.

"I have lately added 52 volumes to my library of historical works, viz, Mavors' General History, 26 vols., Mavors' Voyages, 19 vols. and Hume's England, 8 vols. As my time is so taken up that I cannot read such lengthy works have set two pupils to reading in course and have requested them to fix a kind of index to everything relating to medicine or medical men to be found in the several works so that I hope to reap some advantage from the books tho' they are not medical." *Early History of the New Hampshire Medical Institution with a Sketch of its Founder, Nathan Smith, by O. P. Hubbard, 1880.*

Washington his views of the course to be taken at Hanover, and on the 28th Mr. Marsh thus replies:

I was much gratified last evening by the perusal of your letter of the 18th instant to Mr. Thompson. You seem to me to have arrived at the same conclusion to which my mind has been tending ever since I knew of the passage of the act of your legislature relative to Dartmouth College. I can really perceive no middle course for us to pursue. We must maintain our possession and discharge our duties as though nothing had happened, or at once abandon the thing altogether. I believe with you that Dr. Wheelock's men regard this last measure as a device with which to frighten us rather than as a law which they can ever execute. I do not well perceive how they can drive us out of possession, they may indeed take forcible possession of the library and apparatus, and drive the students out of college, but they cannot retain the possession. The students can go out peaceably and immediately return again and pursue their studies, and the executive may again in due season, should it be thought expedient, possess themselves of the library. But I do not think they will dare attempt any such violent measure. Should we abandon and thereby permit the College to be destroyed, and in the course of a few months find that this was unnecessary, and that the public would have justified us in a contrary course, I know not how we shall be able to justify our conduct to ourselves or others.

If the students will adhere to their former instructors as I have no doubt they will, there can be no difficulty as to the possession. In this case if other officers are appointed they will have nothing to do, and cannot continue long. I cannot but trust that Divine Providence will so dispose events as that the path of duty may be plain before us. It is an object to keep possession at least till after another election. The Federalists or a better sort of democrats may become a dominant party. I am willing to put my feeble shoulder to the wheel and do whatever I can either in point of property or personal exertion.

Dr. McFarland wrote from Concord on the 22d of January:

I am at present disposed to go on under our present charter and take the consequences. I believe the penal act was intended as a scarecrow, and that it cannot be carried into effect. . . . I believe a strong current has set in against the late College acts, violent measures will not succeed. They destroy themselves and prove the downfall of those who adopt them. . . . There are many who feel a deep interest in the College, and I believe it becomes a more interesting object daily. I do hope, and I feel some confidence that a way of escape will be found for the College. I cannot think that it will be suffered to fall into the hands of Gov. Plumer and his friends, and this appears to be the prevailing opinion among the pious part of the community here.

Judge Farrar wrote January 26, 1817:

In my present opinion I concur with Judge Paine that it is best to proceed as heretofore without regarding the law at all. We cannot, and I believe none of us wish to avoid a legal decision of the question whether the State legislature can destroy or disannul the former charter, and the sooner that

question is decided the better it will be for the College. It appears to me that the same question will arise under the present act as under the former. If the legislature cannot annul the charter they cannot make it penal to retain the name, hold the property and pursue the business therein specified. By the last act no contest can be produced between the State and the corporation. It gives an action to a common informer to recover a penalty of \$500. I think we can meet with no trouble from that law, unless some individual should commence an action . . . to recover the penalty. In that case that would be a civil contest for a sum of money between two individuals the determination of which would lead to a decision of the question which we wish decided, and we should be the party defendant, which would place us in as eligible a situation as we could desire.

There was, indeed, a strong and growing feeling among the people in favor of the College. It was especially marked among the clergy and the religious portion of the community who were overwhelmingly on that side. The Hopkinton Association recommended to their churches to observe the first Tuesday in February, as a day of special prayer for the College. In answer to the appeal for pecuniary assistance, contributions came in from unexpected quarters. On February 4, 1817, the Union Consociation, being in session at the center parish in Hanover, Dr. Asa Burton of Thetford moved to spend an hour in prayer for Dartmouth College.¹ "He observed that the institution if overthrown, instead of being a nursery of piety would probably be the reverse, that there was no other resource to defeat the adversary but by prayer to God who can do all things; and that the Consociation at Hopkinton had set apart this day a portion of time for the same object. The motion was objected to on account of the ministers going out to lodge, it being half past ten o'clock; they then adjourned to the next morning at sunrise for that purpose." The writer from whose letter the foregoing is taken, adds, "it is so cold that the ink freezes in my pen, by a good fire."

In the meantime Mr. Olcott, as directed by the Board, had made upon Mr. Woodward, October 7, 1816, formal demand for the College records, seal and other property which Mr. Woodward declined to surrender, "claiming to hold them as Secretary and Treasurer of the Corporation only for the use of the rightful trustees and subject to their orders."²

It had been contemplated that an action at law should immediately follow, but it was delayed by the uncertainties bred by the agitation of these new questions. As soon as they were in some

¹ Letter of J. Freeman, Jr.

² Shirley, p. 117.

degree settled, preparations for commencing the suit were renewed. In doing do, as the State Court might be expected to sustain the legislature if possible, there was great anxiety so to frame the pleadings that the cause might eventually reach the Supreme Court of the United States. The following correspondence betrays the anxiety as to the method which it was best to pursue.

Judge Paine wrote to President Brown January 6, 1817:

If we are obliged to resort to the courts of Justice to obtain our rights I think the sooner it is done the better. I have however hoped that if we could be enabled to persevere a year or two in our present situation it would appear evident that the new plan would not succeed and that it would be abandoned as a hopeless project. Although I have no doubt what the law is upon the subject, yet so many revolutionary opinions have entered into the heads of the best men of late years, that it is impossible to say what it will be pronounced to be by the competent tribunal. I have never perceived however that the Supreme Court of United States have embraced any revolutionary doctrines in their public decisions, still if I could get along without an appeal to the law I should prefer it, but I do not know that it will be possible. I should place full reliance upon Judge Smith's opinion and should advise Mr. Olcott (who is clothed with sufficient authority) to pursue the advice he may give after full consideration of the subject.

Mr. Marsh was in much doubt about the form of action, as may be seen from his letter from Washington to President Brown January 6, 1817:

If any suit should be instituted by us it will be of much importance that it should be such an one, and instituted and conducted in such a manner as to the pleadings &c. that it may in the last resort be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Judge Smith, under date of January 26, 1817, replying to Mr. Olcott, refused to advise as to the policy of instituting any suit, but said, "if a suit has been wisely determined on I do not think from what I have heard of the acts of the last session that any reason exists for abandoning that intention. . . . It seems to me proper by all means, if any suit is to be brought, not to pass by the State courts, for reasons which will readily occur to you. I have not yet ingenuity enough to think of any other form of action but trover for the books, &c, and assumpsit for money in the name of the corporation." Acting under this advice Mr. Olcott on February 8, 1817, instituted in the name of the Trustees an action of trover, in the Common Pleas of Grafton County, for the college records, books and seal, laying damages at \$50,000. Judge Woodward being himself the presiding judge,

proper pleas were filed to carry the actions directly to the Superior Court, where it was entered at the May term. The Trustees of the University at their meeting on the 2d of the same month assumed the defense, and authorized the employment of counsel.

The first meeting of the University Board under the amended law was held at Mason's hall in Concord on February 4, 1817, upon notification sent out by the Governor, December 20 preceding, promptly after the passage of the enabling act. Several vacancies had occurred among the Trustees. Judge Woodbury had withdrawn on his accession to the bench; Mr. Jacob had died and Messrs. Josiah Bartlett and Hubbard had resigned. Their places were filled by Messrs. John Harris, Moses Eastman, Salma Hale and Ichabod Bartlett. A quorum was secured on the 6th and an organization effected, a principal object of the meeting being to cast out the opposing members of the Board and executive officers of the College. Charges were brought in by a committee named for the purpose, Messrs. Durell, Harris and Darling, and citation issued for their appearance at an adjourned session February 22 at the same place. The charges against the President, the Trustees and the Professors, drawn out in four specifications in each case, varied somewhat in form, but were all to the intent that the different officers had not submitted to the authority of the legislature, and in various ways, by refusing summons to appear at the meetings of the University Board and by proceeding under the old charter, had done "certain acts and things" contrary to their duty, by which the "University has suffered great injury."

None of the respondents appeared at the time set, though Messrs. Adams and Shurtleff filed a reply dated February 20 and on the same day with President Brown issued an address to the Governor and Trustees of the University in which, after acknowledging the receipt of the charges against them, they expressed their doubts as to the validity of the acts of the legislature without their acceptance by the charter Trustees, and proceeded as follows:¹

Our doubts on this subject have arisen not merely from our own understanding of the constitution of this State and of the United States, but also from the opinion of a very large portion of the community, comprising, as we believe, a great majority of the ablest law characters in this and the neighboring States. These doubts have received no small degree of confirmation from the arguments and reasons adduced by the minority of the House of Representatives in their Protest against the act of June; from the doubts entertained on

¹*New Hampshire Gazette*, March 25, 1817.

the subject by His Excellency the Governor and the Honorable Council as implied in their application to the Judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion; and from the answer of the said Judges, in which they expressly state that they had not formed any opinion on the question.

With this view of the subject therefore, we deem it our duty to wait the result of an appeal to the judicial tribunals, which has recently been made by the charter Trustees. The Judiciary we consider an essential and independent branch of the sovereignty, and that branch, which alone is competent to a final determination of this question; and to their decision, whenever obtained, and whatever it may be, we shall readily conform.

We have the honor to be
Your Excellency's and your
Honors' most obedient and
Humble Servants,
Francis Brown,
Roswell Shurtleff,
Ebenezer Adams.

February 20, 1817.

At the meeting of February 22 Professors Adams and Shurtleff were removed, also President Brown from both the presidency and the trusteeship, and Messrs. Farrar, McFarland and Payson were removed from the Board of Trust. For some unexplained reason there was a delay in the case of Messrs. Niles, Marsh, Thompson and Paine, but they were likewise removed at the annual meeting in August. Proceedings against the Rev. John Smith were still further postponed from time to time, perhaps with the hope that he would be reconciled, but when in August, 1818, an attempt was made to serve a notice upon him he declined to receive the communication and forthwith shared the fate of his brethren.

The President and Professors after their removal from office issued an address to the public in which they stated their attitude with great clearness and explicitness, and stated more fully the reasons given in their address of the 20th to the Trustees. It was dated February 28, and not only appeared in the public prints but was circulated as a broadside handbill.

AN ADDRESS OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE TO THE
PUBLIC.

As the undersigned after the most serious and mature consideration have determined to retain the offices which they received by the appointment of the Trustees of Dartmouth College, and not voluntarily to surrender at present any property committed to them, nor to relinquish any privileges pertaining to their offices, they believe it to be a duty which they owe to the publick, no

less than to themselves, to make an explicit declaration of the principles by which they are governed.

They begin by stating the two following positions as maxims of political morality which they deem incontrovertible.

1. It is wrong under any form of Government for a citizen or subject to refuse compliance with the will of the sovereign power when that will is fully expressed, except in cases where the rights of conscience are invaded or where oppression is practised to such an extreme degree that the great ends of civil government are defeated or highly endangered.

2. Under a free government, where the Sovereignty is exercised by several distinct branches, whose respective powers are created and defined by written constitutions, cases may arise in which it will be the duty of the citizen to delay conforming to the ordinances of one branch until the other branches shall have had opportunity to act. If for example the legislative branch should transcend its legitimate power, and assume to perform certain acts which the constitution had assigned to the province of the Judicial branch, a citizen injuriously affected by those acts might be bound, not indeed forcibly to resist them, but in the manner pointed out by law to make an appeal to the judiciary and to await its decision.

The undersigned deem it unnecessary in this place to detail the provisions of the acts of the honorable legislature, passed in June and December A.D. 1816, relating to this institution. These acts are before the public and are generally understood.

The Board of Trustees as constituted by the charter of 1769 at their annual meeting in August last took into consideration the act of June and adopted a resolution not to accept its provisions. They find the law fully settled and recognized in almost every case which has arisen wherein a corporation, or any member or officer is a party, that no man or body of men is bound to accept or act under any grant or gift of corporate power and privileges, and that no existing corporation is bound to accept, but may decline or refuse to accept any act or grant conferring additional power or privileges, or making any restrictions or limitations of those they already possess: and in case a grant is made to individuals, or to a corporation without application, it is to be regarded not as an act obligatory or binding upon them but as an offer or proposition to confer such power and privileges or the expression of a desire to have them accept such restrictions, which they are at liberty to accept or reject. If the doctrine contained in this paragraph be correct, and of its correctness the undersigned after ascertaining the opinions of eminent jurists in most of the New England states, entertain no doubt, the act of June, and of course the acts of December, have become inoperative in consequence of the non acceptance of them by the chartered Trustees, and the provisions of these acts are not binding upon the corporation or its officers. We take the liberty to add that in our opinion the reasons assigned by the Trustees in the preamble before mentioned for not accepting the act of June, are very important and amply sufficient. Indeed it has even appeared to us that the changes proposed to be introduced into the charter by the acts in question would have proved highly inauspicious to the welfare of this institution, and ultimately injurious to the interests of literature throughout our country.

The Trustees appointed agreeably to the provisions of the act of June have

however thought proper to organize without the concurrence of the charter Trustees, and to perform numerous decisive acts.

At a meeting in Concord on the fourth instant they brought several specifications of charges against the undersigned, and at an adjourned meeting holden on the 22nd instant they proceeded to displace, discharge and remove them from their respective offices in Dartmouth University. A similar proceeding was adopted against four of the Trustees acting under the charter.

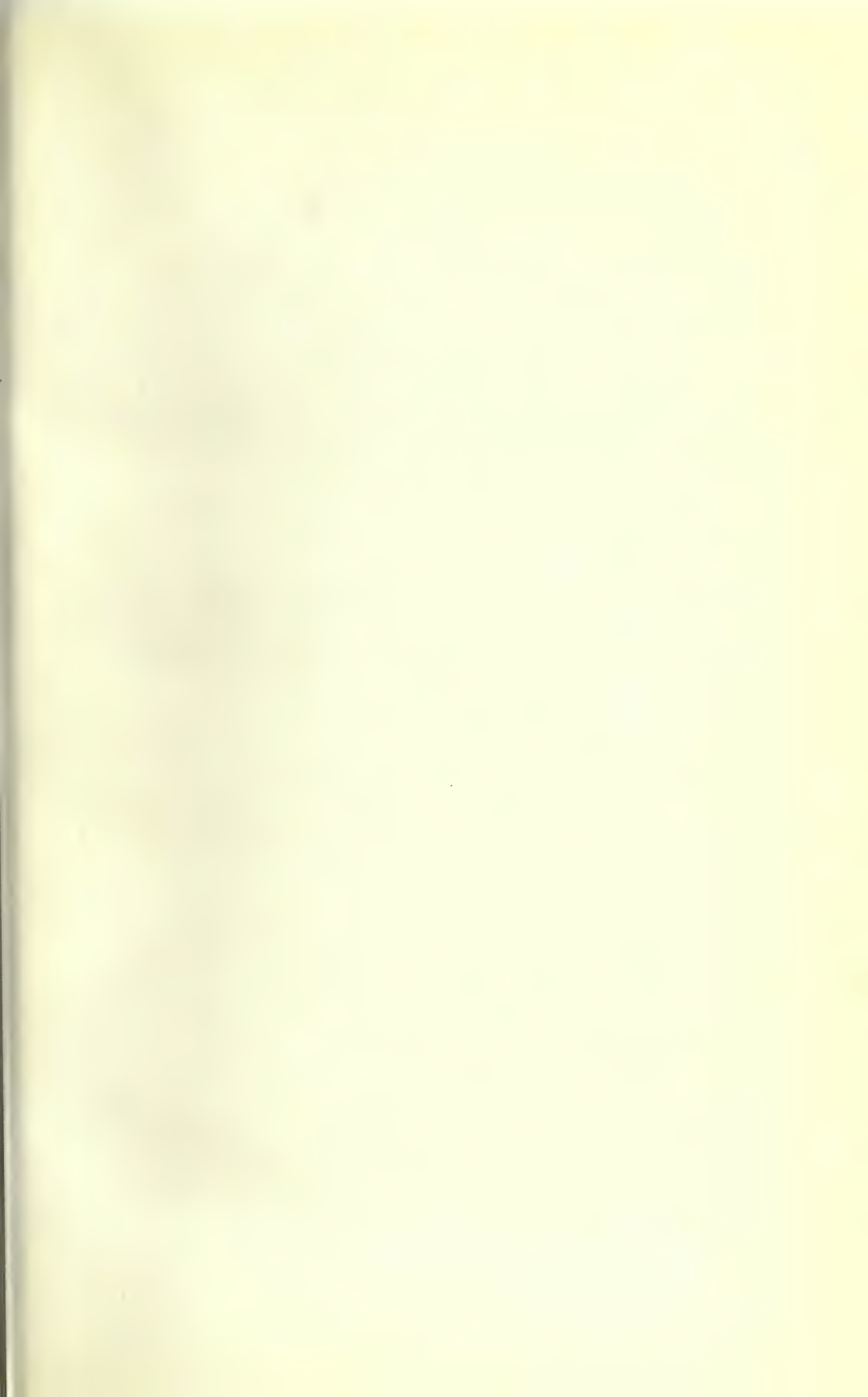
Unless we greatly mistake in the view already expressed of the act of June, the votes of the University Trustees removing us from office are wholly unauthorized, and destitute of any legal effect: and we are still, as we have uniformly claimed to be, officers of Dartmouth College under the charter of 1769.

The charter Trustees having resolved to assert their corporate rights, and having for this purpose recently commenced a suit against their late Secretary and Treasurer, in the issue of which it is expected the question between them and their competitors will be finally settled, the undersigned being united with them in opinion, in principle and in feeling, cannot consent to abandon them or to perform any act which may prejudice their claims while this suit is pending. They must therefore proceed as officers of Dartmouth College to discharge their prescribed duties. They are sensible of their obligation to render submission to the law, and their first enquiry, in the case before them has been, what is law? The result is a full conviction in their own minds that the course they have concluded to adopt is strictly legal and that no other course would be consistent with their duty. If they err their error will shortly be corrected by the decision of our highest judicial tribunals, and with this decision they will readily comply. In the mean time while the appeal is made to the law of their country, and to the constitution of their State and of the United States, which are the Supreme law, they trust that none of their fellow citizens will have the unkindness to charge them with a want of respect to the government under which they live. As soon as the will of the government shall be fairly expressed they will render to it a prompt obedience.

The undersigned are placed in a situation singularly difficult and highly responsible. To them it seems to be allotted, in divine providence, to perform a part which in its consequences may deeply affect the interests not only of this institution, but of all similar institutions in this country. And although they are fully conscious of their own inability to perform this part in a manner worthy of its importance, yet they are fully resolved, relying on divine assistance not to shrink from any duty or any danger which it may involve.

The penal act of December they cannot but regard as unnecessarily severe, nor do they see what purpose it was calculated to answer, except to influence them, by the prospect of embarrassing suits, to an abandonment of their trust. They are aware that men may be disposed to multiply prosecutions against them, and to despoil them of the little property they possess: but they believe themselves called in providence not to shun this hazard as they cannot reconcile it with their obligation to the institution under their care to relinquish the places they occupy until it shall be ascertained that they cannot rightfully retain them.

As the University Trustees have expressed a great regard for the laws the undersigned have a right to expect that neither they nor any agents appointed by them will resort to illegal measures to seize on the college buildings and property. Should such measures unhappily be adopted, the undersigned will





Wm Allen

make no forcible resistance, it not being a part of their policy to repel violence by violence. They will quietly withdraw when they cannot peaceably retain possession, and with the best accommodations they can procure will continue to instruct the classes committed to them until the prevalence of other counsels shall procure a repeal of the injurious act, or until the decision of the law shall convince them of their error, or restore them to their rights.

FRANCIS BROWN

EBENEZER ADAMS

ROSWELL SHURTLEFF.

February 28, 1817.

The Trustees of the University determined also to present their case to the public, and at the meeting of February 22 appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Harris, Woodward and Allen, "to draft an address to the public in the name of this board, on the present state and prospects of the University and report the same at the next meeting, . . . and to address in behalf of this board letters to the several members of College, their parents or guardians and to such others as they may think proper, informing them of the present state of things at the University and of the views and intentions of this board so far as they may be interested therein."

The Faculty of the University had been organized at the earlier meeting in February by the appointment of the Rev. William Allen of Pittsfield, Mass., Wheelock's son-in-law, as Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, and Nathaniel H. Carter as Professor of Languages. At the second meeting, after the removal of the old Faculty, John Wheelock was named President, and James Dean was chosen Professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in place of Professor Adams. Mr. Allen, having declined the professorship of Logic and Metaphysics, was now chosen Phillips Professor of Divinity in place of Professor Shurtleff, and as the President was in feeble health the duties of the presidency were devolved upon Mr. Allen during Dr. Wheelock's illness. At the meeting, June 12, Thomas C. Searle was elected Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, and President Wheelock having died, Mr. Allen was made President.

President Wheelock by a deed of February 1, 1817 conveyed to the University five farms in Sharon and Strafford, Vt., and two houses in Hanover and released to it his existing claims. The whole was valued by his estimation at \$20,000. At noon on April 4 he died, at the age of 63. He had been long afflicted with a disorder that the physicians called a "dropsy of the chest." For many months he had been able to rest at night only by being

bolstered up in his bed, and for several weeks he suffered from a violent cough. He left by his will a considerable amount of other property to the University for the endowment of a Professorship of Mathematics and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and a Professorship of the Languages, or of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics.

Both deed and will were conditioned to become void in case the acts of 1816 relative to the University should be rendered nugatory or be *altered or repealed at any future time excepting with the consent of the Board of Trustees as then constituted*, and in such an event the property or its proceeds was to pass to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to be applied at their discretion to the use of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J. Claiming the right to nominate by will his successor in the Presidency of Moor's School, he appointed as such the President of Dartmouth University for the time being.

Dr. Wheelock was unfortunate in temper, and in a supreme self-sufficient obstinacy, by which in his determination to have his own way at all hazards, he excited general hostility. He was fond of money, and careful about interest, which he often exacted at usurious rates, and by means not always irreproachable. Even his veracity was sometimes questioned. He was stern in the enforcement of his rights, and much of the best property in the village fell into his hands by foreclosure. Besides the estate derived from his father, he acquired a handsome property by marriage. This with the gains of his careful management enabled him to leave a large property in lands and ground-rents. It will readily be inferred that he was not a favorite with his neighbors; even from his own brothers he was entirely estranged. Nor did he retain the love or respect of the students. He affected an involved, pedantic style of speech that exposed him to ridicule, and was sometimes ungrammatical and unintelligible. He had not been educated for the ministry, and his manner of conducting the daily chapel exercises furnished no end of amusement to his auditors. Certain of his prayers are commonly quoted to this day. He was accustomed to draw them out to a goodly length, deriving his material from all sorts of extraordinary sources. Having one day chanced to attend some experiment in the chemistry of gases he thanked the Lord in his next chapel prayer for the elements in detail; "We thank thee O Lord for the oxygen gas; we thank thee O Lord for the hydrogen gas; we thank thee O Lord for the nitrogen gas and for all the gases." At another

time he was impressed in the same way by the wonders of anatomy and expressed his gratitude in like form "for the cerebrum, for the cerebellum and for the medulla oblongata." The impression made upon those who knew him may be gathered from several accounts given by those who were students under him.

Rev. Stephen Farley of the class of 1804 wrote thus of him:¹

It was his habit to speak in a stiff and affectedly elevated style; to assume some empirical airs of the polite gentleman; to exact attention from others and to pay for them by making superfluous bows, and lighting up his face with smiles, while he gracefully lifted and waved his tri-cornered beaver. Notwithstanding the stilt-walking character of his style he acquitted himself well in his lectures, which were always unwritten. He seldom hesitated for a word or uttered an imperfect sentence. His lectures (delivered on Saturday afternoons) were theological and ecclesiastico-historical.

He was exceedingly industrious, and for years labored incessantly in writing various works designed for publication, none of which however saw the light. Isaiah Thomas once about 1798 offered him \$1,000 for one of his treatises, but the offer was declined, as he thought he could do better.

In personal presence he made in his prime a good appearance. His stature was of the average, his shoulders rather broad, and he was very erect. He had a light complexion; abundant brown hair, clubbed behind, and parted in the middle of the forehead. His nose was large and aquiline; his eyes bright, and his eyebrows and mouth rather uncommonly elongated.

He wore a dun colored coat as often as a black one; and always small clothes and white stockings; and, when the weather required, a drab double-breasted great coat. The barber visited his study twice a week, and so at prayers on Wednesday and Saturday evenings he appeared all shaven and shorn with a sprinkling of powder on the crown of his head.

Samuel Swift of the class of 1800 thus speaks of President Wheelock:²

His instructions were confined to the senior class and he was not regarded by them as a popular or profitable teacher. His knowledge and his instructions were mostly confined to the book. He was much of a recluse and mingled little in public or private with the world, and seemed to know little of it. He affected a stiff dignity towards the students and in all his movements. His walks abroad, across the common or elsewhere, with his three cornered hat, were in slow and measured steps. When I had occasion to call at his study I rapped at the door and for a minute or more no sound was heard within until at last came the solemn "come in" and I always found him sitting at his table, generally with a folio blank book before him.

I stood until I had done my errand and heard the reply and the enquiry if I had anything further to say, and walked out.

The Trustees in their arraignment of President Wheelock gave him the credit for being in the early years of his presidency a

¹ *The Dartmouth*, 1843, p. 288.

² *The Dartmouth*, 1872, p. 399.

hard student, but they characterized his later methods of instruction as wholly perfunctory, and confined closely to the text book and to such questions as, "what does the author say on such a page?" and the like, and they charged him with suppressing enquiry by ridicule and sarcasm.¹

George Ticknor of the class of 1807 made this record in his memoirs:²

Doctor Wheelock was stiff and stately. He read constantly, sat up late and got up early. He talked very gravely and slow, with a falsetto voice. Mr. Webster could imitate him perfectly. . . . He was one of the most formal men I ever knew. I saw a great deal of him from 1802 to 1816 in his own house and my father's, but never felt the smallest degree of familiarity with him, nor do I believe that any of the students did. They were generally very awkward, unused to the ways of the world. Many of them when they went to the President on their little affairs did not know when the time had come for them to get up and leave him. He was very covetous of his time, and when the business was settled, and he had waited a little while he would say, "will you sit longer, or will you go now?" It was a recognized formula, and no young man that I ever knew of, ever sat longer after hearing it.

"It was pleasantly said that he suffered no man to have the last bow. This it was reported, was put to the test by a person of some assurance who undertook to compete with him in a contest of politeness. He accordingly took his leave, bowed himself out of the mansion, and continued to bow as long as he was upon the premises, but the President followed him to the gate, and remained in possession of the field."³

President Wheelock was energetic, determined and laborious, but he was not a man of large intellectual powers or great attainments. He lacked generosity and breadth of view, and regarded all matters as they affected him personally. All with whom he had to do were considered either as friends or foes, as supporters or opponents. That he was devoted to the College in the earlier years of his presidency there can be no doubt, but as time went on this devotion passed into a sense of ownership, so that to disagree with him was to be hostile to the College. He inherited from his father an intense will, amounting to a spirit of domination, but what in his father had been relieved by wide sympathies and far reaching plans was in him narrowed to personal and private affairs. The narrowness of his purpose was not offset by scholarship or learning. The *Sketches*, his eulogy on Professor Smith, and his youthful essay on "Painting, Music and Poetry,"

¹ *Vindication*, pp. 55, and 81.

² *Life of Dr. A. Alexander*, p. 259.

³ Vol. I, p. 5.

his only extant publications, disclose a mind at once superficial, illogical, and unable to discriminate as to the value of what it used. A show of learning covers an essential weakness of judgment. It was the misfortune of President Wheelock to be in a position that demanded larger powers than he possessed, yet he would have held it to the end of his life, and not without considerable credit, if his contracted sympathies and inability to appreciate an honest difference of opinion had not driven him to antagonize every one who did not fall in with his wishes. His antagonisms were more bitter and more protracted as he advanced in years, so that, as has been seen, for the last twenty years of his life he was engaged in one public controversy after another. Yet he had pleasant personal qualities and had some devoted friends and supporters.

The death of President Wheelock did something to soften for the time the local asperities of the controversy. His funeral, which took place on Tuesday, April 8, was attended by a great concourse of people from Hanover and neighboring towns. After a prayer at his residence by the Rev. Mr. Town of the Center parish, a procession moved to the meeting house where a funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. David Sutherland of Bath. President Wheelock was survived by his wife and an only child, Maria Malville, who was the wife of President Allen. Mrs. Wheelock survived her husband seven years. Removing with her son-in-law to Brunswick, Me., in 1820, she died there February 16, 1824, and was brought home to Hanover for burial. Her maiden name was Maria Suhm, and her father, of a New Jersey family, was Christian Suhm, Governor of St. Thomas, W. I.

On March 26, 1817, the College Trustees convened in special session at Hanover. Judge Jacob having died in February, Moses P. Payson of Bath was elected in his stead. In calling the meeting (February 24) President Brown notified Governor Plumer with the rest. The Governor thus replied:

EPPING, (N. H.) March 5th 1817.

SIR,—Last evening I received your letter dated the 24th of February last, and postmarked "Windsor Feby 25," requesting my attendance as trustee of Dartmouth college at your dwelling house in Hanover on Wednesday the 26th day of March the next.

To this summons, my respect for you as a private gentleman, induces me to return you an explicit but friendly answer. I shall not attend your proposed meeting, because I consider it *illegal*. If I should attend & act with you upon the *particular subject* mentioned in your letter, I think, it would subject me to the penalty of the law of this State passed December 26, 1816.

I indulge the hope, that upon mature reflection, you will form the same opinion yourself, & decline further opposition to the laws of your country. You will, I trust, excuse me from [*sic*] stating a few considerations that induce this hope.

The charter of Dartmouth University, or if you please Dartmouth college (for they are only *different names* for the same institution) requires that an occasional or special meeting should be *appointed & notified* by the President or three trustees "one month *before* said meeting." This notice has not been given. I did not receive it a month before the time assigned for the meeting.

At the time when you signed the notice you were not the President of that institution. You were, by the trustees, removed from that office on the twenty second day of February last; of which, I presume, you have before this received due notice from the Secretary.

The particular business you assign for the proposed meeting is to supply the vacancy occasioned in the board of trustees by the death of the Hon. Stephen Jacob. That vacancy is already supplied; last December a new trustee was duly appointed in his place.

As you have appealed to the "judicial tribunals" to decide the constitutionality of the laws of this State upon this institution, & *personally* pledged yourself to conform *to its decision whatever it might be*, I did not expect you would have taken such a course as you now propose.

Whatever difference of opinion may subsist between us upon this subject, you will permit me to assure you, that I am with much personal respect and esteem,

Sir,
your most obedient
humble servant

WILLIAM PLUMER.

REV'D FRANCIS BROWN,
HANOVER, N. H.

At their meeting, February 22, the University Trustees appointed Col. Amos A. Brewster, Gen. James Poole and Dr. Cyrus Perkins superintendents of the buildings. Till now the College had been undisturbed in the occupancy of its buildings, and all had been quiet in the village. But as soon as the University Board was organized trouble began. The spring term of the College was to open on the 3d of March and it was determined to oust it from the possession of the buildings. The following account of their seizure is taken from the local paper:¹

On the 28th these three gentlemen called on President Brown and demanded the key of the chapel, which was of course refused. On Saturday March 1st they made a similar demand in writing for the key of the library from Professor Shurtleff, who replied, "as I received the key of the library from the Trustees of Dartmouth College who still claim a legal existence, and are appealing to the laws of our country for the defence of their rights, I do not deem it duty at present to desert them, and therefore cannot comply with your request."

¹Dartmouth Gazette, March 5, 1817.

On the same day with two assistants, one Lemuel Cook a stone layer, the other a joiner, they proceeded to the chapel, introduced one of their number into a window, forced the door and put on a lock of their own. They then proceeded to the principal College building (Dartmouth Hall), were soon heard at work in the upper story apparently with hammers, augurs, chisels and hatchets, and about half an hour later were found in the bell room, No. 10 in the upper story. There were several boys with them, and among others some or all the aborigines who are in this place for the purpose of acquiring civilized habits. The implements by which they made their entrance lay near the door. They put upon the door a lock of their own. Soon after they were found in the museum to the number of 8 or 10, it is believed they had the key of this room. About this time they sent the demand for the key of the library which was, as expected, refused. After securing as they supposed the passage into the belfry they came down into the middle story forced with a bar of iron the door of the library, and secured this also with a new lock.

At about midnight on the Sunday night following a hammering was heard in the building, and the same gentlemen were found *spiking* the key holes of the Philosophy room, and Society Hall, and completing their work in the upper story, after which Prof. Perkins and Esq. Brewster directed their course towards President Wheelock's.

The term began the next day and the College officers being thus driven out of the college buildings promptly procured a hall, then known as Rowley Assembly Rooms, contiguous to the College, on the second floor of a building occupied by Mr. Stewart as a hat store. This they made use of as a chapel, and repaired thither on Monday morning, the students being summoned by a horn, of which they had been notified in advance, as they were shut out from the use of the bell as well as from other accommodations. "It was a pleasing though solemn sight," said the *Gazette*, "to see the students, who before had been accustomed at the return of a season of study to flock to chapel at the welcome sound of the bell, now punctually flocking to this retreat of persecuted innocence. The sun had just risen and the morning was clear and still." The business of the term began and instruction was given to all the classes as usual. The students numbered at this time about 130, in addition to the medical students, and, with few exceptions, adhered to the old College, notwithstanding the special appeal ordered by the University Trustees to be addressed to their parents.

The University term opened on Wednesday evening, March 5, with prayers in the chapel, attended by seven persons, viz: Professor Allen, Professor Dean, Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Gen. James Poole, and one other inhabitant of the place, a stranger accidentally here, and *one student* lately a member of the senior class in

the College.¹ The University party, however, was not disheartened. On March 19, 1817, Professor Allen wrote to Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse of Boston:

Two Seminaries are at present in operation. Owing to circumstances and exertions, which I have not time to explain, most of the students attend upon the former officers, though some, who have expressed their feelings to me, have gone with a heavy heart. We have each a small class and the college buildings. There will probably be eight or nine to graduate, even (which is not to be supposed) should none return to us after the decision of the court, presuming it to be in our favor. Professors Dean and Carter are both eminently qualified for their stations. Mr. B. it is expected will be chosen for Middlebury.

After the beginning of the term the bell sounded for the University but served the College as well, and, notwithstanding the deep and bitter feeling that pervaded the community, there were no collisions. The recitations of the senior class were heard by President Brown in Rowley Hall,² while the other classes were accommodated at students' rooms fitted with proper seats, the freshmen meeting at Joseph Porter's room in a small one story building that stood north of Professor Shurtleff's house.

The representative from Hanover Plain to the General Court in 1816 was General James Poole. He was exceedingly active against the College, and a determined and successful effort was made to effect a change. Among other expedients to bring about this end was the voluntary assistance of the students. A member of the class of 1820 thus recounts the proceeding:³

It was found on looking at the statutes that the students who were of age could vote. It had not been claimed. But now there was a strong desire that Hanover should send a representative who would promote the interests of the college as far as it could be done in a legislature largely in favor of the university. A rally was therefore made at the March meeting; and while only a few could claim a ballot, a large number of students went out to the town-meeting to insure protection and fair play. The students were allowed to vote, and

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, March 10, 1817.

² This was a large building which stood just east of the present site of Rollins Chapel and north of Wentworth Hall, with its gable toward a lane that led over the crest of the hill and that was nearly a continuation of the present Wentworth Street. It was built in 1807 by Samuel H. G. Rowley, who used the lower story for a store and the upper story as a hall. When the College gave it up on recovering Dartmouth Hall it was used for students' rooms. In 1833 it was bought by the College for \$400, but was sold the next year (the College retaining the land) to Drs. Mussey and Oliver, who moved it to the present site of Wheeler Hall, and fitted it up for the accommodation of medical students. It was used as a private residence from 1854 to 1904, when it was moved to the south side of Elm Street. Down to 1824 it was generally known as Rowley Hall, though sometimes called Stewart's Hall, from a temporary occupant, and Dartmouth Assembly Rooms. From 1824 to 1837 it was known as Brown Hall, when for a year it assumed the name of College House, after which it again became Brown Hall.

³ *First Half Century of Dartmouth College*, by Nathan Crosby, p. 47.

quiet reigned. Tit-for-tat, however, was the order of the times, and as soon as the May training came round, we found ourselves enrolled in the militia, and warned "to appear on parade at East Hanover, armed and equipped according to law, at nine of the clock A. M.," —a measure just as unheard of as the matter of voting. We thought we could get a day's fun out of it, but we had neither guns, knapsacks, nor canteens. Non-appearance would subject us to a penalty. Appearance without equipments would bring upon us various little fines we did not care to bear. We found, however, a provision of military law, that if the soldier was unable to furnish himself with the required equipments, he might apply to the selectmen for a supply; and, if not furnished by them, upon his appearance on parade without them, fines should not be imposed. We all applied for arms, but none came. We appeared at roll-call, and took our assigned place in the ranks at the tail end of the company. But we could not march to their music. We knew our college songs, and could keep time to them; but the *drum* and *fife*, the time and tramp, were too much for us—worse to learn than Greek; as bad as vulgar fractions or Enfield. When the captain, up at the head of the company, cried out "halt," we crowded up all around him to see what he wanted or what he was going to do, disturbing all rank and file, and getting up a general *melée*. The captain then took a new departure and re-formed his company, placing one old soldier and one student in succession; but this involved individual bickering, and appeals to the captain to settle the question whether a soldier should apologize for stepping on the heel of the student forward of him, to the great hindrance of military improvement by interposing so much complaint and discipline. We had an hour for dinner, and when it was over we began to apply for relief from the afternoon service on account of various illnesses which were alleged, and so persistently insisted on, one after another, and so much time was consumed, that the captain dismissed his company, and we returned to the Plain with colors flying, having had a tramp of half a dozen miles and a jolly day.

Our voting joke did not end in our military overture, for we were soon notified to work our tax upon the highway! We found we had twelve hours each, and the highway led from the college towards East Hanover, up the hill [directly east of the college]. The surveyor was friendly to us; and, having raised a few *hoes* and shovels, out we went in squads of half a dozen, each of us having agreed to work for the other five, reducing our twelve to two hours; and at the end of the two hours, each rendered his account to the surveyor in this form: "I have worked two hours, and have had five others working for me two hours each." So the tax was crossed off, and we returned to our rooms again. We did work well the two hours, however, and all parties seemed satisfied.

At the coming in of the legislature in June the seats of the members elected from Hanover, Benj. J. Gilbert and Augustus Storrs, Federalists and friends of the College, were contested by a memorial of Silas Tenney and others on the ground that a number of *students* had voted, but as the number was insufficient to affect the election the committee and the House refused to decide as to their right to vote, and the members-elect were seated.

The action against Judge Woodward came up for hearing at

Haverhill in May and was argued by Jeremiah Mason and Jeremiah Smith for the College, and on the part of the University by George Sullivan, the attorney-general, aided by Ichabod Bartlett. The pleadings being incomplete, and further argument desired, the case was continued to the September Term of Court at Exeter. Mr. Mason had in April been applied to by the University party, but of course would do nothing for them, though he had not at that time been definitely employed by the College and though he took occasion to say that he had not been consulted as to the action.¹ Some of the board were desirous that the case should be argued by Mr. Webster, but it was of so much importance fully to enlist the others that he was kept by his own choice in the background.

The proceedings at Haverhill greatly encouraged the friends of the College. From the appearance of things on that occasion they thought it "almost impossible for the judge to render an adverse decision";² but the counsel knowing better the influences surrounding the court did not share in that confidence. As Mr. Webster expressed it, "It would be a queer thing if Gov. P.'s court should refuse to execute his laws."

But while the contest was going on in the courts the two rival institutions went on with their daily business of instruction with some show of harmony—at least without any open outbreak. The general adherence of the students to the College served greatly to encourage its officers and friends, and the paucity of members of the University was correspondingly depressing to those connected with it. The amenities of social life were gradually and to some extent resumed.

The Fourth of July was celebrated in an especial manner by the students with the aid of the citizens. An account of the celebration was given in the *Dartmouth Gazette* of July 9, 1817.

The Anniversary of our National birthday was commemorated in this place by the students of Dartmouth College, joined by a number of citizens. The procession formed at the College Chapel and proceeded to the meeting house. The Throne of Grace was addressed by the President of the College. An oration was pronounced in a graceful and unaffected manner by Mr. B. Huntoon of the senior class. It was manly, elegant and literary. A Poem was delivered by Mr. Thomas C. Upham, member of the Junior class which for poetical diction, strength and vivacity of imagination, and melody of numbers we think has not been often surpassed by American bards. An original hymn and ode were sung by the Handel Society.

¹ Letter of J. W. Putnam to President Brown, April 11, 1817.

² Shirley, pp. 148 and 238.

After the exercises at the meeting house the procession again formed and moved to the Dartmouth Hotel where about 80 partook of a dinner handsomely served up. Mr. White, Tutor in College, officiated as President of the day, and Mr. Woodbury, a resident graduate, as Vice President. The company were highly gratified with an original song written by Mr. Upham and sung by Mr. Temple of the Senior Class. In the course of the entertainment sundry toasts were given, interluded with music from the band.

There were eighteen regular toasts besides volunteer speeches from Mr. Olcott, Maj. J. S. Lang and several others.

The 21st of July was also a great occasion at Hanover. President Monroe in the course of his journey from Concord westward passed through the place and was received with great eclat by all parties.¹

The President had set out from Washington about the first of June and was well received all along the route. He was met at the southern boundary of Massachusetts by a military escort and conducted with great pomp to Boston where he was elaborately entertained for a week or more, including the Fourth of July. The corporation of Harvard College gave him a ceremonious reception in the chapel of the College, with a handsome address by President Kirkland and a Latin oration by Caleb Cushing, then a member of the senior class, and more formally invested him with the Doctorate of Laws. Dartmouth (both College and University) in August honored him with the same degree.

From Boston the President went eastward by carriage toward Portsmouth. It had been expected that our State authorities, notwithstanding political differences, would be loath to be wanting in like courtesy, but Governor Plumer could not sink his prejudices. He neither provided an official escort nor honored him with public recognition. The slight was somewhat relieved by the spontaneous action of local committees. The Governor was of course roundly criticised, and he made the matter worse by an explanatory letter mentioning his own ill health and a lack of authority to command the militia for such a purpose. This unfortunate behavior gave a chance for the cynics to say that, "His Excellency being tenacious of the honor of the State wisely concluded that *his own non-appearance* in public would be attended with the least disgrace to his constituents."

Hanover and its vicinity certainly did what it could to retrieve the error. The President with a company of three left Concord in a carriage early on Monday morning, July 21, and reached

¹Dartmouth Gazette, July 23, 1817.

Lebanon village at four o'clock, P. M. He was met by a joint committee of arrangements from Hanover, Lebanon, Lyme, Hartford and Norwich, news of his approach being brought to Hanover by a swift horseman, Elijah Kimball, a student of the University. The committee was composed of fifteen members, headed by Mills Olcott, and William H. Woodward, representing the College and the University respectively. With the committee was "a numerous cavalcade consisting of two companies of cavalry (Capts. Page and Hodgdon), commanded by Major J. S. Lang of Hanover, with all the officers of the 23d Regiment under Lt. Col. Cyrus Perkins (senior professor in the Medical School), and a great number of private citizens, all under the direction of Col. James Poole of Hanover as Chief Marshall." At six o'clock the noise of cannon, placed in the fields east of the College, announced the approach to Hanover. The President left his carriage and made his entry on horseback, in a cloud of dust, amid a great throng of spectators gathered from all the surrounding country. He was received by Capt. Converse's company of light infantry, and saluted by Capt. Carpenter's company of artillery. "Near the meeting house Monroe dismounted and passed to the Hotel through a line extending quite across the College Green." This line was composed in part, besides students and others, of "a beautiful group of young misses and masters fancifully ornamented with garlands of evergreen and roses." The artillery followed along behind, firing while in motion. The hotel was elegantly decorated and fitted up for the occasion. The President soon appeared on the balcony fronting the common, where he was formally addressed by Col. Brewster, and replied at some length. He afterwards called at the house of Esq. Olcott, and attended a party given by Mrs. President Allen at the old Wheelock Mansion, then in the height of its glory on the spot now occupied by Reed Hall. The President took tea and passed the evening there in the midst of a large and brilliant circle of ladies. He somewhat romantically renewed with Madam Wheelock an acquaintance begun years before her marriage, when he, then a lieutenant in the Revolutionary army, and wounded at the battle of Trenton, enjoyed her kind offices as volunteer nurse. At ten o'clock the same evening the entire party were received in becoming style by President Brown in his temporary residence (burnt a half century since), which stood on College Hill midway between the Observatory and Wentworth Hall, and finished the evening with conversation and music.

Next morning at seven the President resumed his journey to Burlington, and for two days his progress in Vermont was plainly indicated here by the roar of distant cannon.

Commencement was celebrated by both parties on Wednesday, August 27. Both of course claimed the right to occupy the meeting house; and as it was understood that many gentlemen from abroad, prominent in literature and in politics, would be present to swell the ranks of either side, questions of time and place became of some importance. The pewholders of the meeting house where the exercises were regularly held were divided in their sympathies, though the majority adhered to the College. The danger of an unpleasant collision was considerable, especially as military gentlemen of the place (Gen. Poole and Cols. Brewster and Perkins), being of the University party, threatened to call out their companies in support of its claims. As early as Sunday it began to be rumored that they intended to take possession of the building, and the students of the College, not to be out-generaled, at once garrisoned it in force (the *Patriot* says the garrison numbered sixty), and held it for three days and nights. It is certain that the students were the main actors in the affair, acting by regular reliefs and having their headquarters over the store of Gen. Poole, one of the chief University sympathizers. They were aided by several of Dr. Mussey's medical students, and by three stout men in the employment of Mr. Lang and Dea. Long. Several sympathizing graduates also gave assistance. Friends of the University came down in considerable numbers from the eastern part of the town during the first days of the week with a view, as was supposed, to attempt a rescue; but after viewing the situation retired without making an attack. The garrison made no secret of their preparations for defence. Every lower window was guarded by one or more with canes or clubs, and stones were carried to the upper windows and the belfry.

President Brown for the sake of peace opened negotiations with President Allen for an arrangement by which both might use the house at different hours.¹ He offered on behalf of the College to begin at nine o'clock and end at one, but as the University people insisted on having the precedence, which, as the College people were in possession of the meeting house, they were unable to enforce, no treaty was established. The College procession, under the direction of Maj. Lang, moved at nine o'clock to the meeting house from President Brown's residence on the

¹ *Gazette*, September 24, letter from Brown to Allen and reply.

hill, and that of the University, marshaled by Col. Brewster, formed at President Allen's at eleven, and marched ten or twelve rods to the chapel in the College yard, which afforded them ample accommodations. From the College thirty-nine were graduated and eight from the University. Eleven medical students received the degree of M.D. from the College, having exhibited dissertations on the previous Monday evening in the College chapel (Rowley Hall). The University conferred the same degree upon nine, but two of whom, it was said, were present. The exercises of the University consisted of seven spoken orations, two in Latin, one in Greek, and four in English, followed by a eulogy on President Wheelock by Hon. Samuel C. Allen of Massachusetts. A letter of the time says that "the state of public feeling and curiosity drew from all parts of New England an unusual number of strangers," but that "the popular feeling of the moment was so much in favor of the College as to leave to the University no materials for a procession, and not spectators enough to fill the Chapel."

The usual society anniversaries took place Monday and Tuesday, in the meeting house and in the new chapel of the College. The reports of these exercises in some of the newspapers, as if they appertained to the University, drew forth a remonstrance wherein it is stated that¹ "not a single student of the University was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, or of the Handel Society, and but *one* of the Theological Society; and that the few students of the University who were members of the United Fraternity and Social Friends had no share in the offices or exercises of those societies."

The clerical and other friends of the College were present in strong force. Rev. Daniel Dana delivered the *concio ad clerum* in the College chapel and on Commencement day "at a numerous meeting of the alumni and other friends, Rev. Asa Burton being Chairman and Daniel Dana, Secretary, a subscription paper was prepared and signed, and printed copies of the same were ordered to be circulated by the Chairman among the alumni and friends of the College abroad, as extensively as convenient, with a request that they would employ all practicable exertion to promote its important and interesting object." At a collection taken in the church on that day there were received \$58.67.

There was present also a considerable number of prominent gentlemen friendly to the University, among them were Governor

¹ *Portsmouth Oracle*, copied in *Dartmouth Gazette*, October 8, 1817.

Galusha and Lieutenant-Governor Brigham of Vermont, Hon. B. W. Crowninshield, secretary of the United States Navy, Judge Judah Dana of Fryeburgh, and Benjamin Austin, Esq., of Boston.¹ The Trustees had a quorum for business; but the overseers still lacked a number sufficient to organize.

The local paper thus notices the opening of the fall term:²

In the College under the direction of the old board of Trustees there are at present *ninety five* students; twenty six of whom have entered the two lower classes since Commencement. In the University there are at present *fourteen* students, four of whom have entered the two lower classes since Commencement. It is a fact worthy of notice that of these four not one of them belongs to this State, notwithstanding the legislature has passed several acts for enlarging and improving the corporation. Between fifty and sixty students, exclusive of the members of College, are attending the lectures of the Medical School.

The disparity of numbers was such that the University students avoided issuing a catalogue; that of the College appeared in due season, as usual at the expense of the sophomore class, on a large broadside sheet, and beside it, for the sake of ridicule, a catalogue of the University, printed by the college boys on a little sheet about ten inches square, which, though perfectly accurate and straightforward in its matter, had from its size of sheet and its numbers all the appearance of a burlesque, and correspondingly enraged the university boys. This catalogue gave the names of twelve enrolled students, but four were absent, leaving eight in actual attendance. The medical students occupied an independent position, since neither the College nor the University collected any fees from them except the fee for graduation, the regular fees for the lectures being the perquisites of the professors, yet in a way they claimed a connection with one or the other institution. In the catalogues of the "Dartmouth Medical Institution" for 1817 and 1818 there were five in each year who are classed as "members of the University," though only three of them were in the university classes. The feeling among the students is suggested by a letter from a medical student who was graduated in 1819.³

The University officers have attended the two public lectures. And a circumstance worthy of notice is that when Prest. B. enters the lecture room, the students rise instantly but when Prest. Allen comes they stick to

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, September 17, 1817.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, October 15, 1817.

³ John Rogers to S. Fletcher, October 2, 1817.

their seats like clods, not a person rises though his own pupils are present. . . . When I see the two sets of officers in the lecture room, on the same seat (am I correct? or is it fancy?) I seem to behold in the countenances of the one a manly independence, self-approbation, perseverance and intrinsic merit; on the other hand, envious inferiority, self distrust, hesitating trepidation and a fear of approaching ill.

On Friday, October 31, the officers and students of the College celebrated the "Centennial Jubilee of the Reformation by Martin Luther," at 2.30 P. M. in the meeting house with an "address by President Brown and appropriate music and other religious exercises."¹

The College cause came on again at Exeter, September 19 and 20, and was argued anew for the College by Messrs. Mason and Smith, who occupied two hours and four hours in their several pleas, and for the University by Messrs. Bartlett and Sullivan who together took three hours. Upon the urgent request of his colleagues, Mr. Webster closed on the part of the College in less than two hours. President Brown, Professor Adams and Mr. Olcott were present, as were also many lawyers from Essex County, Mass., and a large number of the clergy. The general feeling of interest and pride in the meeting of such eminent counsel was expressed by the *Exeter Watchman* of September 27.² "We can say with proud assurance that it was upon the whole an exhibition of professional ability which has reflected an honor to our native State not easily to be sullied, nor soon to be forgotten."

The cause was continued for further advisement to the Plymouth term, November 6, when decision was rendered adverse to the College by all the judges. Although Judge Woodbury joined in the decision, it would appear from the dockets that he did not sit in the case, as would, indeed, be expected, since he had been himself one of the first Trustees of the University and very active in its behalf. The college officers nevertheless went quietly on with their instruction. They had pledged themselves, it is true, to submit to the determination of the courts, and their enemies now most unfairly reviled them for a violation of their promises, and for an unseemly and illegal contempt of the tribunals of the State. But they had never promised to submit to any decision short of the final determination of the highest authority in the land, and had, as their letters abundantly showed, started out with the expectation of being driven to the court of

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, October 29, 1817.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, October 1; Shirley, p. 174; Webster's Priv. Cor. I., 265.

last resort at Washington. The cause from the first was conducted by both parties and by the court with that understanding.

The decision of the State court had little effect on the students; one student only was thereby drawn over to the University; a son of Judge Bell had been previously transferred by his father, while on the other hand a nephew of Judge Woodbury remained in the College in spite of the judge's earnest remonstrance. His father, though a good Democrat, even contributed to help the College carry on the contest. "The boys," after all, were in a fair way to determine the controversy, as Mason had shrewdly predicted. But the friends of the University were naturally delighted at the favorable decision. Governor Plumer wrote from Epping to Dr. Parish, November 29, 1817:¹

The decision of the Superior Court in the suit against the University is an important and correct decision. It is what I confidently expected from the time I first heard of its commencement. My confidence was founded on a knowledge of the law and the talents and integrity of the Judges. It is said Brown & Co. intend carrying the suit by writ of error to the Supreme Court of the U. S. I should not think they would adopt such a course, had I not seen so many instances of men suffering passion, wounded pride and resentment to usurp the place of sound discretion and judgment. I think they can have no rational grounds to hope for success in the National Court, & that the friends of the University have nothing to fear from the result, but the expense and the evils which proceed from a state of suspense.

Dr. Parish, one of the Trustees of the University, and Dr. Wheelock's former candidate for the professorship of languages in the College, had previously written to the Governor on hearing of the decision:²

It is for you, my Dear sir, to say, "The University shall rise," & it will rise with new splendor. The historian will date its brilliant era from the *administration of Gov. P—r*. But for this, exertions must be made, a *liberal*, energetic policy must be pursued. Then will Dartmouth be a youthful cedar of Lebanon, watered by the dews of heaven, diffusing its fragrance around; but a feeble illiberal policy will render it a feeble consumptive plant, the mortification of its friends, the scorn of its enemies. . . . One measure imperiously required is a Professor of Theology. Among his other felicities of character he ought to be *well known* in the State, and otherwise, in the popular sense of the word. . . . A Professor of Divinity who is well known, and a popular preacher, who should travel through the State, and preach in the principal towns, would sway the public mind—the *people* would be secured.

A few days after the decision was known at Hanover, and no doubt as a consequence of it, the university Faculty precipitated

¹ Plumer Correspondence, Congressional Library.

² *Ibid.*

the most serious conflict of the whole controversy by an attempt to take possession of the libraries of the two great literary societies, the Social Friends and the United Fraternity, commonly known as the "Socials" and the "Fraternity" or "Fraters," which had thus far been suffered to remain in the hands of the students to whom they belonged. The library of the Fraternity was kept in a small front room in the second story of Dartmouth Hall immediately above the northwest entrance, that of the Socials in the corresponding room above the southwest entrance. These rooms had been devoted to the use of the societies and had been fitted up by them. A rear room on the lower floor extending from the middle passage to the south passage had been appropriated to the use of the societies and the Phi Beta Kappa society for their stated meetings.

The College library consisting of about 4,000 volumes, many of them, however, being obsolete text books and duplicates, had already, as we have seen, been seized by the University eight months earlier. The societies warned by that act had ever since been apprehensive that their libraries, which together were about equal in numbers to that of the College, would not be left undisturbed. The Fraternity, as soon as the College library was taken in March, appointed a Committee of Safety, consisting of members of the graduating class, and the Socials, on May 21, appointed a similar committee, consisting of C. F. Gove, F. Vose, and A. Gordon of the graduating class, with Cyrus P. Grosvenor, John Aiken, B. G. Tenney and Rufus Choate, of the other classes, who, being invested with "discretionary powers to take care of the Library in the approaching difficulties," considered themselves responsible to the Society for the books. Nothing was done by either committee until after the decision at Plymouth. Their fears then being excited anew, Mr. Choate, the librarian of the Socials, procured a room near his own in the back part of Professor Adams's house prior to November 11, and had secretly removed a large part of their books thither, and packed the remainder in trunks ready to be taken as occasion should serve. The Fraters on the evening of November 9 took out about 800 volumes of their books in a similar manner. Some hint of these facts coming to the ears of the university Faculty, on the evening of November 11, they appointed Henry Hutchinson inspector of buildings and directed him to take possession of the library room of the societies.¹ Mr. Hutchinson immediately gathered a party consisting,

Dartmouth Gazette, November 19, 26; December 3, 1817; January 7, 1818.

besides himself, of Professors Dean and Carter and five students of the University with Isaac Bissell, Jr., Lemuel Cook and eight other villagers, and between 7 and 8 o'clock the same evening proceeded from the house of Dr. Perkins (the original part of what is now Sanborn Hall), to the College, going first to the room of the Social Friends. They had not the key, nor had they applied for it, but attempted to force the door by stepping back across the hall and running against it. This failing, Professor Dean ordered Coffin, one of the assistants, to cut the door down with the axe, while others stood guard with clubs uplifted. It was a firm double door, and many blows by a strong laboring man were necessary to open a place large enough for them to crawl in. The noise aroused the students rooming near, and also the members of the United Fraternity, then in session in the hall below, who instantly adjourned and rushed in a body to the rescue. Finding their opponents armed, they also supplied themselves with clubs from a pile of firewood that lay in the hall. One of their number, H. K. Oliver, blessed with a powerful voice, taking position in front of the building shouted: "Turn out Social Friends, your library is broken open," in tones heard all over the premises. The bell also sounded the alarm. Judge Nesmith, then a sophomore, roomed with Judge Woodbury's nephew, Luke, in the north east corner, second story of Dartmouth hall. He says:

We heard Oliver's ringing voice distinctly at our room. Chamberlain (afterwards professor) who was then librarian of the Fraternity and roomed directly over me, was soon in my room, seeking a light, at the head of the body of his society, who immediately commenced the labor of removing the remaining books of their library to the hall of Dr. Alden;¹ I was soon at the scene of action at the other end of the building, where we found Coffin still cutting away the door, and Hutchinson giving orders. Professors Dean and Carter were also present, with Bissell and Cook and three shoemakers and others unknown to fame. The first sensible speech I heard was from one of the shoemakers who addressed his associates saying, "it appears to me we are in a cursed poor scrape. I had rather be in a nest of hornets than among these college boys when they get mad and roused up."

By the time the students had generally assembled the attacking party had got into the library and were defending the hole with the axe with which they had made it. The passageway was soon filled with students and the entrance closed; Professor Dean testified, "they thronged us." Some of the University party

¹ This hall was over a store, which stood on the site now occupied by the north half of the Davison block, and was torn down in 1903.

threatened the students with uplifted axe, and one of the students declared that no one should bring out a book alive, but fortunately self control prevailed on both sides and no blows were struck. Some profitless argument ensued, in the course of which Professor Carter said that he had \$15 in the library and wanted his share of it, though soon after he observed to the same person that he was sensible he had got into a bad scrape and desired assistance to be extricated from it. The University party finding that they were hopelessly outnumbered permitted themselves to be conducted across the entry to the southeast corner room, then number 12, where they were detained twenty or thirty minutes, until the students had completed the removal of the books, "and they were then one by one, having satisfied the students that they had no books about them, escorted to the south front door of the College, the passage to which was lined on both sides by a great crowd of students, medical students, villagers and boys, whom the novelty and noise of the occasion had called together. They were all dismissed, as soon as they were out of the building, except Professor Carter, who having lost his cane and showing signs of fear was attended by two young men quite to his lodgings, where he politely expressed his thanks for the civility; all then immediately dispersed." The professors and Hutchinson were suffered to leave without any demonstration, but the others were made to pass *sub jugum*, under clubs crossed over their heads.

"Professors Dean and Carter were members of the Society of Social Friends. At the meeting of the society on the following day, a committee was appointed to request of them an explanation of their proceedings. No answer being given, the committee were directed to address them on the subject, the next day, in writing. This was done in a respectful manner by the committee who were again insulted, and the very existence of such a society as the Social Friends contemptuously denied."¹ The society after further consideration of the case, with the concurrence of graduate members whom they were able to call in expelled both the professors. Three students of the University who took part in the attack were also expelled, two by the Socials, J. S. H. Durell and William Kelly, and one, Samuel Whiting, by the Fraters, and President Allen, a member of the Social Friends, was debarred the use of the library. President Allen aware that these extraordinary occurrences would be widely known and likely to bring discredit upon his party, hastened to send forth on the 12th an

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, November 26, 1817.

address "to the Public," in which he stated the reasons for their action substantially as already given, and alluded to the college students as "the pupils under the private instruction of the Rev. Mr. Brown, and Messrs. Shurtleff and Adams, formerly officers of Dartmouth College." This address was privately printed and sent abroad but not distributed in Hanover. It came back in the columns of the *Vermont Journal*. The committees of the respective societies also issued circular letters to their graduate members, by whom their action was generally and heartily sustained.¹

As threatened by President Allen in his circular, on Monday, November 17, nine of the college students were arrested on a charge of riot, made by Professor Dean. They were taken before John Durkee, justice of the peace, a resident of the east part of Hanover, late senator, and a strong friend of the University, and after examination were bound over in \$150 each to the Grand Jury at the May term at Haverhill.² Ebenezer Brown of Norwich appeared for the prosecution, and Benj. J. Gilbert for the defence. The next week, not without many misgivings on the part of the friends of the College as to the wisdom of such a course, a counter charge of a similar nature was brought against Professors Dean and Carter, Henry Hutchinson, Isaac Bissell, Jr., and a number of others. The complainant was Cyrus P. Grosvenor, a student in the College, class of 1818, and one of the respondents in the previous prosecution. The respondents were brought before James Wheelock, Esq., a justice, who called in as associate magistrates Stephen Kendrick and Thomas Waterman of Lebanon. Messrs. Olcott of Hanover and Britton of Orford appeared for the State, Mr. Gilbert being absent, and Messrs. Hubbard of Windsor, Brown of Norwich, and Smith of Hanover appeared for the respondents. Messrs. Joseph Bell of Haverhill and Jeduthan Wilcox of Orford were desired, but they did not wish to appear in the affair.

After testimony and lengthy argument on both sides and an adjournment for consideration, the respondents were bound over

¹ The foregoing account is derived partly from the manuscript reminiscences of Judge G. W. Nesmith, a member of the class of 1820, and from the *First Half Century of Dartmouth College*, a pamphlet published by Judge Nathan Crosby, a member of the same class, but mainly from the contemporaneous statements published by the committees of the societies, from items in the papers, and from reports of the evidence taken at the several trials which ensued. A manuscript letter of President Brown gives substantially the same account.

² Judge Nesmith, of the class of 1820, says that the following were arrested: W. B. Adams, C. P. Grosvenor, R. Choate, B. G. Tenney, W. C. Boyden, James Shirley, all of whom were Socials, and William Shedd who was a Frater. The records of the Socials show that S. H. Archer was also arrested, and a memorandum includes C. S. Hinckley, a Frater, in the list.

in the same penalty to the same court as their opponents. Both parties appeared before the Grand Jury under the charge of George Sullivan, attorney general, and stated their case, but no indictments were found, though it is said that seven of the jury voted for a bill against the university party. It was, however, agreed by all the attorneys that the main question then pending should not be clouded or belittled by such unworthy side issues, that could only foster bad blood and bring trouble. The only party punished was Esq. Wheelock, whose commission as justice of the peace, then about expiring, the Governor did not renew.

Growing out of the animosities begot by these proceedings still another action was instituted in March, 1818, in the name of the University, by Henry Hutchinson, the inspector of buildings, against Calvin Cutler, a member of College of the class of 1818, for removing the university bellrope.¹ The fact was that Cutler having the care of the bell and finding a new rope necessary, purchased the rope in question, paying forty-two cents of his own money, and when he left the care of the bell took the rope with him. The case was entered before Col. Brewster as justice of the peace, April 25, and as soon as the facts were made known, summarily dismissed. It furnished food for much ridicule, one irreverent newspaper suggesting that the proceeds, when received, should be used to found an institution under the wing of the University.

The affair as a whole damaged much the cause of the University abroad, while assurances of countenance and approval came to the students from all sides. Rev. Asa Burton of Thetford wrote, November 25: "All, except a few Democrats, are clear, lawyers as well as others, that Professors Dean and Carter and their comrades are the rioters and that the students did no more than what duty required, and they are astonished, though much gratified, that they did not do something in the sudden ferment, which would have been blamable in them. The College this way has lost no credit by that affair, but the University conduct is despised." Mr. Burton also took President Allen to task in a brief but caustic article prepared for the press, for his way of speaking of Professor Shurtleff. "Why does he refuse to give Professor Shurtleff the title of Reverend? Did he not know that Professor Shurtleff was regularly ordained by the Orange Association? . . . or did he suppose that no ordination is valid if the person ordained is opposed to Dartmouth University? If

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, March 25; May 13, 1818.

this is his opinion there are but few valid ordinations in our nation, for the great majority of them are opposed to Dartmouth University."

Richard Fletcher writing to President Brown, December 8, 1817, assured him that

The attempts upon the libraries certainly admit of no justification or excuse. The defence of them was just and manly. Nothing can be necessary but to disseminate correct information of the manner and object of collecting the books to procure a general censure of the assailants who would have taken them without right, and commendation of the owners who rightly defended them. The interests of the College [he added] have my best wishes and constant solicitude. If this institution is finally beaten down by this blow, certain it is we shall have nothing permanent among us but our follies and our vices. The ground on which the College will stand before the U. S. Court will be much narrower than that on which it stood before our State Court, but I hope there will still be sufficient to afford it support.

Aside from these episodes matters "moved on quite harmoniously. The scholars remained friendly, and the officers were mutually respectful. Both presidents were remarkable for genial dispositions and courteous manners, noble Christian gentlemen, and were fully impressed with the sharp and serious conflict before them. We all followed the one bell; and for two long years a hundred or more students were crossing the plain, at every ringing of the bell, to their chapel and various recitation rooms, while a dozen University students were crossing our paths in other directions, giving ample opportunity to crack a joke and chaff each other."¹

In the spring of 1818 a flutter was produced in the societies by an advertisement which appeared in various papers in March and April, addressed to the members of the Social Friends. It was dated at Worcester, but was without signature. Stating that the difficulties at the College had raised the question of the ownership of the library of the society, and that it was understood that a proposition had been made "to distribute the books among the members of the society resident at the College"; it called for a meeting of the society on the 13th of May at Hanover, "to determine what disposition shall be made of the property." No one at the College appearing to father the notice, the society at its meeting, April 1, appointed a committee with powers to act as they thought best with respect to the advertisement. The committee, therefore, inserted in the papers over their signatures a notice to the effect that no such proposition as had been stated

¹ First Half Century of Dartmouth College, by Nathan Crosby, p. 44.

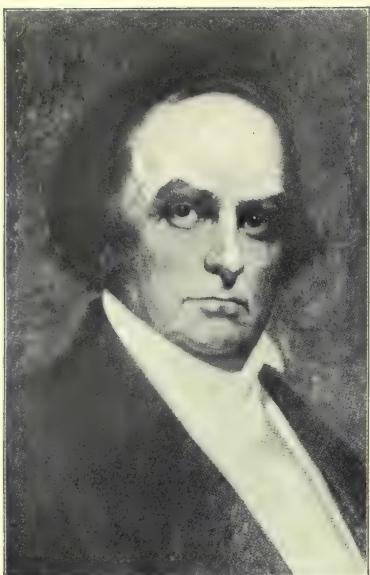
for the distribution of the books had ever been made. "The library," said they, "will remain as it ever has been, open under constitutional restrictions, to all members, and that at the next commencement of the College the final destination of the books may be considered in full meeting of the Society." A general attendance was requested for that meeting. When it came, however, nothing was done. It was proposed, "if the safety of the library required it, to summon a meeting of the graduate and honorary members, to determine the fate of its interests," but this did not meet the approval of the graduates "on account of the impression," said they, "which it might give that we entertained the *least* doubt of the final decision's being in favor of the Old Board." There seemed to be an unlimited confidence among the graduates present that the decision would be in favor of the College, and they all expressed their entire approbation of the measures adopted by the active members.

To return to the development of the action against Mr. Woodward: The opinion of the State court was based upon a statement of facts, which was, by previous agreement, to be turned into a special verdict at the request of either party, in order to carry the cause to the United States Supreme Court. It was the wish of all connected with the College that Mr. Webster should take charge of the argument in that forum, and in response to such a suggestion he wrote to President Brown on the 15th of November:

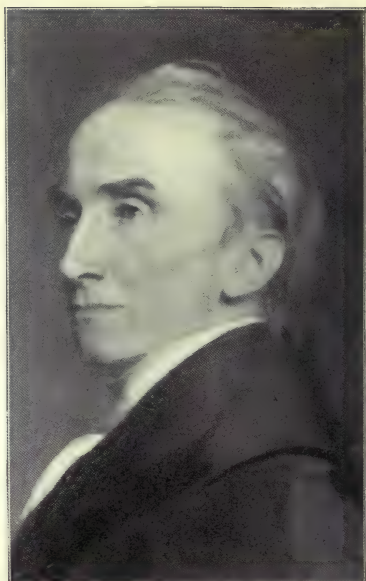
I have not heard from you or any body else respecting the appeal to Washington since the decision. As some little conversation was had on the subject at Exeter, and as Mr. Thompson and myself had also a little conversation on the same subject a few days ago here, I have thought it possible you would wish my attention to the cause at Washington. The object of this is to say, that I shall determine by the 25th or 30th of this month, whether I shall go to Washington this winter, or not, and this decision will depend in a great measure on what may be wished in relation to this cause. I have no other great occasion to go, and you will judge whether it will be better that I should go, *principally*, on this account, or whether better services cannot probably be had at a cheaper rate. I should choose to associate with me some distinguished Counsel. Mr. Thompson and myself have mentioned Mr. Hopkinson of Philadelphia. He is well known to us, and I think him capable of arguing this cause as well as any man in the United States.

I am aware, that there must be great difficulty in obtaining funds, on this occasion. I wish you therefore to write to me, very plainly, what can be done, and what cannot, and I will give you my advice as plainly in return. I think that I would undertake, for a thousand dollars, to go to Washington, and argue the case, and get Mr. Hopkinson's assistance also. I doubt whether I could do it for a much less sum. Mr. Hopkinson will be very competent to

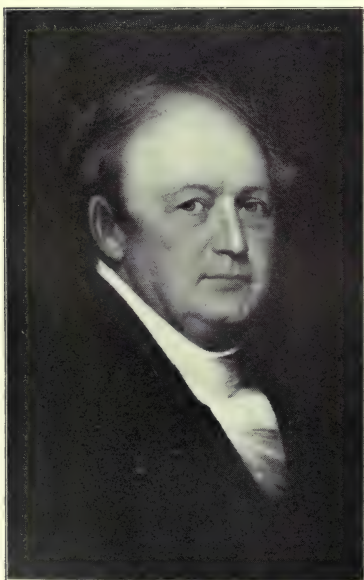




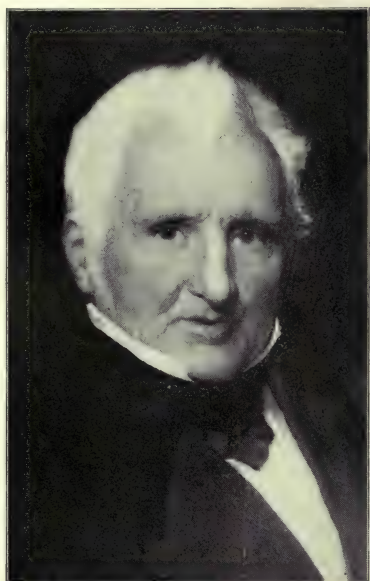
D. Webster



Jos. Hopkinson
— — —



J. Mason
— — —



Jeremiah Smith

THE COLLEGE COUNSEL.

argue it, alone, and probably would do so for something less; tho' no counsel of first rank, would undertake this cause at Washington probably under six or seven hundred dollars.

You will excuse this, and as my arrangements must be made soon, let me hear from you as quick as possible.

On the next day he wrote to Mr. Hopkinson, who replied on the 20th:

I have your favor of the 16th inst. and enlist most cheerfully and heartily, under your banner, in the cause you mention; whether in business or pleasure; in social or professional intercourse, I know none with whom I would prefer to associate. From the little knowledge the newspapers gave us of your controversy, I confess, I am greatly surprised at the result, unless, indeed, something besides the justice and argument of the cause has found its way into the decision. For such things do happen even in tribunals of the law from the highest to the lowest; sometimes without a consciousness of their influence and sometimes more culpably.

Mr. Marsh was highly pleased with Mr. Webster's acceptance of the case, and on the 22d wrote to President Brown:

I am happy to find that Mr. Webster is likely to go to Washington and if he is to go principally on account of our action and will pay Mr. Hopkinson out of that sum, \$1000 is not an unreasonable compensation. I am however sorry that he would not have gone independently of attending to this suit. I am acquainted with Mr. Hopkinson and think it better to employ him with Mr. Webster than any other man of my acquaintance who will be likely to attend the court. There seems but little reason to hesitate if the money can be raised. You do not mention having written to Yale College. That institution seems to have as great a stake in the controversy as any one and perhaps as likely to meet with the same troubles.

The University did not secure its counsel till quite a little later. At a meeting of the Trustees at Hanover, December 31, 1817, it was voted to invite Mr. John Holmes to take charge of the case for the University, and Mr. Hale was authorized to see him, and in case of his refusal to secure, "with the advice of the friends of the University" in Washington, some other counsel. Mr. Hale was not favorable to Mr. Holmes, and on February 15 he wrote to Mr. Woodward from Washington:

Were you sensible of the low ebb of Mr. Holmes' reputation here, you would, I think, be unwilling to trust the cause with him. It *might* in the end be *decided* right, but a lawyer of high standing would be much more likely to persuade the court to take it up out of order, as it must be decided this term.

Mr. Woodward was much more favorable to Mr. Holmes and wrote of him, January 18, to Mr. Hale: "I have thought him

extremely ready—of sound mind and [a] good lawyer, inferior to D. W. only in point of oratory.” And again a month later he wrote: “I adhere still to my first impression as to Webster and Holmes, but with you should place Judge Hubbard [of Vermont] above not only Holmes but Webster also.” Mr. Holmes accepted the case, but Mr. Hale and his advisers were not content to leave it in his hands alone. Writing to Governor Plumer in January,¹ Mr. Hale suggested the employment of Mr. Wirt, the attorney general of the United States, “who,” he said, “will, it is supposed, ask \$500.” Without waiting to receive the Governor’s reply, which was entirely favorable, Mr. Hale “with the unanimous advice of our Senators and representatives, the Secretary of the Navy and Gen. Ripley,” engaged Mr. Wirt as an associate of Mr. Holmes. He was disturbed by the report that either Mr. Sullivan or Mr. Bartlett was coming to Washington to take part in the case, thinking it a needless expense, and wishing only the list of authorities which they had cited in the New Hampshire court. The Governor, while promising the list, assured him that neither of them would attend at Washington, and expressed his satisfaction at the employment of Mr. Wirt, as he also did in the following letter to Mr. Storer, one of the Trustees of the University and then United States Senator, in a letter dated February 23, 1818.²

I think that it was a proper and prudent measure to engage Mr. Wirt as counsel in the cause of the University, and I am confident that the board of trustees will repay all money that shall be advanced to him for performing that duty; but considering my peculiar situation, I think it would be improper for me as an individual to advance or promise any moneys for fees—it would cause our political enemies to blaspheme. It would more effectually promote the interest of the republican cause for me to advance \$100 to the University for the support of its instructors than double that sum to fee counsel in the present law suit.

It was hoped to get a decision at the ensuing term; and to that end promptness in filing the record was very essential. Messrs. Smith and Mason set themselves to that task forthwith. Mr. Bartlett was reported as saying that they would not agree, on the part of the University, to a verdict in such a form that it might be removed, and the first attempt to agree with him seemed to justify that report; but he finally turned the matter over to Mr. Sullivan, who was less exacting, and the verdict as drawn by

¹ Plumer Correspondence, Congressional Library.

² Plumer Correspondence, Congressional Library.

Judge Smith was assented to December 25, the writ of error having been allowed on the 22d, and the whole reached Washington by the hand of a special messenger on the 29th, in ample time to secure a hearing at that term. But the narrow range of inquiry permissible on the pleadings in this shape occasioned much anxiety to the friends of the College, and particularly to Mr. Webster. While the supposed repugnance of the acts to the constitution of the United States had been from the first urged and relied on, yet much the larger part of the arguments at Exeter had been devoted to other points which, though all the counsel regarded them with greater confidence, would technically be excluded from view at Washington. This disadvantage was inherent in the original plan deliberately adopted by the advice of Judge Smith, of not seeming to avoid the Courts of the State. But this delicacy had now passed away, and Webster urged immediate steps to enlarge the field of argument. He wrote from Boston simultaneously to the President and to Messrs. Marsh, Mason and Smith, saying that he "thought of this the more, from hearing of sundry sayings of a great personage," presumably Judge Story.

From Boston he wrote to Mr. Marsh, December 8, 1817.¹

You are aware that in the College Cause the only question that can be argued at Washington is whether the recent acts of the legislature of N. Hampshire do not violate the constitution of the U. S. This point, though we trust a strong one, is not perhaps stronger than that derived from the character of these acts compared with the Constitution of N. Hampshire. It has occurred to me whether it would not be well to bring an action which should present both, and all our points to the Supreme Court. This could be done by bringing the action originally in the Circuit Court. I am a good deal inclined to favor the proposition of bringing such a suit. Although I now mention it only for consideration. Suppose the Trustees should sue for the Wheelock lands in Vermont? or suppose they should lease portions of the N. Hampshire lands to a citizen in Vermont? In either of these cases an action might be brought in the courts of the U. S., in which all the questions could be considered. I have suggested this idea to Mr. Mason and Judge Smith (and nobody else). If they should think the hint worth considering I shall probably hear from them and in that case I will write you again. Such a suit would not of course at all interfere with our present proceedings.

Mr. Marsh found practical difficulties in the way and President Brown himself had doubts about the propriety of this course, but on visiting Mr. Webster at his house in Boston in January, 1818, they were removed and Mr. Olcott was requested to forward the needful preparations.

¹ Shirley, p. 5.

Meanwhile circumstances of an extraordinary character came to the ears of the friends of the College which threw them into new perplexities. As the material facts have already been made public they require some notice at our hands, though of a delicate nature. It had been hoped that, as the principles contended for by the State of New Hampshire would, if established, strike at the foundations of every institution of this kind, other colleges would make common cause and join in meeting the heavy expenses of the litigation. Application having been made, among others, to Harvard College, through Hon. David A. White of Salem, that gentleman, on November 26, 1817, informed President Brown that while President Kirkland was in full sympathy with Dartmouth, yet funds were lacking with which to give substantial aid.

But [he added] the principal reasons suggested are of a more important nature and if well founded may be deserving of attention. Some of my friends here who sincerely wish success to the cause of your College, have yet a strong wish that it should not be carried to Washington, from an apprehension that, even should the U. S. Court take up the cause at large and consider it in all its points, there would be an influence among them which would probably confirm the present decision and thereby increase an hundred fold the weight of its authority. Others suppose that the court would either evade a decision of the cause at all, or would consider only the point upon which it is carried up, and this latter thought, they say, is suggested from *high authority* among us. Should this course be taken it is supposed that the merits of the cause will not be brought into view, and that the result of a hearing at Washington would be worse than leaving the cause where it is—so far at least as respects *our* Institutions, the authority of the decision of your court being so inconsiderable under the circumstances of the case.

Mr. T. J. Murdock, a graduate of the College and then a student in Andover Theological Seminary, wrote to President Brown, December 27, 1817, giving a discouraging report of the effect of these rumors in that section:

The fact is the folks in this region are frightened. Dr. Worcester, Judge White and Mr. Pickering, *it is said*, begin to talk of a compromise, because it is ascertained that Judge Story with the assistance of Mr. Clay &c is the original framer of the law you are opposing.¹ They suppose that on this account the cause is hopeless before the Sup. Ct. of U. S. This is, however, report. But the same report says that Judge Story is the one who proposes the compromise.

The position of Judge Story, if this was true, was calculated to give just cause for alarm. Mr. Hopkinson wrote Mr. Marsh, December 31, 1817:²

¹ If he was the draftsman it is surprising that the act was so defective.

² Shirley, p. 274.

Although the attempts of the defendants in this case to excite a prejudice in the public mind by newspapers and party representations is vile and unjust, it is likely they will be able to produce less effect by these means upon a court than a jury. The situation in which, if you are not misinformed Judge Story has placed himself is much more alarming to us, and so disreputable to him should he sit in the case, that I confess I am inclined to believe that your information in his respect must be mistaken. Should it however be otherwise and he is about to sit as a judge in a cause in which he has been a feed counsellor I should have no hesitation in resorting to any legal and proper means to prevent such an abuse of power and office. The influence of the judge with the court in general cases is I think considerable, and will probably be very great in one like the present. If therefore the judge has committed himself in the way you mention it will never do to hazard so important a case on a question of delicacy to him.

Judge Story was known as an old friend and confidant of Governor Plumer. He had even been appointed an overseer of the University, though he did not accept the appointment. It was now ascertained that, even if he did not draft the act, he had, at all events, advised about it and with his usual industry and indiscretion examined it at an early stage and avouched its legality, and the University people felt secure.¹ The friends of the College after all they had been called on to endure, had been looking forward hopefully to a tribunal out of the reach of local politics and bias only to find it (as it now appeared) tainted with the same malign influence. They were naturally discouraged. But as we hear no more of impeachment, it is evident that means were found to convey to Judge Story in a friendly way (apparently through Mr. Mason whom the Judge held in high esteem) the sentiments of Mr. Hopkinson's letter, and to obtain assurances of impartiality. Lingering doubts and fears respecting him harassed them to the last, but he faithfully preserved a judicial temper, and, convinced at last of the justice of their cause, gave it an unwavering support to the surprise and confusion of the University people.

Mr. Webster's views as to the necessity of beginning new actions in the United States courts, in order to get up the broad question whether by the general principles of government as well as by the United States and State constitutions the State was not restrained from diverting vested rights, being approved by the other counsel, and the doubts of the President removed by personal conference with Webster at Boston in January, the Trustees were called together February 19, 1818. Declaring it

¹ Shirley, p. 239.

expedient, because of failure of income from rents and otherwise, to dispose of some of the College properties, to meet current expenses and costs of litigation, they directed Mr. Olcott to sell the "Commons Hall," and certain lands in Hanover, formerly leased to Richard Lang, and any other New Hampshire lands. It was also voted to sell the College library for not less than \$2,100 since "it is highly important that the officers and students of the College be furnished with books suitable for the purposes of instruction and study, and whereas the books composing the library belonging to the College are many of them ancient, injured and defaced and not so well suited to answer the said purpose as others which might be selected: and it is therefore deemed expedient to make sale of the said books to raise money to purchase a more complete assortment of useful books for the said officers and students." The Board also requested the President "to publish a statement of the views of the trustees relative to the present situation of the affairs of this college and their intended operations during the existence of the embarrassments under which they at present labor." These votes were drafted by Mr. Marsh, and on the 28th of February the following was issued in circular form, and in the newspapers:

The Trustees of Dartmouth College consider it due to the publick, and especially to the members of the Institution and their friends, explicitly to make known the course they design to pursue, and their opinion relative to the state and prospects of the College.

The Trustees commenced the suit at law, which is still pending, from a full conviction, that this measure was demanded of them, as the constituted guardians of this valuable seminary, and as friends to the literature and the literary establishments of their country; and it is their fixed determination to prosecute it, and to avail themselves of every constitutional expedient for protecting the College, till the question in controversy shall be tried on its merits and decided by the highest judicial tribunal of this nation.

They have an undiminished confidence, that the decision will be in favor of their rights, as secured by the charter; and that they shall again be put in possession of the buildings and other property, of which they have been deprived.—If, however, the decision in the last resort should be against them, they will no longer claim a corporate existence, and Dartmouth College will have been effectually destroyed. In that event, the students, should they desire it, will be recommended to either of the Colleges in New-England; and from what is known of the opinions and feelings of the Trustees and Instructors of these Institutions, full confidence is entertained, that the students, thus recommended, will be readily received. Nor is there any ground for a doubt, that the diplomas conferred by this Corporation, so long as their rights remain a subject of judicial inquiry, will be recognized as valid by all literary and professional bodies throughout the country.

The Trustees avail themselves of this opportunity to present their thanks to the numerous publick-spirited individuals in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, who, in the present exigency of the College, have afforded it prompt and effectual aid. And they are happy to announce to the publick, that, through the munificence of friends in Boston, the Professor of Mathematics, and Philosophy will be furnished, the ensuing season, with a good electrical apparatus, an Air Pump with accompanying instruments, an elegant Telescope, a new Solar Microscope, and a common Microscope, which, together with other articles in his possession, will enable him to exhibit the most important experiments in all the branches of Natural Philosophy.

It would be unjust in the Trustees not to acknowledge their obligations to those parents, who have afforded countenance and encouragement to the College, under its numerous embarrassments, by committing their sons to its instruction and guardianship. This is a species of aid essential to its respectability, and highly important to its success; and the Trustees hope, that none will be deterred by the difficulties, in which it is involved, from affording similar aid in future. These difficulties, they can assure the publick, are wholly external. The internal state of the College, including the moral and literary habits of its members, and their proficiency in all the branches of literature and science, has at no time been better than it now is. Nor have the advantages afforded them ever been greater, with the single exception, that they are deprived of the use of the College Library. And even this deprivation is the less to be regretted, as they are well supplied with books from the Libraries of the two Literary Societies in College, each of which consists of about eighteen hundred well chosen volumes.

From the members of the Institution the Trustees cannot withhold an expression of approbation for their close attention to study, and for their uniformly correct and manly deportment in circumstances, some of which must be allowed to have been peculiarly trying. They trust the students will continue to maintain their fair reputation, and to reflect honour on the College, by a course of elevated conduct and diligent application; and they believe, that, after a few more months of trial, the great object of pursuit will be achieved.

The Trustees cheerfully commit the College, its officers, and its students to the care of that wise and gracious Providence, which has hitherto preserved it, and which is able to make its severest trials occasions of its greater prosperity, honour, and usefulness.

FRANCIS BROWN, *President.*

In behalf and at the request of the Corporation.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Feb. 20, 1818.

After much discussion among the counsel as to the forms of actions most suitable to the present purpose, and as to the preliminary details necessary to obtain a standing in the court, three conveyances were made by Mr. Olcott, viz: 1. To Dr. Horace Hatch of Norwich, Vt., two lots of land in Greensboro district, Hanover, formerly leased to Richard Lang; the deeds being dated February 28 and March 5. 2. To Job Lyman of Woodstock, Vt., March 24, the Commons Hall and lot—the same on which Rollins Chapel now stands. 3. To Charles Marsh of

Woodstock, Vt., March 5, a lease for six years of the land on which the College buildings stood, including of course the buildings themselves.

After the necessary preliminaries of demand, etc., three actions were entered in the United States Circuit Court at Portsmouth, as follows:

1. Horace Hatch *vs.* Richard Lang, writ of entry (for \$3,000) for forfeiture for non-payment of rent, dated March 9.

2. David Pierce of Woodstock, Vt., *ex dem.*, Job Lyman *vs.* Benj. J. Gilbert (casual ejector) in ejectment (for \$2,000), writ dated March 27. (The University Trustees were vouched in, in August.)

3. Charles Marsh *vs.* William Allen, Henry Hutchinson and Ahimahaz B. Simpson, also for ejectment (for \$3,000), writ dated March 27.

These all related to lands. Mr. Mason had advised basing one of the actions upon a *bona fide* sale of personal property of adequate value to support jurisdiction, and the sale of the library was devised for that object, but upon several attempts, at Andover and elsewhere, no purchaser could be found, and this feature of the plan was abandoned. The University at the October term appeared by counsel in all the actions and was admitted to defend.

Mr. Webster, from Washington, lost no opportunity to urge on the preparation of these cases with all despatch. But it was now evidently impossible to advance them so rapidly as to get them to Washington before the argument of the Writ of Error *vs.* Woodward. The latter was in fact called in the Supreme Court March 10, before any one of the new causes was even entered in the Circuit Court. But Webster had determined, nevertheless, to "endeavor to argue this also upon all the points," informing the court, if necessary, that the other actions were brought or contemplated; and he fully carried out that intention. He opened the case for the College, plaintiff in error, on March 10, with one of the most remarkable speeches of his life. Messrs. John Holmes of Maine and William Wirt of Washington followed for the defendant, and on the third day, March 12 Mr. Hopkinson closed for the College.¹ All spoke extempo-

¹ John Holmes was a native of Rhode Island and a graduate of Brown University. He was a born politician, and settling in the District of Maine represented it in the Massachusetts House as a Federalist in 1802, and in the Senate as a Democrat in 1811. He was a United States representative in 1818, and, having had a prominent part in establishing the State of Maine, was its first senator from 1820 to 1827. He had "a rare gift of humor and a conversational talent

ranuously, and the arguments as afterwards printed, being written up for that purpose, lack of course the fire and brilliancy that characterized them in utterance. Aside from any question of merit the weight of talent was on the side of the College, and the resulting impressions of listeners favorable to their position. Mr. Hopkinson wrote to President Brown, March 13, "I believe every gentleman of the bar who attended the argument has a clear opinion in our favor." Webster wrote to Mason, "I believe I may say that nearly or quite all the bar are with us."

The case was widely known, and of great importance to other interests besides those at Dartmouth. The other colleges recognized their vital interest in it by active sympathies, and by substantial assistance as far as they were able, and by attendance at the argument. Chauncey A. Goodrich, then professor of oratory at Yale went from New Haven to listen on Yale's behalf, and to his vivid report written in 1853 to Rufus Choate we are indebted for the only circumstantial account of the occasion. The speech of Mr. Webster was the one feature of absorbing interest, by which all the others were dwarfed and overshadowed. He spoke nearly five hours almost the whole of one sitting of the Court.¹

Mr. Webster [wrote Professor Goodrich] entered upon his argument in the calm tone of easy and dignified conversation. His matter was so completely at his command that he scarcely looked at his brief, but went on for more than four hours with a statement so luminous, and a chain of reasoning so easy to be understood, and yet approaching so nearly to absolute demonstration, that he seemed to carry with him every man of his audience, without the slightest effort or uneasiness on either side. It was hardly *eloquence*, in the strict sense of the term: it was pure reason. Now and then for a sentence or two his eye flashed and his voice swelled into a bolder note, as he uttered some emphatic thought, but he instantly fell back into the tone of earnest conversation, which ran throughout the great body of his speech. A single circumstance will show the clearness and absorbing power of his argument. I observed Judge Story

almost unrivalled, "unbounded confidence in himself," together with coolness and self possession, but he was more of a politician than a lawyer. He died July 7, 1843, at the age of 70.

William Wirt was born in Maryland in 1772 of a Swiss father and a German mother. Entering on the practice of law in Virginia he moved to Washington on his appointment as United States Attorney General by President Monroe in 1817. He was a man of culture and ability, of whom Judge Story said that he "was among the ablest and most eloquent of the bar of the Supreme Court." He was a writer of the rhetorical school, from whose productions many selections were taken for readers and books for declamation. "His name still lingers among those which occupy the borderland between greatness and passing popularity." He was the candidate for the presidency of the Anti-Masonic party in 1833, but received the vote only of the State of Vermont. He died February 18, 1834.

Joseph Hopkinson was a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, born in 1770, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and, at the time of the College case, a representative in Congress. He was judge of the United States Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania from 1828 till his death in 1842. He was the author of the national song, "Hail Columbia."

¹ Brown's Life of Rufus Choate, I, 515f.

sit, pen in hand, as if to take notes. Hour after hour I saw him fixed in the same attitude; but I could not discover that he made a single note. The argument ended, Mr. Webster stood for some moments silent before the court while every eye was fixed intently upon him. At length, addressing Chief Justice Marshall, he said,—

"This, sir, is my case. It is the case, not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land. It is more. It is the case of every eleemosynary institution throughout our country, of all those great charities founded by the piety of our ancestors to alleviate human misery, and scatter blessings along the pathway of human life. It is more. It is, in some sense, the case of every man who has property of which he may be stripped,—for the question is simply this: Shall our state legislature be allowed to take that which is not their own, to turn it from its original use, and apply it to such ends or purposes as they, in their discretion, shall see fit? Sir, you may destroy this little institution: it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out: but if you do, you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another all those great lights of science, which, for more than a century, have thrown their radiance over the land! It is, sir, as I have said, a small college, and yet *there are those that love it.* . . . "

Here the feelings which he had thus far succeeded in keeping down, broke forth. His lips quivered; his firm cheeks trembled with emotion; his eyes were filled with tears; his voice choked, and he seemed struggling to the utmost, simply to gain the mastery over himself which might save him from an unmanly burst of feeling. I will not attempt to give you the few broken words of tenderness in which he went on to speak of his attachment to the college. The whole seemed to be mingled with the recollections of father, mother, brother, and all the privations through which he had made his way into life. Every one saw that it was wholly unpremeditated,—a pressure on his heart which sought relief in words and tears.

The court-room during these two or three minutes presented an extraordinary spectacle. Chief Justice Marshall, with his tall, gaunt figure bent over as if to catch the slightest whisper, the deep furrows of his cheek expanded with emotion, and eyes suffused with tears; Mr. Justice Washington at his side, with his small emaciated frame, and countenance more like marble than I ever saw on any other human being, leaning forward with an eager, troubled look; and the remainder of the court at the two extremities, pressing, as it were, toward a single point, while the audience below were wrapping themselves round in closer folds beneath the bench to catch each look, and every movement of the speaker's face. . . . There was not one among the strong-minded men of that assembly who could think it unmanly to weep, when he saw standing before him the man who had made such an argument melted into the tenderness of a child.

Mr. Webster having recovered his composure, and fixing his keen eye on the Chief Justice, said, in that deep tone with which he sometimes thrilled the heart of an audience,—

"Sir, I know not how others may feel (glancing at the opponents of the college before him, some of whom were its graduates), but, for myself, when I see my alma mater surrounded, like Caesar in the senate house, by those who are

reiterating stab upon stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me and say,—*et tu quoque mi fili!*—‘and thou too, my son!’”

He sat down: there was a death-like stillness throughout the room for some moments: every one seemed to be slowly recovering himself, and coming gradually back to his ordinary range of thought and feeling.

Mr. Holmes for the defence followed Mr. Webster the same afternoon and finished the next morning. He was not familiar with the case, and fell into several fatal errors which showed that on some points he misconceived it entirely. This, with the terrible disadvantage of an atmosphere of feeling created by Webster's eloquence, such as Professor Goodrich describes, made his effort worse than useless. Webster himself in a letter to Mason,¹ characterized Holmes's argument as “the merest stuff that was ever uttered in a County Court.” “I had a malicious joy,” he wrote to Judge Smith,² “in seeing Judge Bell sit by to hear him, while everybody was grinning at the folly he uttered. Bell could not stand it. He seized his hat and went off.”

Attorney General Wirt followed on the same side, but ruined the effect of what he might say by an apology that, overwhelmed with official duties “he had not had time to study the case, and *hardly thought of it till it was called on.*” The unfavorable impression was intensified by the success of a bold stroke of Webster's. Wirt was arguing (what was a vital point in the defence) that Wheelock was not the founder of the *College*. In the midst of it, Webster had his attention called to the recital in the charter wherein he is so designated in respect to the *School*, and Wirt not understanding the distinction upon which the clients relied, was “dumbfounded and abandoned the point.”³ He then went off “into the fields of declamation and fine speaking,” and breaking down before he was done, asked the favor of an adjournment. On the third day Wirt finished and Mr. Hopkinson closed the case for the College with a calm and able argument, keeping strictly to the law, and winning admiration from all parties. Mr. Holmes ventured to ask if a decision might be expected at the present term and was told that it was improbable. The next morning the Chief Justice announced a continuance, some of the Judges having as yet no opinion, and others differing. It was understood, though not with certainty, that Marshall and Washington were for the College, Duvall and Todd perhaps inclined to the University, and the other three holding up. Web-

¹ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 275.

² Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 277.

³ Shirley, p. 235.

ster wrote, in the letter to Mason already quoted, "I cannot have much doubt but that Story will be with us in the end, and I think we have much more than an even chance for one of the others."

Of course the University looked anxiously, but hopefully, upon its case. Mr. Hale, one of the Trustees, and then a representative from New Hampshire in Congress, reported its progress to President Allen by daily letters, and was greatly pleased with the presentation of the case for the University, and hopeful of the result. On March 10 he wrote: "Mr. Webster has delivered his speech, which made no little impression. Mr. Holmes spoke about an hour. . . . The employment of Mr. Wirt appears to me every day more and more correct." On the next day, describing the progress of the case, he wrote: "Mr. Wirt was powerful. Yesterday Mr. Webster was very disingenuous, and it cost me almost the night's labor to furnish Mr. Wirt with facts and authority to put him down. I would not have had his feelings today for half his fame—yea the whole." The report on the 12th continued: "About two hours ago Mr. Wirt closed a very able argument in our cause. His peroration was eloquent. The ghost of Wheelock was introduced exclaiming to Webster, '*Et tu Brute.*' . . . A great majority here take an interest for us, and have decided in our favor. . . . Mr. Hopkinson is now speaking. He is laboring hard. . . . The point insisted on here was not taken at Exeter. We have therefore been taken by surprise—which has thrown great labor on Mr. Wirt and myself."

On the same day Mr. Holmes wrote to President Allen his account of the trial:

The hearing commenced on tuesday, by an opening by Mr. Webster which was *very able* & lasted about three hours. He was followed by *myself* about one hour until the adjournment—the next day, yesterday, I resumed & occupied the court from two to three hours more. I was followed by Mr. Wirt who yesterday & this day, closed, very eloquently the defence in about two hours on the whole. He was followed by Mr. Hopkinson in a very able argumentative speech of about an hour & a half. I have only to add that your counsel endeavored to do their duty & that Mr. Wirt did *his* verry sucessfully. The *event* it is impossible to *predict*. But I assure you, that I entertain *very little doubt of success*. Mr. Wirt & your humble servant are of opinion that some *fees* ought to be provided.

In reporting the case to Governor Plumer on March 12, Mr. Hale wrote:¹

¹ Plumer Correspondence, Congressional Library.

Mr. Webster was as usual able—very able—but also disingenuous—Mr. Holmes was below our moderate expectations—Mr. Wirt grasped the cause with the mind of a giant, and made Webster lower his crest & sit uneasy. I have been occupied day and night during the week, in searching for facts & documents, & am almost exhausted. Mr. Wirt could not find time to reflect on the cause till Monday evening, and considering his want of preparation spoke with great ability.

The general confidence of the University party, which was so great as to give the belief at times that the decision would be unanimous in its favor, was sometimes shaken by rumors. On the 2d of April President Allen wrote to Mr. Hale in distress that it was reported that Mr. Webster had written to President Brown that "his own feeble services were not of half so much benefit to the College as the speech of Mr. Wirt," and that Mr. Wirt had "expressed his persuasion that the College ought to prevail." Mr. Hale believed that Webster had written the letter, saying "It is another proof of his littleness & want of principle," and he was so much disturbed by the report that, though he repeated his belief that the chances of success for the University were as 5 to 2, with an even chance of 6 to 1, he sent the report to Mr. Wirt, who immediately replied that if his argument for the University had aided the College "it was high time for [his] friends to seek an asylum for him in a mad house," and added with an instinct of manhood that did him credit, "I cannot believe that Mr. Webster has so represented it. I think too highly of his candor & honor to believe him capable of such a statement; it would have been a trick not only below the pride of character, which I attribute to Mr. Webster, but below the humblest and most hopeless member of the profession." The statement that the College ought to prevail, of course, he denied, saying, that "some compliment to Mr. Webster may have led to this statement. He opened the case with great ability, & I remember to have said that I wished him all the success which his cause deserved, but not all that his argument merited, by which I meant to convey the impression that his argument was, in my opinion, much better than his cause."

A case of such importance and so well known could not fail to be much discussed among lawyers and others all over the country. The turning point of the whole was Webster's argument, and there was a general desire in the profession to read it, in which some of the judges also shared. The argument was accordingly written out as nearly as practicable, and a limited

number printed. It was given out in a small way to such as wished it, and on request, to the adverse party, but agreeably to the professional ethics of that time it was reserved from publication.

I send you [wrote Webster, July 27, to Jacob McGaw of Bangor] with great cheerfulness a "sketch" of our view of the question about D. College. I have never allowed myself to indulge in any great hope of success; but if even a few such men as Judge Wilde should think we had made out our case it would repay the labor. If you should think there is any merit in the manner of this argument you must recollect that it is drawn from materials furnished by Judge Smith & Mr. Mason, as well as from the little contributed by myself. The opinion of the N. H. Court had been a good deal circulated, and I was urged to exhibit in print our view of the case. A few copies only were printed, and those have been used rather cautiously. A respect for the court, as well as general decorum, seem to prohibit the publishing of an argument while the cause is pending. I have no objection to your showing this to any professional friend in your discretion, I only wish to guard against its becoming too publick.

While the case was under advisement the friends of the College were treated in July, 1818, to a further experience of underground tactics which threatened serious results. It happened that Chancellor Kent, traveling through this region in a chaise with his wife, visited Windsor where he was entertained by Messrs. Dunham, Jacob and other strong partisans of the University. Under their auspices he also made a trip to Hanover where he was introduced to the University Faculty, but not to the officers of the College. The opinion of the State Court on the college case which had been printed by Isaac Hill and spread broadcast over the State and elsewhere was brought to his notice, and without any critical examination received casual expressions of approval. When these facts came, as they did before long, to the knowledge of the friends of the College, the latter were justly alarmed. It was known that Justices Johnson and Livingston of the Supreme Court were yet halting in their judgment upon the case. In the words of one whose sympathies were with the University party¹ "That Kent's opinion would have great weight with Justice Johnson, and his opinion and influence with that of Governor Clinton were potential with Justice Livingston was obvious to all who understood the relations of these men," and he makes it clear by numerous citations. It is more than implied by the same writer that Kent was to write Mr. Justice Johnson's opinion, and the story had been diligently propagated all through the country that Kent had, after an examination of

¹ Shirley, p. 253.

the case, given a decided opinion in favor of the University. It is not surprising that the university party were confident and Mr. Webster in despair. It was necessary that prompt measures should be taken to counteract the scheme, so that if the decisions were, indeed, to hang on the opinion of the chancellor he should at least have the information requisite to enable him to form an impartial judgment. Mr. Marsh accordingly transmitted to him on the 22d of August a copy of Mr. Webster's argument and the charter, with a statement of the case which Kent frankly avowed gave a new complexion to it, so that he declared that if he were to study it he should probably come to a different conclusion, though his hasty impressions one way or the other were of little value.

The matter was so important that early in September President Brown, in the course of a vacation trip undertaken for the help of the College, stopped at Albany, where he dined with Kent and conferred upon college matters. Kent at once expressed regret for the hasty expression he had used at Windsor, and said that Mr. Webster's argument had thrown a different light upon the case. President Brown learned also that Justice Johnson had formally requested Kent's opinion.

The college party was very desirous that the facts in the case should come into the possession of the judges and of the opposing counsel. In December, 1817, Mr. B. J. Gilbert of Hanover went to Richmond on business, but made the journey a means of giving information about the College. He made an attempt to see President Day of Yale at New Haven, but without success, and left papers for him and a letter from President Brown soliciting the assistance of Yale in the prosecution of the suit. Mr. Gilbert missed Mr. Hopkinson at Philadelphia and again at Washington. He pushed on to Richmond in the hope of finding Mr. Wirt, but he had just left for Washington, and Mr. Gilbert was content with putting into the hand of a friend copies of the charter of the College and of the acts of the legislature to transmit to him. He hoped to meet Chief Justice Marshall, who was at his farm, but found many delays. "I find Richmond," he wrote to President Brown, "the worst of all places that I was ever acquainted with to do business in—no one regards an appointment except to dinner." Unable finally to meet Judge Marshall he yet managed to get into his hands a copy of the charter and newspapers giving accounts of the case.

The argument of the principal cause was not allowed to delay

the auxiliary action. Mr. Webster had given the Supreme Court "reason to expect that a case would be presented at the Circuit Court raising the question in its amplest form," and told his colleagues that he should be "mortified if it were not so."¹ The question he decided to raise was,² "whether by the general principles of our governments the State legislatures be not restrained from diverting vested rights? This of course independent of the constitutional provision respecting contracts. . . . On general principles," he adds, "I am very confident the court at Washington would be with us. . . . If we get up one of these cases in due form, we shall defeat our adversaries." "I am particularly glad," he wrote at another time, "that an ejectment is brought. It is just what should be done." The cases were duly entered the last of March, and came before Judge Story at Portsmouth the first of May. Mr. Marsh, to whom the conduct of these cases was entrusted by the other counsel, was in attendance. He wrote to President Brown from Boston, May 2d:

I have just returned from Portsmouth where I have been two days past. The actions are all continued, but the court made the most positive injunction on the defendants to plead in season and be prepared for trial early the next term, and it was suggested that an adjourned term would be holden for their trial if necessary in order that some one or more of them might be entered in the Supreme Court at next term. The Judge intimated that this was of great importance as the action now there did not perhaps present all the questions that would naturally arise out of the controversy and as it was time the controversy should be finished, the judge assured the parties that nothing should be wanting on the part of the court to place the actions in such train as would insure their final decision. Thus I think our reasonable expectations will be answered for a full and candid hearing, and an impartial decision is all that we ought to desire and this I think without doubt we shall have. The judge was very ready in every question moved, and conducted with much propriety and dignity, and on a considerable acquaintance which I had an opportunity of making with him I have much reason to feel an increased degree of confidence in his ability and integrity, and this whether we win or lose our particular case or causes is to me a great consolation.

He wrote from further Woodstock, May 18:

Appearances on the part of the Court were much as you had predicted. They seemed disposed to pursue the most liberal course in respect to the actions, and expressed much satisfaction that they had been commenced. . . . The Circuit Judge [Story] expressed particularly his approbation of the action of ejectment brought in the English form which he was happy to see introduced, as being in many cases more useful and better calculated to try the rights of

¹ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 278.

² *Ibid*, I, pp. 274 and 283.

parties in disputes relative to real property. . . . It was evident that defendants counsel did not feel much confidence in their defense, and that they are sensible their cause is declining and cannot be maintained.

At the sitting of the legislature in June President Allen of the University preached the annual election sermon, and President Brown of the College delivered a discourse before the ecclesiastical convention assembled at the same time in Concord, a circumstance that fairly illustrates the different constituencies of the parties. In April, 1818, a "College Congress" was projected and President Brown was invited to join in it. The first meeting was held at Boston, May 26, 1818, at which eight colleges were represented, including, besides Dartmouth, Yale, Harvard, Bowdoin, University of Vermont, Middlebury, Williams, and Andover Theological Seminary. President Allen was not invited.

The finances of the University were already in great distress. Those of the College were sufficiently precarious, but students' quarter bills and subscriptions from abroad kept it alive, while the University was like to perish from inanition. It derived very little income from Wheelock's gift (none at all as it resulted), and hardly any from the tenants of the college lands, who wisely and only too readily displayed a reluctance to pay to either party pending the controversy. It had no resources in the hearts of the people and no subscriptions. Students in the University were too few to afford relief by their quarter bills, while the executive machinery was planned upon a scheme quite out of proportion to either the number of students or its pecuniary resources. The income was not adequate even to cover the charges of litigation and the ordinary contingent expenses.

As we have seen, the trial had hardly closed at Washington before the counsel began to call for their fees, and Mr. Hale wrote to President Allen that Mr. Wirt, while declining to name his fee, said that the minimum fee for the case in the Supreme Court was \$300, and this case was a very important one and had called for considerable labor and might require more. Mr. Hale thought that Mr. Wirt ought to have \$500, but as no money came from Hanover, Mr. Hale paid him in April \$200, and Gen. Ripley added \$100, both with the expectation of being reimbursed by the University. President Allen was at his wits' end for money, "I have reason to think," he wrote to Mr. Hale in April, "that the funds are not in a good state, for I have received *nothing* for my services, more than a year," and in fact, payment of salaries was out of the question, so that some of the professors began to

be seriously distressed. He and Judge Woodward talked of "a solicitation," but it offered no hope and they turned to the legislature, the author of the University, to sustain it. Application for assistance was made to the General Court at its June session, and after considerable difficulty \$4,000 were obtained, but then only as a loan payable in one year with interest, and secured by a bond of the Trustees "in their corporate capacity." The sum was sufficient to pay but a part of the debts already incurred, especially as in August Mr. Hale called for \$1,500 "to pay our counsel in Washington."

In place of the customary celebration of Independence Day the Handel Society, with the Hubbard Musical Society of Piermont and Orford, aided by select performers from abroad, gave an exhibition of sacred music in the meeting house on Thursday, July 2, commencing at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and at three o'clock in the afternoon.¹ The prospectus announced that,

In order to defray the expenses incident thereto (the members of the societies taking no compensation for their services) and to assist those societies in replenishing their libraries with the works of the great Handel & Hayden, which are now reprinting in this country, it is proposed that the price of admission to the house be twenty five cents for each person. . . . The words set to the different pieces of music will be printed for distribution in the house. It has heretofore been contemplated that these Oratorios should take the place of the less solemn interesting and instructive method of celebrating the day which gave birth to our civil freedom, but as the 4th of July falls this year on Saturday it is thought advisable to fix on a day further removed from the Sabbath.²

R. D. MUSSEY	} Committee of the Handel Society.
NOAH SMITH	
SAMUEL LONG	

The only instrumental accompaniment was the double bass viol, owned by the Handel Society, which was managed on this occasion with rare skill. The whole met with the highest praise from a respectable and appreciative audience. An address by

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, June 3, 1818.

² Following was the order of exercises: "Chorus, We praise thee, O God. *Christmas*. Air, Comfort ye my people: Chor. The Lord gave the word: Air, How beautiful: Chor. Their sound is gone out: Air, How beautiful: Chor. Break forth into joy: Anthem; Rejoice O ye righteous. *St. Martins*. Air, He shall feed his flock: Chor. Behold the Lamb of God: Chor. He gave them hailstones for rain: Chor. The Heavens are telling: Air, He was despised: Chor. Surely he hath born our griefs. *Worms*. Chor. Moses and the children of Israel: Air, When the sun: Anthem. When winds breathe soft. *Psalms XC VII*: Anthem, Teach me, O Lord. *Old Hundred*. Anthem. I waited patiently: Anthem, Hear my prayer: Air, Behold and see: Chor. Worthy is the Lamb: Chor. Hallelujah, O Judah, rejoice: Anthem, Who can express? Chor. Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth." *Dartmouth Gazette*, June 3, 1818.

Rev. James W. Woodward upon the importance and duty of sacred music in divine worship constituted a portion of the exercises.¹

Even the heavens contributed to the excitement of the season. On the evening of July 17, 1818, at about half past nine o'clock a remarkable meteor was observed simultaneously at Hanover and at Middlebury, Montpelier, Topsham and Newbury, Vt. A careful account of its appearance at Middlebury was published by Professor Frederick Hall.² It appeared of different magnitude to different persons. It was observed by one person from the zenith down. He noticed it three times so violently agitated as to cause it to roll over and emit for the instant an increased light, though each time diminishing in bulk, and sending out scintillations which continued luminous to some distance. Several minutes later, after it had disappeared, three explosions were heard, likened to cannon fired in quick succession, by which houses were jarred. Its apparent diameter was estimated by careful observers at one third or one fourth that of the moon; and the intervals between the flashes and the explosions at two and one half minutes. It was visible at Hanover but a few seconds, and its direction from a point about 40 degrees above the horizon was towards the northeast.³ It was spoken of as a brilliant and sublime sight. The observations indicated that it probably fell near Newbury or Topsham, and some persons in Topsham were so confident that they went in search of it, but did not find it.

On the 9th of August the University met with a severe loss in the death of Judge Woodward at the early age of 43.⁴ He had been in failing health for some time and had practically given up his duties as treasurer, which had devolved upon Professor Perkins, who was afterward chosen as his successor. His adherence to the University had been injurious to the College, but the injury was one of inconvenience rather than of absolute loss, for if he had remained steadfast to the College he would not have

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, July 22, 1818.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, August 5, 1818.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ William H. Woodward (the H. was adopted in 1807), the oldest son of Bezaleel Woodward (Vol. I, 269), was graduated from the College in 1792, and studying law settled in Hanover, where he acquired an extensive practice. In 1813, when the State was divided into two districts for the Court of Common Pleas, he was appointed judge of the western district, and he held this office till his death. He was treasurer of the College from 1805. He was a man of a very gentle nature, yet of much reserve. He was very prominent in the Masonic order, and was also very fond of farming, and made many careful experiments in his attempts to learn the best methods, and kept full accounts of his experiments. Eulogy on W. H. Woodward by Cyrus Perkins, M.D.

thereby made tenants and leaseholders any more ready to pay their dues to the College, as long as doubt existed as to which board had the lawful title. His restraint of the books and papers gave to the old Trustees a favorable chance to test the legality of the acts of the legislature by a suit against him.

Taught by the experience of the previous year, the Trustees at their meeting in February, "in order to avoid all collision respecting the place for the public exercises" authorized holding Commencement, if necessary, one week earlier than usual, viz., on August 17, the third Wednesday of the month instead of the fourth Wednesday as formerly. There was no building in which the College could hold its exercises except the meeting house, while the chapel was large enough to accommodate the University, as it had done the year before. Early in June President Brown wrote to President Allen, calling his attention to this fact and asking the assurance of the University that there would be no interference with the exercises of the College in the church. At the same time he stated that rather than risk the possibility of a collision the College would hold its Commencement a week earlier than usual. As President Allen declined to give the desired assurance, on the grounds that the Trustees of the University had not considered the question, President Brown, "in behalf of the Executive Officers," gave public notice of the change in the newspapers about the 20th of June.

The Commencement of the College came, therefore, on the 17th of August, when twenty-six were graduated to the first degree in arts and twelve doctors in medicine, and the exercises were concluded by a "splendid ball in the evening at the hall of the Dartmouth Hotel, which was ornamented with all the elegance and brilliancy that female beauty could impart." The University adhered to the established date and the two anniversaries accordingly passed off quietly, a week apart. The exercises of the University comprised a poem, and, as before, seven orations, two members of the graduating class "performing" twice, and two candidates for the master's degree having parts. A eulogy on William H. Woodward by Dr. Cyrus Perkins brought the exercises to a close.

The academic year of the College opened anew September 21 with the accession of thirty-eight students. The University began a week later with a freshman class of four, all natives of Hanover.¹

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, August 19 and September 23, 1818.

In October the new cases came on before the United States Circuit Court at Exeter. Mr. Marsh was again in attendance, and wrote Mr. Olcott, October 3, from Salisbury on his way home:

All things succeeded to a charm at Exeter. Defendants counsel were perfectly well disposed towards consenting to special verdicts in all the cases. Under the general agreement to insert any other matters or thing as the court or counsel may think proper at Washington they propose to insert a copy of Dr. Wheelock's will and all the acts of legislature which either relate to the College or Moor's School. By the will they intend to show that John Wheelock was appointed President under the charter and by the will, and could not be removed by the Trustees, and also that as heir at law of the founder he could perhaps assent to the passing of the late acts and by the other acts, that Moor's School was always a distinct affair, a private corporation, while the College was a public one. Our lawyers think all this nothing, but propose by way of set off to show that Radulphus Wheelock was the eldest son [and as proposed by Judge Smith, "then alive and the *most worthy*"]¹ and that Dr. J. Wheelock was removed by the Trustees before passing the late acts.

Copies of these papers and others, in all numbering thirty,² were presented to the college counsel in December and admitted as "duly authenticated." The special verdicts were drawn by Judge Smith and settled during the same month of December, and went up from the Circuit Court with the causes on a *pro forma* certificate of division of opinion as of the October term.

The University people were wholly dissatisfied with the presentation of the former case in Washington, and during the vacation laid their plans to have it reargued by William Pinkney of Baltimore. Early in November Mr. Pinkney notified the College counsel of their purpose, and in January Doctor Perkins spent a week in conference with him at Baltimore, to familiarize him with the case. But it was at best a forlorn hope.

It cannot be expected [wrote Mr. Hopkinson to Webster November 17, 1818]³ that we shall repeat our argument merely to enable Mr. Pinkney to make a speech, or that a cause shall be reargued because, after the argument has been concluded, and the court has the case under advisement, either party may choose to employ new counsel. I think if the court consents to hear Mr. Pinkney it will be a great stretch of complaisance and that we should not give our consent to any such proceeding. But if Mr. Pinkney on his own application is permitted to speak we should claim our right of reply. The court can-

¹ Shirley, p. 282.

² Mr. Mason wrote, December 11: "Mr. Bartlett has called with the papers in the Coll. cases. . . . He is very urgent to have the newly discovered papers admitted. But I believe we shall get rid of him without making any important admissions except that his office copies are duly authenticated." Shirley, pp. 284 and 286.

³ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 288-89.

not want to have our argument repeated; and they will hardly require us to do it for the accommodation of Mr. Pinkney.

It was insisted by both Mr. Webster and Mr. Hopkinson that if reargument *de novo* were ordered it must be done by other counsel, but the selection was postponed to see the event of the application. It was Pinkney's intention "to put the case on the ground that all the power of Parliament belongs to the N. H. legislature,"¹ and it was generally expected that he would be heard. Judge Story's correspondence shows that as late as December 9 he expected it and looked for a splendid display of argumentative power. The court met on Monday, February 1. "It is most probable, perhaps," wrote Webster that day,¹ "that Pinkney will succeed in his motion, although I do not think it by any means certain; not a word has fallen as yet from any judge on the cause. They keep their own counsel. All that I have seen however looks rather favorable. I hope to be relieved of further anxiety by a decision for or against us in five or six days. I'd not have another such cause for the College plain and all its appurtenances." The next morning Mr. Pinkney was in court to present his motion. No other counsel for the University was present. Instantly upon the opening of the Court Chief Justice Marshall forestalled his purpose by announcing, as usual at the opening of the Court, opinions formed during vacation. The first so announced was that in the College cause, read by the Chief Justice himself and favorable to the College view.²

Mr. Justice Duvall dissented, without giving reasons, and Justice Todd was sick and absent. The University people were in consternation. They had confidently expected a reargument and among other things were "dumbfounded" to find Judge Story against them. Their partisans did not hesitate, as openly as they dared, to insinuate unworthy motives in the Court and to berate their counsel in New Hampshire.⁴

¹ Webster to Mason, December 22, 1818. Manuscript in New Hampshire Historical Society Library.

² Shirley, p. 243.

³ Mr. Shirley tells us on the authority of Mr. Duncan, that Mr. Olcott used to relate how on this occasion the "old Chief" turned his "blind ear" toward Pinkney, greatly to his discomfort and the amusement of the bar. Although no argument was made the University paid Mr. Pinkney \$350 for his services.

⁴ The *New Hampshire Patriot* drew pointed attention to the fact that during the pendency of the cause (in which all institutions of learning were equally interested) the degree of Doctor of Laws had been conferred by other colleges upon Justices Livingston and Johnson, and that Justice Story had been chosen a member of the Corporation of Harvard College. The subject would be worth not even a passing notice were it not that Mr. Shirley in his valuable monograph on the college causes, without impugning in the least the honesty of the judges, goes great

Dr. Perkins, who was in attendance at Washington, wrote to President Allen a bitter letter of disappointment, declaring that there had been "monkery" in the case, and laying the blame for defeat upon its management at home. "How unfortunate we are," he wrote, "in not having our case properly prepared in New Hampshire for this Court." The failure he believed was due to an improper statement of facts, "which ought to have been found by the jury in New Hampshire—and I know could have been with such documents as we had at command, but for the numbskulls we had for counsel." Three days later, February 14, he wrote again: "Mr. Pinkney is most prodigiously vexed with the management of the cause in New Hampshire, and says that if it should be lost it will be lost by the very slovenly manner in which it has been conducted." He hoped for a restatement of facts and proposed it to Mr. Webster, but he would "admit nothing." Advising on the course to be pursued at Hanover he urged the officers to hold on, as the college officers had done, to retain the donations of Wheelock and perhaps later move to Concord, where more funds could soon be obtained than the College had. He thought it important that Hill should know that they had lost their case "by the misstatements and tricks of the Octagon's counsel—taking new ground at the U. S. Court, when our counsel could not be furnished with the necessary facts to put down the impudent falsehoods which were palmed on the Court. Something of this sort may be necessary for the safety of the pending election; for no expedient will be untried by those *creatures* to carry their purpose."

lengths in suggesting by the skillful use of italics and otherwise the exertion of improper influences by the friends of the college. His insinuations are impartially distributed upon all distinguished men who had a hand in the case on the college side. He makes much of a destruction of papers by Judge Smith in 1824, and of the influences confessedly brought to bear upon Judge Story and Chancellor Kent, though he declares that "it is no discredit to Story that he changed his opinion but the contrary." At the same time he himself tells us, with no word of reproach, of the means used by the University people to *fix* the two New York judges through Chancellor Kent and of their enticing Judge Story into being their counsel in advance. He seems to ignore the fact that the charge, which he more than insinuates, is, if true, doubly disgraceful to Chancellor Kent and to the justices themselves—to their judicial purity, if they were consciously influenced, and to their mental capacity if they were so unwittingly. The truth is, as Mr. Shirley himself conclusively shows, that the impartiality of the court was in fact endangered, in the manner above related, by the acts of some restless friends of the University in a way that compelled the officers of the College to counteract their schemes. But there is no hint of any thing else to be inferred from anything that the writer has been able to find. It is fair to remember that, even without the letters and papers destroyed by Judge Smith, of whose contents we are ignorant, we have laid open to the public eye the intimate correspondence, in hundreds of letters, of all the eminent men on the college side; nothing is withheld so far as known, while on the part of the University but little of that sort is open to us. Mr. Shirley in one instance (p. 270) implies a withholding of certain letters of Webster's, but an examination of the letters themselves, which have since come into the hands of the writer, reveals that the extract furnished him and published comprises everything in them that relates to the subject.

The disappointment of others was equally keen though expressed with less bitterness. The chief responsibility in Washington had rested upon Mr. Hale and he had already wearied of it. He was not fearful of an adverse decision but he foresaw the difficulties that beset the University. Early in January he wrote to Governor Plumer:¹

My feelings in relation to our University are the same as yours. I fear we shall make nothing of it. I accepted the office of trustee, as you know, reluctantly, and only because, at that moment, the board could not do without me. It is my purpose to resign as soon as the cause is decided in our favor, and in this manner I trust I shall show that if the public have done much for me I have repaid them in part.

Again on the 29th of March he wrote:²

Of the college cause I do not yet despair. Upon the facts before them the Court decided that the old charter was a *contract* with the individuals who made the donations. If it should be found that the State made all or nearly all of the donations, some new foundation for such an opinion must be discovered. In my opinion the Court would go far to find it. What monstrous strides they made, at the last term, to restrict the power of the States!

The Governor was equally disappointed in the decision and in the haste with which it was made, without waiting for a second argument, and saw in it the assumption of jurisdiction on the part of the Court, warranted neither by the constitution nor statute law, and tending toward the consolidation of the States. He believed that it would be soon reversed.

The college people, on the other hand, were correspondingly elated. The opinion, as Webster wrote, went "the whole length and left not an inch of ground for the University to stand on." Mr. Hopkinson wrote to President Brown:³ "The Court goes all lengths with us, and whatever trouble these gentlemen may give us in future in their great and pious zeal for the interests of learning they cannot shake the principles which must and will restore Dartmouth College to its true and original owners. I would have an inscription over the door of your building, 'Founded by Eleazar Wheelock, Refounded by Daniel Webster.'" At another time he wrote: "The cause had in itself everything to interest the feelings and stimulate the exertions of your counsel, and our success is an honorable monument of the justice of our laws, and the independence with which they are administered."

¹ Plumer Correspondence, Congressional Library.

² *Ibid.*

³ Webster's Priv. Cor., I, 301.

To avoid the technical inconvenience occasioned by the death of Mr. Woodward, Mr. Webster moved for judgment as of the preceding term. This was granted on February 23, 1819, notwithstanding the opposition of Messrs. Pinkney and Wirt, who claimed delay till the other causes should be heard. These causes, which a little while ago had been so ardently urged, were now in the way, and the Court, having already decided the main question, could do no more with the supplementary causes than remand them to the Circuit Court for further proceedings in the light of the principles thus established. The University party was very anxious that Messrs. Pinkney and Wirt should argue one of them on the ground of new facts, but aside from the personal estrangement of the two men, which rendered it difficult for them to work together, there were difficulties in the case, as indicated in a letter from Webster to Judge Smith, February 28, 1819.¹

As to the other causes, Messrs. Pinkney and Wirt have been very much pressed by the agents and partizans here to argue one of these causes upon the ground of the *new facts*. By the time, however, that we approached near the causes they saw difficulties, and their zeal began to cool. It was impossible to agree on definite facts. It was hardly possible to expect any different result than had already taken place from another argument without new facts. Some of the opinions of the judges appeared to go so far as to be decisive against them, even taking the new facts for granted. At the same time we heard here the echoes of the clamor in New Hampshire that the cause had not been heard on its true facts. I called up the subject a day or two before we should have reached the causes, and desired to know, from the Counsel, whether it was expected to argue one of those causes. This brought on a conversation between Bench and Bar, which finally terminated in this: that the causes should be remanded by consent; that Defendants might, in Circuit Court, move to set aside this Verdict, if they should be so advised, when the opinions of the judges in Woodward's case should be read and known—I found this course would be *agreeable*, and adopted it at once. In truth I did not want a second argument here upon an *assumption* of facts. If I do not misjudge, we shall have no difficulty in the Circuit Court.

Intelligence of the decision of the court at Washington reached Hanover February 9, during the winter vacation and naturally occasioned hearty rejoicing. "The expressions of joy were excessive. The officers of the College entreated the inhabitants repeatedly to desist, but to no purpose"; cannon were fired by them that evening and also the next morning. On Monday, March 1, the spring term began. President Allen an-

¹ Shirley, p. 244.

nounced that the course of instruction in the University was indefinitely suspended, and though he declined to surrender the keys, suffered the officers of the College to take quiet possession of the chapel and college building, excepting the library which the latter avoided entering lest they should relieve President Allen from responsibility for the books, which it was supposed had been largely removed or lost. Professors Dean, Carter and Searle had already departed, and Dr. Perkins set about arranging his affairs preparatory to removal, announcement being made that the students of the University would be received into the college classes on the same terms as from any other college.¹ Six availed themselves of the privilege, and the remainder vanished, but others came in so that the number of students, reduced the previous year to less than 100, was restored at the opening of the fall term to the normal average of about 150. The abandonment of the University was rather ungraciously set forth in the following notice:²

NOTICE.

The students and friends of Dartmouth University are informed that its immediate officers have resolved to suspend the course of instruction in that seminary. It is due to the public that the cause of this resolution should be explained. A few days ago the Rev. F. Brown requested me to give him possession of the Chapel &c—A request with which of course I could not comply the legal controversy being yet unsettled. Last evening I received from him a note, saying "the government of the College after consulting gentlemen of legal information have concluded to occupy the Chapel tomorrow morning." Accordingly this morning the Chapel which was under lock and key was entered and wrested from the University by force. In like manner have been taken the tutors rooms and other apartments. I have nothing to say in regard to the motives which induced this determination to outstrip the steps of the law and to retake by force the buildings for the recovery of which a suit against me, by way of writ of ejectment has been brought by Charles Marsh Esq. of Vermont (the lessee of this very property under "The Trustees of the College" so-called) and is still pending in the Court of the United States. But being thus deprived of the Chapel and other conveniences, the officers of instruction in the University are reduced to the necessity of suspending the discharge of the duties in which by authority of the State they have been engaged.

WILLIAM ALLEN, *President.*

DARTMOUTH UNIVERSITY
Monday March 1st, 1819.

The position here taken was calculated to work serious injury to the College by keeping up the uncertainty in the public mind, and prolonging the difficulties of college administration. The

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, March 3, 1819.

² *New Hampshire Patriot*, March 9, 1819.

most sanguine supporter of the University could hardly have imagined, in view of the sweeping decision at Washington, that the issue of the auxiliary causes could essentially benefit the condition of the University, or lessen the security of the College. The most that could be effected was friction for the College, but it was perhaps too much to expect that the bitterness of defeat should be accepted in silence. As it was the three auxiliary causes, devised with so much trouble and ingenuity, and so urgently pushed, thus became a source of embarrassment to their promoters, and the problem was how soonest to be rid of them. The only way was to force them to an immediate issue. Timely notice was, therefore, given by Mr. Marsh to President Allen to be ready for trial at the May term. But Mr. Allen craved delay.

HANOVER April 15, 1819.

HON. C. MARSH:

SIR,—On the 8th or 9th inst. I received notice from you that the plaintiff in the suit remanded to the circuit court would insist upon a trial in May. We had no expectation of a trial at that time and had made no preparation for that event, supposing that a postponement this year as last year would be a matter of course. Our papers were left at Washington, and although we have written for them since your notice, yet know not that they will be received in season for the trial. They cannot be received in season to be studied by counsel. It is therefore to be hoped that you will not insist upon the trial until October & that you will put yourself to no trouble in regard to a trial in May. To you it can make no difference, as there will be an appeal, & a new argument next winter at Washington.

Yours &c,

WM. ALLEN.

Mr. Marsh thus responded:

W ODSOCK 22^d April 1819.

REV. WILLIAM ALLEN:

SIR,—I received by the last Tuesday's mail your letter of 15th instant in which you say that you could not be ready for trial at the next term of the Circuit Court in the cause remanded to that Court from the Supreme Court of the U. S., and add that "to you it can make no difference as there will be an appeal and a new argument next winter at Washington."

It may with propriety be observed that the Special Verdict in the case *The Trustees of Dartmouth College vs. Wm. H. Woodward* embraced all the facts which ever ought or which ever can have any effect in deciding the real matter of controversy between the College and University, or between those claiming rights or property under them respectively.

The legislature of N. H. in passing the Acts of June and December 1816 assumed the broad principle that allowing the corporation to be such an one as the charter seemed to make it they had a right to alter the charter and to associate others with the former trustees to share with them the franchises of the

corporation. You Sir and all those acting under the authority of those acts have adopted the same principle.

Now Sir let me ask how after this principle has failed you by a solemn decision of the Court you can now reasonably desire to have the controversy decided upon an entirely different principle by a recurrence to some antiquated papers and circumstances which were never taken into consideration by the legislature, and which never entered into the views of the parties.

Again Sir let me ask whether you can possibly persuade yourself that the nature of the corporation and the extent of the powers and privileges of its members can ever be ascertained except by a recurrence merely to the terms and a sound construction of the charter by which it was erected? Can you believe that the nature of a charter of fifty years standing is now to be determined by something *ab extra*, which might have happened at about the time it issued; the evidence of which rests in loose unrecorded and indefinite narratives, letters or pamphlets to which the charter does not even refer; or that the nature of the corporation can ever be altered by any donation made to it after its establishment, by the government or individuals?

If Sir you can answer any of these questions affirmatively I can only express my surprise that an honest and well informed man should entertain such an extravagant opinion. I am confident that no sound lawyer ever has given or ever can give any advice to this effect.

You have only to recur to a principle familiar to every man in common life, that a deed must be explained by itself unless it refer to something without, and in such case you can only prove what the thing referred to is, or which of several things was intended by the reference. If I am correct in this your papers would be of no consequence if here, and if the Circuit Court is of that opinion they will not continue a cause for the production of papers which they could not admit if produced.

I do not think delay in these causes of so little consequence as you seem to imagine. The expense is very considerable and the real and only question in controversy being decided, there should now be an end to contention. With these views of the subject I cannot consent to a continuance. You must therefore proceed to trial or obtain a continuance by an application to the Court. We shall also insist that if you move a continuance you shall in your affidavit for that purpose inform what the nature of the papers, on account of the absence of which you wish a continuance, is, that the Court may judge of the pertinency to the question at issue.

I am &c.

CHARLES MARSH.

On the opening of the Circuit Court at Portsmouth, May 1, 1819, Judge Story delivered an opinion, disposing of the auxiliary causes in conformity to the opinion of the Supreme Court in the main action, but, on request, granted delay until the session of his court in Boston a few weeks later to enable the defendants to produce the new facts that they relied on. This was done by James T. Austen of the Board of Overseers on May 27, but nothing appeared to change the aspect of the cases, and judg-

ment entered for the plaintiffs as of the same term, celebrated the final obsequies of the University, and made an end of the posthumous litigation.¹

It has since been whispered that there were in truth other facts not brought out that would have been decisive against the College. There is even a tradition, which we must think mistaken, that Webster once made such a statement to Choate, but the nature of these terrible facts has not been disclosed. It has been surmised that they bore on the original validity of the charter as being beyond the power of Wentworth to grant, but it is not easy to see how this can be so. Webster's confidential letters give no hint of such a danger. He wrote to President Brown: "I have no fear of any evil resulting from using any extracts from Boston or elsewhere. . . . I had before heard of their intentions respecting introducing the correspondence of Dr. Wheelock &c." "I flatter myself," he wrote to Mr. Mason April 10, 1819,² "the Judge will tell the defendants that the new facts which they talk of, were presented to the minds of the judges at Washington, and that if all proved they would not have the least effect on the opinion of any judge—that unless it can be proved that the King did not grant such a charter as the special verdict recites, or that the N. H. General Court did not pass such acts as are therein contained, no material alteration of the case can be made."

President Allen and the University people were thoroughly familiar with all the historical details, and their New Hampshire counsel were of the keenest. It is inconceivable that any point of such importance should escape them. The correspondence between President Allen, Dr. Perkins and their counsel at Washington has much to say about new facts, but these new facts all had to do with the attempt to show that Dr. Wheelock was not the founder of the College, a point that had already been under discussion, and they proved to have no bearing on the matter. It is true that Governor Wentworth's commission nowhere conferred upon him the power to erect a corporation of this description. The charter never having been confirmed by the Crown may perhaps have been open to question at the beginning, but it is hard to believe that the infirmity, if any, was not cured subsequent to the Revolution, by the repeated recognition of the College as a legal body in numerous acts of the State legislature,

¹ As they are nowhere else to be found, the enrollment and degrees conferred by the University are, for the sake of preservation, inserted in Appendix C.

² Shirley, p. 304.

by the acts of 1789, and 1807, which changed the constitution of the corporation as to lands given by the State, and even by the controverted acts of 1816 themselves. If this were not enough the act of February 8, 1791, in regulating towns and describing corporate powers expressly declared, "That all trustees of colleges, academies, schools, and proprietors of common and undivided lands, grants and other estates or interest, be, and hereby are empowered to sue, prosecute and defend any action and to appoint an agent or agents, attorney or attorneys to appear for them and in their behalf."

To gratify the wide-spread interest in the college cause, and draw the public into closer sympathy with the College, the publication of the pleadings, arguments and opinions in book form was undertaken by Mr. Timothy Farrar, Jr., then a lawyer of growing eminence at Portsmouth, son of the trustee of the same name, and one of the college counsel, under the active encouragement of the college authorities and of Webster and the other counsel.¹ The idea had been suggested after the argument at Exeter two years before in 1817, but the work was not actively undertaken until the final decision at Washington. It was then pushed forward as rapidly as possible in the hope of having it out by midsummer. Shorthand was not then in use, and the work involved the difficult task of writing out the arguments from memory. Counsel on both sides wrote out their arguments or furnished their minutes to Mr. Farrar. There were also short notes of the Exeter arguments taken down at the time by Mr. Webster. Judge Smith prepared the report of his own, and Mr. Webster, besides his own, wrote out also Mr. Hopkinson's from minutes furnished by the latter, all but about two pages added by Mr. Hopkinson himself. The book of 406 pages was published in 1819 and made available for common knowledge in exact form not only the arguments in the case but also the decision itself, which, says Chancellor Kent in his commentaries,² "did more than any other single act proceeding from the authority of the United States to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of Government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious and commercial institutions of our country."

The collapse of the University brought into clear view the

¹ Mr. Shirley has given an interesting account of its progress and mode of compilation. Chapter XI.

² Kent's Commentaries, Vol. I, p. 392.

disastrous state of its finances. From the beginning it had been living on the expectation of funds that belonged to the College and of aid from the State. The entire expense of maintaining it for two years, from March 4, 1817 to March 1, 1819, including the expense of litigation, had been about \$8,000, and aside from the \$4,000 received from the State as a loan in 1818 its cash receipts from students' quarter bills, its only source of revenue, had amounted by March, 1819, to not quite \$300. A nearly equal amount was due from students on their notes or bonds, but this of course was not collectible, though about \$100 were paid within a year,¹ so that the total amount ultimately accruing to the University from students was not far from \$400. Upward of \$500 was, indeed, received from the rents of the lands given by President Wheelock, but the gifts themselves becoming void by the conditions, these rents were in the end claimed by Mrs. Allen, heir of President Wheelock, and were paid over to her. From the lessees of the college lands nothing at all was derived, or from the funds of Moor's School or from the Scotch funds. The loan from the State had quickly disappeared in the partial payment of overdue salaries, in necessary expenses and in the fees of counsel, leaving a considerable load of debt, which steadily increased.

The first, and in fact the only, question before the Trustees of the University after the final decision against them, was how to obtain the money with which to pay their debts, especially the amounts due those who had accepted their invitation to professorships and had carried on the work of the University. They had no funds and no income, nor could they expect any gifts except from the legislature, in carrying out whose acts they had contracted their debts. When, therefore, according to adjournment from the last annual meeting, they came together in Mason's hall in Concord on June 4, their only business was to appoint a committee, Messrs. Darling, Eastman and Hale, to settle the accounts of the treasurer. Adjourning to the 9th they met again at Hutchins's Hotel in Concord, the last meeting of which there is a record, and appointed "a committee to meet a committee of the Legislature, should one be appointed, and disclose to them the state of the concerns of the Corporation and the amount of its debts, dues and claims." Mr. Darling was chosen treasurer in place of Dr. Perkins, who resigned, and a vote was passed, though it was recognized as wanting in validity,

¹ Letter of President Allen to Committee of Legislature.

fixing the salary due Mr. Allen, as President and Professor of Theology, at \$1,200 a year for his two years of service.

In the discharge of its duty the committee presented to the legislature in June the following petition which is in the handwriting of President Allen:¹

The undersigned, in behalf of the Trustees of Dartmouth University beg leave respectfully to represent that under the acts of your honorable body, amending the charter of Dartmouth College, passed in the year 1816, the corporation was duly organized notwithstanding the refusal of the former Trustees of the College to submit to those acts; that the necessary officers of the University were appointed; and that the course of instruction under this new organization commenced in March 1817, amidst peculiar difficulties, which are too well known to require explanation, the Institution was supported, and the number of students was increasing with rapidity, when circumstances occurred, which in March last, constrained the immediate officers of the University to suspend the course of instruction.

Soon after it was known that the Supreme Court of the U. S. had expressed an opinion on the suit brought by the former Trustees of the College, these officers were forcibly dispossessed of the buildings belonging to the Seminary, even while suits for the recovery of those buildings were still pending in the Court of the U. S. Thus deprived of the necessary buildings the officers of the University permitted the students to seek an admission into other literary institutions. Since this period the Executrix of the late Treasurer has delivered to the former Trustees all the records and evidences of property which had been sued for; this delivery by agreement of parties being accepted instead of the damages recovered. By this event, resulting from the decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S. your memorialists have been deprived of all the ancient funds of the Seminary, from which they have derived no benefit, and by the same decision the liberal donation and bequest of the late President Wheelock may be forfeited, they being made in consequence of the acts of 1816, and liable to become void in case those acts should be rendered nugatory.

These unexpected occurrences have deprived your memorialists of the means of fulfilling their pecuniary engagements to the officers whom they have employed in the various departments of the Seminary entrusted to their care, and who have labored diligently and with reputation in the discharge of their respective duties.

It was in the faith that the Acts of your honorable body, designed to improve what was thought to be a public institution, and what all the authorities of N. H. have declared to be such, were valid, that your memorialists in fulfilling your wishes pertaining to the interests of literature and science solicited the services of these officers; and it is in the perfect confidence that the honorable legislature of N. H. in their justice and wisdom and liberality will provide for the reward of those services, and will shield from loss, at least in some degree, the men who have acted under your authority, that your memorialists present this subject to your consideration.

¹ State files: *New Hampshire Patriot*, July 15, 1819.

The debts and assets made a bad showing.

<i>Debts</i>		<i>Assets</i>	
To Wm. Allen, salary	\$1460.17	Due from students	\$290.09
" Prof. Dean, "	723.35	Bal. in Treas'. hands	334.69
" " Carter, "	403.85		
" " Searle, "	500.		
" W. H. Woodward	412.41	Not provided for	3000.
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$3624.78		\$3624.78

The legislature seemed to recognize its obligation to pay the debts of the University and the next day a committee of three members from the House and one from the Senate¹ was appointed "with instructions to report the requisite resolves for settling the concerns of said institution." On July 1, the committee introduced resolves to pay Mr. Allen \$1,247.80; and \$125 on account of Moor's School, and to the three professors the sums mentioned in the report. As a substitute for these resolutions a motion to appoint a committee of three to audit the claims, and allow what they thought "just and reasonable", and authorizing the payment of the audited claims by the Governor was lost, 87 to 73, but the same persons² were appointed a committee to audit all accounts against the University and "to make a specific and particular report at the next session of the General Court what sum is due to each officer, and for what particular service, and the full amount requisite to discharge said claims," by a vote of 80 yeas to 79 noes.

This committee reported, June 22, 1820,³ that there were due to

President Allen for salary	\$899.07
President Allen for Moor's School	125.00
Professor Dean for salary	692.00
Professor Carter for salary	460.00
Professor Searle for salary	500.00
Mr. Woodward's estate	785.28

¹ Messrs. J. Pitman, M. Brown and Cogswell from the House and Dan Young from the Senate.

² John Bell, Jr., and Richard H. Ayer, members of the Council, and William Pickering the State treasurer.

³ H. J., p. 260. The reduction in the sum proposed for President Allen was due to a credit of \$483.37 which he gave the University (see his letter to the committee) for various items, and to the throwing out of his claim for interest. It was generally thought that \$1,200 were a large sum for his annual salary.

There were also other unknown claims, and in the judgment of the committee it would require \$3,461.35 to meet existing claims. No action was taken on the report, but at the November session it was taken up on the 23d¹, and on the next day Mr. Hubbard of Charlestown introduced a resolution to pay Professor Dean \$692, which was carried, 110 to 63. On the 28th² resolutions to pay Professors Carter and Searle the sums mentioned in the report were offered and refused. In the afternoon the resolution to pay Professor Searle was again called up and passed, 94 to 83, and also one to pay Professor Carter was passed, 92 to 68. Two days later a vote to pay the estate of Mr. Woodward \$785.28 was lost, but later in the day the vote was reconsidered and it was referred to a committee, which reported favorably, December 6, but after several amendments were proposed and lost, the original motion was lost, 74 to 114. On the 12th of December the Senate proposed to reduce the payments to Professor Dean to \$500, to Professor Carter to \$184, and to Professor Searle to \$300. These proposals were all accepted by the House, but Governor Bell withheld his assent, saying that he had not gathered from the acts and proceedings of the legislature any evidence that it was the intention to guarantee the payment, and could not, therefore, consider the claims as debts due from the State. If regarded as donations on account of a loss resulting from an unexpected judicial decision, he believed them inexpedient at a time of general pressure and embarrassment. On the reconsideration of the question after the Governor's veto the necessary two-thirds majority was obtained in the Senate, but not in the House, the vote there being yeas 98, nays 78. But three years later³ a resolution passed both houses to pay to Professor Dean \$500, and he only of the University officers received anything from the legislature. To them, therefore, the result was that for two years' services President Allen received in money and accounts \$983.37, Professor Dean received \$1,000, Professor Carter \$740, and Treasurer Woodward nothing. Professor Searle, for one year's services and for expenses and losses occasioned by removing to Hanover from Maryland, received \$100. He died soon after, leaving a family in needy circumstances, and in June, 1824,⁴ Mr. Olcott applied to the legislature anew in behalf of the widow, a sister of the late Treasurer Woodward, but the matter was postponed to the autumn session and then dropped. At the

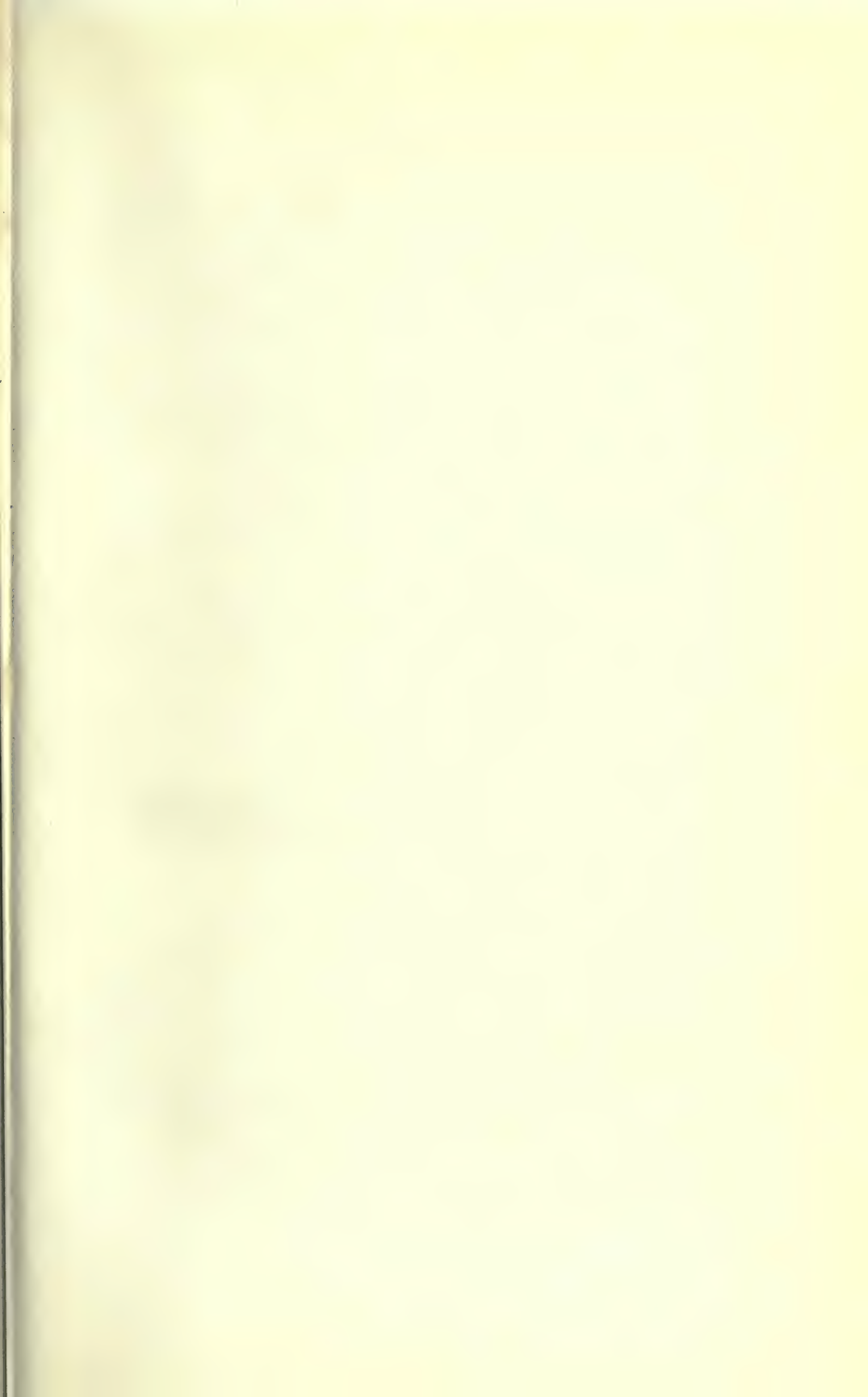
¹ H. J., p. 93.² H. J., p. 123f.³ S. J., p. 160; H. J., p. 254; 1823.⁴ H. J., pp. 94, 103, 126, June; 69, November.

same session a joint resolution of December 1, somewhat tardily cancelled the bond given by the Trustees of the University for repayment of the loan of \$4,000.¹ A resolution for the partial payment of Professor Carter passed the Senate in June, 1824,² but was lost in the House (73 ayes to 120 noes), though reported favorably from the committee by Mr. Durkee of Hanover. In 1825 ³ another ineffectual attempt to get payment out of the "Literary Fund" was the last echo of University affairs in the legislature.

¹ H. J., pp. 86, 94.

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid* p. 108, 1824; pp. 201, 324; 1825.





Daniel Dain.

CHAPTER XI.

1820-1828.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENTS DANA AND TYLER.

UPON the final determination of the great controversy there was equal anxiety among the friends of the university students as to the treatment they were to expect from the successful Board, and among the friends of the College abroad that the victory should be received with moderation. Both were gratified with the spirit displayed by the college Trustees. Announcement was made that the students of the University would be received on the same terms as from any other New England college, and most availed themselves of the privilege.¹ The few citizens of Hanover that had adhered to the university party generally accepted the result with good nature. Col. Brewster, who had been one of President Allen's most active and influential supporters, now threw all his weight in favor of harmony, and hearty good will to the College, and in 1820, he then being high sheriff for Grafton County by the appointment of Governor Plumer, served as marshal at Commencement. The influence of President Allen himself was cast in the end in the same direction, and by 1820 the feelings of all were so far soothed that on the invitation of Professor Shurtleff he preached in the College pulpit, but he took for his theme the life of Stephen as an illustration of the persecution suffered by good men. He continued to reside in the Wheelock mansion for about a year, until he was called to the presidency of Bowdoin College. The other members of the university Faculty lost no time in seeking a more congenial atmosphere. Professor Dean returned to Burlington, Vt., where in 1822 he resumed the professorship of mathematics in the University, which he had given up to come to Hanover.² Professor Carter became the editor of the *New York Statesman*

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, March 10, April 21, 1819.

² Judge Nesmith of the class of 1820 describes Professor Dean as "short and fat with very short legs set near together so that his knees rubbed when he walked, and he had them padded on the inside with leather." He was born in Windsor, Vt., and was graduated at Dartmouth in 1800. He was prominent as a mathematician, the author of some small publications in mathematics and, in 1808, of a *Gazetteer of Vermont*. He died at Burlington, Vt., January 20, 1849, aged 72.

in Albany, N. Y., and Professor Searle, the only one of the three who was married, died October 15, 1821.¹

Mr. Hill and the *Patriot* found it hard to be reconciled. In the *New Hampshire Register* for 1818 and 1819, published by Messrs. Hill and Moore, the roster of the University only had been given, no allusion whatever being made to the College. In the issues for 1820 and 1821 the College resumes its place, with a brief account of the recent legislation and decisions, and the following bitter comment: "By this decision it is to be understood that the people of New Hampshire as a State have no longer an interest in Dartmouth College." A similar spirit prevailed, as we shall see, to a large degree in the official circles of the dominant party for several years, till time and the wise discretion of the college fathers disarmed hostility.

At the time of the decision at Washington (February, 1819) the college Trustees were under adjournment to the 28th of April. Governor Plumer was notified of the meeting but declined to attend, "as a difference of opinion exists between us as to the question of right to hold it, and as those who claim the authority to adjudicate on that question have not made a final decision." On assembling, the first act of the Trustees was to accept the resignation of ex-Governor Gilman, that was tendered in the following friendly terms:

EXETER, April 8, 1819.

SIR,—I hereby resign my office as a member of the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College.

This would have taken place some years ago if I had thought it would have been beneficial to the College, or was wished for by the board; but I had reasons to think otherwise, which are certainly known to some, and probably to all the members of the board. Please to present my respects to them. With best wishes for the prosperity of Dartmouth College, and for your health and happiness. I am, &c.

J. T. GILMAN.

REV. FRANCIS BROWN,
President of Dartmouth College.

Jeremiah Mason was chosen as successor to Governor Gilman, but declined the appointment because of his inability to perform the duties of the office.

Committees were next appointed to demand from "Rev. William Allen" the library and apparatus, and to settle with Mrs. Woodward, executrix of the late treasurer defendant. Mrs.

¹ Professor Carter left Albany in 1822, and later, after traveling abroad published "Letters from Europe" in two volumes. He died of consumption at Marseilles, France, January 2, 1830.

Woodward gladly surrendered the records and the seal, the care of which had caused her deep anxiety. Fearing their loss or injury by violence she had kept them for a long time hidden in a bin of grain. The ancient seal was immediately restored to use. In addition to a committee to address the public there was a hint of vengeance in the appointment of a committee to bring in at the next meeting charges against Professor Perkins, of the Medical Department. But their services were not required. The Doctor had volunteered in the contest with so much ardor that he himself recognized the propriety of a separation by a good-natured resignation in June, and he removed to New York City where he became a successful physician.

The Commencement of 1819 was naturally an occasion for great rejoicing, and there was an unusual concourse of the friends of the College to celebrate its triumph. There was no formal recognition of victory, but the presence of Mr. Webster was a sufficient reminder of the fact, and at a dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at the Dartmouth Hotel after the public exercises of the society on Thursday, at which the address was given by Augustus Peabody of Boston, a congratulatory vote was passed for his success in the college case. At the exercises of Commencement day the valedictory, with an oration on "The Fine Arts as Affecting the Republican Character," was given by Rufus Choate. He was also to have given an address before the Social Friends Society, but was prevented by illness.¹ The Trustees at their meeting passed votes of thanks to the eminent counsel for their services in the college cases, and asked them to sit for their portraits, to be painted by Steward. The portraits are now in the possession of the College but it was several years before they were secured.

The finances of the College were only less disorganized than those of the University. During the struggle it had received no income from its property and depended wholly upon the receipts from students' quarter bills and from subscriptions. In both these things it was more fortunate than the University. The average number of students was about a hundred and brought in a nominal annual income of over \$2,300, from which, however, there was always considerable loss in uncollectible accounts. Subscriptions were diligently pushed by President Brown, Professors Adams and Shurtleff and the Trustees, throughout New

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, August 25; *Portsmouth Oracle*, August 28, 1819. Choate's Valedictory was printed in full in *The Dartmouth*, September 1872, p. 315.

Hampshire, in eastern Massachusetts, and in Vermont and New York. Besides the \$1,000 given by Mr. Wheeler there were received between 1817 and 1819, in sums ranging from a few cents to \$500, various subscriptions amounting to \$3,885.10, of which about \$1,450 were contributed in Boston. In addition to these receipts a subscription was made of \$1,000, of which Mills Olcott subscribed \$600, to pay a part of what was due the college officers in case the suit should be determined against the Trustees, but, of course, it was not called for in the event. The revenues of the College from all sources combined were entirely insufficient to meet its expenses, and like the University it was oppressed with a heavy load of debt, so that the Trustees naturally turned for relief to the legislature whose acts had brought them into such straits, and a committee, consisting of Messrs. Paine, Payson and Olcott, was appointed with discretionary authority to apply to that body for aid and indemnity.

There was no lack of losses upon which to base a claim for indemnity, however improbable of allowance by the legislature in its existing temper. The actual expenses of litigation were estimated at not less than \$6,000.¹ In counsel fees for the suit in the State court there were paid Jeremiah Smith \$150, Jeremiah Mason \$100, Daniel Webster \$50, and for the action at Washington, there were paid Webster \$1,000 and Hopkinson \$500. The loss of the use of buildings and apparatus for two years had occasioned great inconvenience and some pecuniary damage; but the shrinkage of tuition fees from diminution of students, and the loss of rents of rooms and of lands were by far the most tangible and formidable items. The tenants of the lands, having tasted immunity from rents, were not easily brought again to payment. In Wheelock, which was then a principal source of income, each party having forbidden payment to the other, no rents at all were collected for more than four years. "The tenants, lawless at best and now freed from control, and believing themselves freed forever, did their pleasure in waste and dilapidation."² The College was driven to the courts, and in many cases obliged to compound for half the arrears. The losses in Wheelock alone were estimated at five or six thousand dollars, and a statement prepared for the Trustees by Professor

¹ *Dartmouth College and the State of New Hampshire*, p. 16. This pamphlet of 23 pages was a reprint of articles by a citizen of New Hampshire and a citizen of Vermont, published in the *New Hampshire Statesman*, and the *Concord Register*, between November 28, 1828, and April 11, 1829.

² *Dartmouth College and the State of New Hampshire*, p. 6.

Adams in May, 1819, estimated the damage from other causes at \$8,771.50.

Since the experience with a hostile member from home, in the legislature of 1816, the college district in Hanover had taken care to be represented by a friend. This year it was Mr. Olcott. His colleague from the eastern section was Augustus Storrs, who was also a friend to the College. On the 14th of June Mr. Olcott, acting on the discretion given to the committee, laid in the memorial of the college Board.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire now convened at Concord:

The Trustees of Dartmouth College respectfully represent that the Honorable legislature of this State in the year 1816 passed sundry acts relating to said College in consequence of which great damages and expenditures have been sustained. For a great part of these damages and expenditures your memorialists deem themselves to have a good and valid claim against individuals, but it would better accord with their wishes, and as they trust with the honor and dignity of the State that other provision should be made for remuneration, and as this subject is now before this Hon. legislature your memorialists pray your Hon. body that his Excellency the Governor be authorized and requested to appoint a committee to ascertain the amount of said damages and expenditures, who shall as soon as may be make report to him thereon and that his Excellency on receiving said report be authorized and requested to make an order on the Treasurer of the State in favor of the Treasurer of said College for the amount reported by said Committee.

And as in duty bound will ever pray

the Trustees of Dartmouth College
by MILLS OLCOTT *their Treasurer.*

This memorial was referred to the committee that had in charge the similar request of the University. The House demanded a single report on both petitions, but the Senate disagreed to that order.¹ A report, made on the 17th, was laid on the table, and a second committee² reported on the 30th, that they did not find in the memorial "any definite statement of facts and principles to guide them in the recommendation of any resolutions," and at their request were discharged from its further consideration. At the June session, 1820, the college memorial was referred to a new committee (Thomas Whipple, Ichabod Bartlett and Henry Hubbard of the House, all recognized partisans of the University), and the whole subject went over to November. At that session by the adoption of the report of the committee, which was made December 22, the prayer of the

¹ H. J., p. 148; S. J., p. 268.

² H. J., p. 177.

Trustees for indemnity was definitively refused.¹ In the language of the report, "their losses and expenses having been incurred in consequence of voluntary resistance to acts which were declared by the competent judicial authority of the State to be valid, the petitioners are not entitled to indemnity, nor can the State consent to its payment without abandoning principles on which its institutions are based."

In October, 1820, nearly five thousand dollars were due to the College officers for unpaid salary, and not only were there no certain means of payment, but the current annual expenses exceeded the estimated income by nearly five hundred dollars. A careful estimate at that time of the resources and liabilities of the College showed that the latter exceeded the former by \$2,924.95. To make matters worse, President Allen and Mrs. Wheelock, as executors of President Wheelock, made peremptory demand in August, 1819, for payment of the balances due the estate, and brought suit for notes, interest and accounts amounting to about \$7,900,² and for \$10,000 additional for the work, labor, care and diligence of Wheelock as President of the College. All these claims President Wheelock had released to the University in his will, but they were now revived against the College, and pushed with ardor. The College had no means of payment and the idea was at first entertained of resisting the collection in reliance upon the release to the University. Judge Smith was retained as counsel to defend the suit, but after examining the case he reported that he could find no valid defence, and acting on his advice a settlement was agreed upon at the May term of court, 1820, in favor of the plaintiffs, for \$7,886.41 and costs of \$17.72, in all \$7,904.13 and execution was issued May 30, 1821, for this and interest amounting to \$8,385.84.³ The obligation was for many years a heavy burden on the College treasury and was only discharged in 1832, practically from the results of the subscription then raised.

But other anxieties than those for money beset the College. It was hardly to be expected that so strong a feeling as had existed

¹ H. J., p. 373.

² These notes were for arrears of salary, and the interest, which, when not paid, was compounded into new notes. The first, dated September 2, 1809, was for \$3,144.58, payable in seven annual instalments beginning in 1813. No payments were made, and the interest falling into arrears was settled together with new arrears of salary by a note for \$601.52, on September 1, 1812. A similar note for \$433.66 was given in September, 1815, when there was an additional acknowledged claim of \$2,027.70. In 1819, when the settlement was made, the various items amounted to \$7,886.41.

³ Records of Court.

during the contest should subside without some expression of hostility, and the natural form for it to take was encouragement to rival institutions. Some of the strongest partisans of the University lived in Vermont, and it was perhaps in the hope of enlisting their support, as well as of profiting by the dissensions in New Hampshire, that Capt. Alden Partridge, late of the United States engineers, who had resigned his office and the superintendency of the Military Academy at West Point in consequence of disagreement with his superior officers, established at Norwich, Vt., his native place, an "American Scientific, Literary and Military Academy," intended to some extent as a rival to the United States establishment. Funds were subscribed and buildings capable of accommodating 160 students were projected in April 1819. The first bricks were laid on August 6 of that year, with appropriate ceremonies, the Academy was opened to students in September, 1821, and the catalogue, issued the ensuing November, carried the names of 117 cadets. Though eccentric, Capt. Partridge was an excellent manager and the Academy under his care was very prosperous, and undoubtedly worked to the disadvantage of the College. In 1834 it was incorporated by the Vermont legislature as "Norwich University." In the spring of 1866 it suffered the loss by fire of one of its buildings, and becoming reduced in numbers it was removed in the fall to Northfield, Vt., under the name of Lewis College, but it subsequently resumed the name under which it was incorporated.

There was a similar threatened rivalry in New Hampshire in connection with the Medical College. An eccentric anatomist, Dr. Alexander Ramsay,¹ of Fryeburg, Me., opened a school of medicine on an extensive plan, in August, 1819, at Concord, intending "to keep it open till June, from regard for the wishes of the Medical Society respecting his settlement there," and

¹ Dr. Alexander Ramsay was a talented Scotchman, born about 1760, who came to this country from Edinburgh. During the War of 1812 he took refuge in the Old Country, returning here when it was over. He settled at Fryeburg, Me., and at North Conway, N. H., where he maintained at his own expense a school of anatomy, extending his lectures also to Quebec and Montreal and to other places in the States. He lectured at Dartmouth in 1798, and made overtures for a permanent connection, which being declined occasioned some bitterness on his part. He had a very large and valuable collection of charts, and specimens wet and dry, by the use of which he obviated, according to his system, the necessity of dissections by his students. He was very small of stature and deformed, occasioned by his nurse falling down stairs with him when he was a child. He was accustomed to express regrets that it did not instead break the nurse's neck. He was truly possessed of great learning, and was a most skillful anatomist. Though eccentric to the last degree he was kind and generous in the same proportions. He died at Fryeburg or at Parsonsfield, Me., November 24, 1824, aged about 64. *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 15, 1819; Allen's Biographical Dictionary; "The Idler," published at North Conway, July, 1880.

expecting "some decisive measures for placing his school on a footing with other colleges," failing which "he intended to retire as a private teacher to Conway."¹ On the 17th of the next June he presented to the legislature, then in session, a petition for aid from the State, which was referred to a committee for investigation.² Three days later the committee reported that Dr. Ramsay asked that the State "furnish him with suitable rooms, consisting of a theater or museum, where he may safely deposit his invaluable establishment, a public dissecting room, and a private dissecting room for the use of practitioners"; that Dr. Ramsay proposed to take personal charge for some years, but to introduce "some American gentleman" who should learn his method and become his successor, "by which means no young man can be sent ignorant from the College which he proposed to establish under the auspices of the legislature," and that he further intimated "that he would probably endow the seminary with his invaluable establishment and spend the residue of his life therein, rendering it all the aid and service in his power, provided that he could receive from the State a certain annuity for his support." Upon this proposition the committee reported that "when they consider the expenses which must attend the establishment and support of the proposed seminary, and that the medical department of Dartmouth College not only leaves us not entirely destitute of an institution of this kind, but has heretofore contributed and is still contributing much to the improvement and dissemination of medical science, they are constrained to say that it is not expedient at present, if ever, to adopt and prosecute the plan proposed by your petitioner." The report was accepted, putting an end to the project, and in August following Dr. Ramsay returned with his school to North Conway. He announced his intention of selling his "anatomical institution, estimated at \$15,000" to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, but nothing ever came of it.³

Previous to the opening of Dr. Ramsay's school at Concord a movement was made looking toward the control of the Medical College at Hanover. A bill was privately drawn for the separate incorporation of that institution under the control of Doctors Josiah Bartlett of Stratham, Daniel Adams of Mount Vernon, M. Spaulding of Amherst, J. H. Pierrepont of Portsmouth, Amos

¹ *New Hampshire Register*, p. 108; *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 15, 1819.

² Messrs. T. Brown, A. Howe and J. Knight, H. J., pp. 192, 210.

³ *New Hampshire Patriot*, July 4, 1820.

Twitchell of Keene, Reuben D. Mussey and Cyrus Perkins of Hanover, and Thomas Whipple of Wentworth, and their associates, not to exceed twenty-five in all, with power to appoint professors and confer degrees. To them was to be committed the building erected by the State and the apparatus, and they were to make annual report to the State authorities. Mr. Thompson believed that "it was a contrivance of Perkins to control the establishment."¹ But whatever its origin, the project was never brought to a vote. While it was under consideration an attempt at conciliation was made by the Trustees that may not have been without its effect. Dr. Twitchell was invited to the chair of Anatomy and Surgery in the College, and though he declined, it was after long consideration and on financial grounds.

The medical building was the property of the State. In 1809, in response to a petition of Dr. Nathan Smith, the legislature appropriated \$3,450 for the construction of a suitable edifice at Hanover for the use of the Medical Institution, on condition that he would convey to the State a half acre of land near the College and all of the anatomical museum and chemical apparatus that was his private property.²

Dr. Smith more than met the condition by conveying not only his part of the museum and apparatus, estimated as worth \$1,500, but an acre of ground on what is now Observatory Hill, on the southwest corner of which the building was erected. It was a brick structure 75 feet long, 32 feet wide, and three stories high, instead of two as originally planned. It was completed in 1811, and naturally cost more than the appropriation. For the excess,

¹ Letters of H. Bond and T. W. Thompson to President Brown.

² H. J., pp. 64, 72.

On the 14th of May, 1810, Dr. Smith wrote to his friend, Dr. George C. Shattuck, of Boston: "I have at length determined to leave Hanover, but at present have not concluded on any certain place of future residence. The political parties are so very jealous of each other and so near a balance that I have nothing to expect from either as some ignorant person might be offended at any grant or assistance voted by the Legislature to promote what they term the "cutting up of dead bodies." No one will choose to advocate the measure and I expect they will, if not deemed too unconstitutional, revoke the grant made for that purpose last year, and if that cannot be effected they will enact laws which will inflict corporal punishment on any person who is concerned in digging or dissecting. If the thing should take this course it will afford me a good pretext for leaving the college and state, a thing which will not be disagreeable to me. The proposal I made the State of giving land and the whole of my museum and apparatus was too much to give, but while engaged in promoting the school in this place I felt willing to go all lengths in sacrificing on the Esculapean altar, but the conduct of people and parties has cooled my ardor for laboring in my avocation in this place and determined me to sell my talents in physics and surgery to the highest bidder." [Letter in the possession of Mrs. Allen Penningman Smith of Baltimore, Md.]

\$1,217.14,¹ Dr. Smith became personally responsible and in 1812 he petitioned the legislature to reimburse him, but though the committee, to which the matter was referred, reported in his favor the legislature declined to assume the debt by a vote of 58 to 96.²

On the renewal of his petition in 1813 the legislature recognized the obligation, but went only so far as to vote that he should receive the rents of six rooms in the medical building to be applied in payment of the interest and the principal of the debt of the State. During the year Dr. Smith resigned his professorship and went to New Haven, and Henry Hutchinson was appointed the agent of the State to care for the building, receive the rents and to pay them to Dr. Smith.³ The rents of the rooms, however, were not sufficient to meet the interest and make needed repairs, much less to diminish the principal. In 1816 Dr. Smith again petitioned the legislature for the payment of the money which he had advanced to complete the building, of which the State had the title, and on the 26th of December⁴ Gen. James Poole was authorized to have an accounting with Dr. Smith and Mr. Hutchinson for all the moneys they had received in rents, and after these sums, which were to go to Dr. Smith, had been deducted from the \$1,109.52 originally advanced by Dr. Smith, the treasurer was directed to pay him the balance with interest from January 1, 1812. The amount of \$1,449.55 was paid under this vote in March, 1817.⁵ The care of the building for several years was in the hands of Gen. Poole, who annually turned into the treasury of the State the trifling sum coming from the rents.⁶

At the June sessions of 1819 and 1820 committees were appointed⁷ to report on the relation of the State to the building, but nothing came of them. In November, 1819, a fire in the upper story of the building caused no great damage, but gave point to a petition of the resident medical professors to the legislature, then in session, that the rents of the building might be applied to secure it against fire and for other purposes. The committee to which it was referred, Messrs. Olcott, Whipple and Allen, reported in favor of making the petitioners the agents of

¹ In 1813 the committee of the legislature reported the sum paid by Dr. Smith as \$1,109.52. H. J., p. 93.

² H. J., p. 82.

³ H. J., June 23, 1814, p. 176.

⁴ H. J., p. 248.

⁵ Accounts of the State Treasurer.

⁶ For the nine years ending with 1826, the year of the last payment, the average sum paid the State was \$23.47.

⁷ H. J., 1819, p. 108; H. J., 1820, p. 105.



MEDICAL BUILDING, 1812.

the State to rent the rooms of the building and to apply the rents in making it secure against fire and more convenient for the use of the museums and apparatus, and in case any surplus should remain of dividing it equally between the Medical Institution and the New Hampshire Medical Society, "to be expended in the purchase of books," but the report was not agreed to, 58 to 97. The ownership of the building by the State was of undoubted value to the College, as it was an added reason for the unwillingness to establish a literary institution in some other place than Hanover, and thus separate the interests of the State.

Governor Plumer retired at the beginning of the session of 1819 with a farewell message of much self-laudation, but containing no allusion to the College or the University. His successor, Governor Samuel Bell, of the same political party, was a graduate of the College in 1793, and from 1808 to 1811 a member of the college Board of Trust. As associate justice of the Supreme Court he had concurred with Judges Richardson and Woodbury in upholding the university acts, and had transferred to the University his son then a member of the junior class in College.¹ In his message he made general allusion to the importance of the interests of literature which "cannot be neglected without endangering alike the cause of religion, morality and freedom." This clause was referred to a special committee² consisting of Messrs. Brodhead of the Senate, and J. Pitman, D. Gale, Barrett, Heald and Olcott of the House. The hand of the last is readily suspected in the report, brought in June 30.³

That they perceive with much satisfaction that the interests of literature as stated by his Excellency partake of the common prosperity, and they trust that it will be no less the pleasure than it is made the duty of this and every future legislature to cherish interests so essential to the preservation of a free government. Your committee are not aware of any particular legislative provision which is required for the encouragement of literature, and not embraced in the subjects already committed to other committees, and which have been or may be presented for the consideration of the legislature. From the present dispassionate state of the public mind, it may reasonably be expected that those exertions will be crowned with abundant success, which will promote useful knowledge and sound learning in the community.

On June 19, however, a committee was appointed to consider the expediency of establishing a public literary institution in this

¹ Letter of President Brown, Shirley, p. 291, explained by G. W. Nesmith.

² H. J., p. 135; S. J., p. 120.

³ H. J., p. 336.

State, and report suitable measures for that purpose.¹ By their recommendation on July 2, a joint resolution was passed referring the subject to a special committee therein named, of which President Allen was chairman,² "to consider the expediency and practicability of establishing a public literary institution in this State; in what place it would be proper to locate the same; to ascertain what funds can be obtained for that purpose; to digest a plan for establishing and organizing said institution, and to report thereon to the legislature at their next session."

Nothing came of this action, however, as President Allen, much to his honor, declined to have anything to do with the matter, on the ground that one college was enough for the State, though he suggested the establishment of a Board of Overseers with the consent of the Trustees, a suggestion which, as we shall see, was also in the mind of the Board.

HANOVER, March 3, 1820.

WM. PICKERING ESQ.:

DEAR SIR,—I understand, though I have received no official notice of the appointment, that I am Chairman of a committee, of which you are a member, on the subject of a public literary institution for New Hampshire. As Chairman you may expect some communication from me on the subject of our commission; but as I am preparing to remove from the State, and as it may not be in my power to meet with the committee, I think it proper and necessary that my duties should devolve on Judge Vose, whose name stands next to mine on the list of the committee.

It has occurred to me that if a board of overseers could be constituted for D. College, consisting either of some of the principal officers of government, or of gentlemen chosen by the legislature, the result would be more favorable to the interests of literature and science than if a new college should be created. And I should hope the Trustees would now feel the importance of legislative patronage, and would be willing that the State should acquire this control over the seminary which has received repeated grants from the legislature, and which must need other grants.

I merely suggest this project. Perhaps it will occur to the committee, or they may devise a better one.

I am Dear Sir, very respectfully,

Your friend and servant,

WM. ALLEN.

¹ The committee consisted of Messrs. Young and Brodhead of the Senate and from the House, Messrs. Pitman, Toppan, Pierce, N. Taylor, W. Whitman, T. Brown, Dan Hough, Kneeland, Whipple and Webster, H. J., p. 200; S. J., p. 173.

² The committee consisted of Rev. William Allen, *Hanover*, Roger Vose, *Walpole*, George B. Upham, *Claremont*, Rev. Nathan Packer, *Portsmouth*, Stephen Moody, *Gilmanton*, William Pickering, *Concord*, Joshua Darling, *Henniker*, Richard H. Ayer, *Dunbarton*, Thomas Whipple, *Wentworth*, and John P. Hale, *Rochester*. Five of these had been members of one or the other of the University Boards. H. J., p. 362.

The next year, June, 1820, the message of Governor Bell alluded rather more pointedly to the duty of "a liberal encouragement of the higher seminaries of education"; adding that "the law should afford them ample support and adequate security against the intrusion of unqualified persons into the important trust of instructing youth." The subject was referred to a committee of which Isaac Hill was chairman, which reported June 17:¹

That after making all due enquiries they are unable to suggest any distinct proposition on which it would be expedient to act the present session. They had anticipated from a committee appointed at the last session a communication on the practicability and expediency of establishing a public literary Institution in this State which should deserve the countenance and patronage of the Legislature—which should be worthy of the guardian care of a government that has always been liberal in proportion to its means. That such an institution will sooner or later go into operation under the high auspices of the people of New Hampshire cannot be doubted. The embarrassment and want of funds resulting from the peculiar times will not admit the commencement of such an Institution at the present period; yet prudent and enlightened legislators ought not to lose sight of the object.

At the session of the legislature in June, 1821, two measures indicated the still unsettled state of opinion in connection with the College. In his message Governor Bell recommended conferring upon the Superior Court a chancery jurisdiction with special reference to the "regulation and control of the trustees of funds devoted to religious, literary and charitable purposes," and in accordance with his suggestion a bill to that end was passed June 21.²

On June 29 an act was passed for the establishment of a "Literary Fund," to be derived from a stamp tax imposed on bank circulation, and devoted and pledged to the future endowment and support of a college for instruction in the higher branches of science and literature in the State; with a proviso that it should never be applied to the benefit of any institution which was not under the direction and control of the State. The fund was entrusted to the governor, secretary and treasurer to manage and invest the annual receipts which were to accumulate for that object alone.

Before this was done, Mr. Olcott, who again sat in the House for Hanover, perceiving the drift of matters there, in concurrence

¹ S. J., p. 134.

² H. J., p. 31. Pamphlet Laws, p. 379.

with some other friends of the College, formed a plan to turn the would-be hostile movement to the advantage of the College in the manner formerly proposed to the legislature in 1816 by Messrs. Thompson, McFarland and Paine, and later suggested by President Allen, in his letter to Mr. Pickering, the establishment of a Board of Overseers. Before broaching it, however, he took the precaution to consult Mr. Webster.

Some of the friends of old D. College who are here have thought that her real interest might be subserved by some legislative arrangements at this time, whereby not only State patronage, but State funds, should be obtained. They have thought of a board of overseers, say of 20,—to include the president of the Senate, the speaker of the House, the others to be appointed by the Governor & Council,—to have a vote upon the appointment, &c., of the trustees, & afterwards fill up their own vacancies themselves, & to be somewhat on the footing of Cambridge. A tax is expected to be raised for the State treasury this session from banks, & from this fund have say \$5,000 annually for ten years appropriated for D. C. There is no real college man in the Legis., except Bro. Ez. & my humble self, & we cannot have the benefit of consulting with trustees.

I therefore take the liberty to ask your advice as to the policy of attempting this or any thing of the kind, more especially of the best way to bring Mason's giant abilities & influence into hearty & strenuous exercise. He can do here (as he can almost everywhere) what he chooses to set himself about in earnest. He has been consulted, & I believe is sincerely well disposed; but unless he is the prime mover, so that it acquires its momentum from him in the first instance, I should hardly expect success in effecting anything. Some influential republicans profess to be pleas'd with a reconciliation, though it has only been whispered to a few.

Will you take the trouble to give me your views of what is advisable on this subject as early as may be. You may rely on its being strictly confidential, if you wish it.

Mr. Webster's reply was conclusive in its opposition to the proposition:

I wish I had more hope of good than I have to the College from the Legislature. Of course you know best the feeling on such subjects at present existing, but for myself I do not believe the College could get a dollar from the Genl. Court. They would be very likely to accept the proposition to *appoint overseers*, but as to the money part of the bargain I do not think they would give a cent. Besides, I do not think the present a favorable moment to create a board of overseers by executive appointment, with power afterwards of filling their own vacancies. It is easy to see what sort of men would be first appointed, & what sort of men they would perpetuate. All would be *political* & nothing literary. My own impression is, that if the College must *die*, it is

better that it should die a natural death. A board of overseers, such as would probably be appointed, would *negative every important nomination of the trustees*. Of this I have no sort of doubt. There are reasons not applicable to D. College, & to such a board as you would create, which alone prevented elsewhere the utmost embarrassment.

I have given my *opinion*, as you request, & beg you to treat it as entirely confidential. I have no room to state reasons at large. At any rate, I should not think it expedient to move in the matter without much circumspection, & a previously arranged plan, which should have recd. the approbation of the trustees. Is there any *reliance* to be placed in the quarter from which the first appointments would proceed? My own judgment & opinion do not answer that question favorably.

In the College itself the close of the controversy was the signal of change. Even before it was ended, and in the darkest hour, fatal illness laid hold of President Brown. His constitution, delicate at best, was impaired by his unremitted labors and anxieties, and soon after Commencement in 1818 he began to show signs of pulmonary disease. A slight hoarseness was followed by hemorrhages from the lungs, and he was obliged to give up public speaking. He preached his last sermon at Thetford, October 6, 1818, and, recognizing his danger, he strove to meet it by rest and change. A journey to western New York in the autumn gave no relief, and a second tour was undertaken in October of the next year (1819) to the South. As he was then too weak to go alone his wife accompanied him, driving a horse and chaise, and in this manner they made the journey to Richmond, Va., and Salisbury, N. C. The means for the journey were provided by a gift of \$900 made to President Brown by seven or eight gentlemen at the Commencement in August. They were accompanied on horseback by David L. Nichols, a graduate of the class of 1816, himself out of health, who was obliged to leave them at Richmond on the return, and was replaced by a young colored boy, named Mitchell, who came home with them and remained an inmate of the family after Dr. Brown's death. It was, indeed, a forlorn hope and few expected the President's return. Dr. Nathan Smith, being absent from home when he passed through New Haven, did not see him, but wrote to Mr. Olcott that from the reports brought to him he was "apprehensive that there must have been some insanity on the part of his friends in Hanover or they would not have suffered him to

set out on such a forlorn hope. Those who saw the most of him here do not think that he will reach South Carolina."

They returned, nevertheless, safely to Hanover in June following, but without benefit to President Brown's health. As he approached Hanover the news of his coming spread among the students and they wished to go out to escort him home, but though he was affected to tears he declined the honor, saying that he had need of pall-bearers rather than a triumphal procession, and coming to his home he prepared to die. During his last days it was his purpose to bring each class to his bedside that he might bid them a personal farewell, but his strength failed when he had met but two of them. His death, which had been hourly expected, occurred at one o'clock in the afternoon of July 27, 1820, a day of unusual summer beauty and stillness, and was announced to the sorrowing village by the tolling of the bell. His funeral was attended four days later in the church, when the Handel Society sang the anthem that was composed for the funeral of the Princess Charlotte.

In person President Brown was unusually dignified and commanding, yet natural and graceful in carriage. His large, full hazel eye, and genial, beaming face invited confidence, but his expression was so penetrating and sagacious as to forbid deception, and repel familiarity. When the occasion required he could be terribly severe, but this severity had nothing of personal anger in it. To govern young men was natural and easy to him. He rarely used the language of command. A wish, or request expressed in the mildest form was with the students equivalent to a command, and was promptly regarded. He was both honored and loved. The discipline of the College was never more perfect than during the years when the laws of the College were stript of authority, when the officers were under the ban of the legislature and when each student knew that his course might end without academic honors. The main influence in holding the College together was the personality of the President. The sense of duty, which led him to decline the presidency of Hamilton College, was imposed upon the students and made them responsive to his will.

His talent for teaching was not inferior to his talent for governing. From his accession until Commencement, 1819, except during his temporary absences, he gave the entire instruction to the senior class, and for the last three years he heard each day one recitation of the junior or sophomore class. He made it a

point to be himself thoroughly prepared. From the nature of the case at his age, with his occupations and many cares President Brown was not a deeply learned man, but he had scholarly tastes, a vigorous and cultivated mind, with power of insight, analysis and generalization, so that if a topic was started with which he was not familiar he would by sagacious questions draw out what the student knew of it, and then be able to discuss it in a way to satisfy the student, who furnished the material, that he had understood the matter better than did the student himself. He had at the same time executive talent, and legal acuteness of high order. He conducted the intricate and delicate interests of the College through the whole crisis with admirable tact, ability and discretion, and drew the high praise from the eminent counsel of the College, that none of them were better versed in the law of the case than he. Mr. Mason often declared that the President understood the case thoroughly and could have argued it with great ability.¹

The death of President Brown in the prime of his life, at the age of thirty-six, was a misfortune to the College, made especially disastrous by the condition of uncertainty that followed. If it had occurred before the final appeal at Washington it would probably have caused the abandonment of the college case; as it was, though not fatal in its effect upon the College, it greatly added to the difficulties of the situation. After so long a struggle, and under the general and local conditions it was inevitable that there should be many changes, in the Board, which had held together for so long, in the Faculty, which needed reinforcement, and in the general ordering of the College. These changes had now to be made not by the President, who had successfully guided the College during the storm, but, as it proved, in the interval between administrations and during an administration which was rendered ineffective by sickness. The Trustees, however, set themselves at once to the task of reconstruction.

¹ Francis Brown, the son of Benjamin and Prudence Kelly Brown, was born in Chester, N. H., January 11, 1784. His father, a country merchant, was unable to meet the expenses of a college education for his son, but he married for his second wife (his first having died when the son was ten years old), Mary Lunt, who cared for the boy as if he were her own child and out of her private fortune provided for his education. From Atkinson Academy he entered the freshman class at Dartmouth in the spring of 1802, and was graduated in 1805. Passing the year after graduation as a private tutor in the family of Judge Paine in Williamstown, Vt., he returned to Hanover as a tutor in the College, and remained there three years with great acceptance, studying divinity in connection with his teaching, so that in 1809 he was ordained to the ministry and on January 17, 1810, was settled as pastor at North Yarmouth, Me., where he remained till his election to the presidency of the College. Letter of Hon. John Alken, *Proceedings of Alumni*, 1855, p. 62; *Sketch of President Brown*, by Rev. Henry Wood, 1834.

At the ensuing Commencement, August 22, Hon. Thomas W. Thompson presided and conferred the degrees. At their annual meeting the Trustees resumed formal control of their property, which had been alienated in connection with the suits in the Circuit Court, by ordering their Treasurer to cancel and return to Job Lyman, Charles Marsh and Horace Hatch the notes which they had given for the purchase of various bits of college property, on the release of their several claims. With the purpose of putting the finances into better shape and of diminishing the great arrearage and consequent loss in the payment of students' bills, they determined that thereafter any student who was more than one year in arrears in the payment of his quarter bills should be dismissed from college, and that any candidate for a degree who had not paid all his college bills by the Monday before Commencement day should not receive his degree. Proceeding to the work of reorganization they first gave attention to the Medical Faculty, to which they were urged by the movements at Concord already referred to. After the final departure of Dr. Nathan Smith in 1816 there were but two instructors in medicine, Professors Mussey and Perkins, whose allegiance was divided between the College and the University. They had occasional assistance of a temporary kind, but the resignation of Dr. Perkins left Dr. Mussey as the sole officer. The Trustees now determining to render the Faculty definite and effective gave it a formal organization of five members: the President, a Professor of Surgery, Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence, one of Theory and Practise of Physic, *Materia Media* and Botany, one of Chemistry, Mineralogy and the Application of Science to the Arts, and a fourth of Anatomy and Physiology. Dr. Mussey was transferred at his own request from the chair of the Theory and Practise of Physic to that of Surgery and Obstetrics; Dr. Daniel Oliver,¹ a graduate of Harvard, was elected professor of the

¹ Daniel Oliver, third son of Rev. Thomas Fitch Oliver, a graduate of Harvard in 1775, and an Episcopal rector, was born at Marblehead, Mass., September 9, 1787. After graduating from Harvard in 1806 he studied law with Joseph Story, his brother-in-law, but soon left it for the study of medicine under his uncle, Dr. B. Lynde Oliver of Salem. Attending medical lectures at the University of Pennsylvania in 1809 he took his degree in the spring of 1810, and in July of 1811 he formed a partnership with Dr. R. D. Mussey. In 1815 he lectured here on chemistry. In 1819 he gained much reputation by engaging with Hon. John Pickering in the preparation of a Greek lexicon, which became a standard text book. After his appointment he removed to Hanover in 1821. In addition to his duties in the medical Faculty he was professor of intellectual philosophy from 1823 to 1837, in the spring of which year he resigned and removed to Cambridge, Mass., though he lectured here that year. In 1840 he joined Dr. Mussey in a course of lectures at Cincinnati on *materia medica*, but, his health giving way, he returned to Cambridge, where he died June 1, 1842, *aged* 55. He was handsome, dignified, grave, going but little into society, though very genial in his own home; he practised but little in Hanover, only in emergencies in Dr. Mussey's absence. See eulogy on him by C. B. Haddock.

theory and practise of physic, Dr. James F. Dana,¹ also a graduate of Harvard, was elected professor of chemistry, etc., and Dr. Usher Parsons² of the United States Navy, was elected professor of anatomy and physiology on the condition, proposed by himself, that he furnish \$1,000 with which to begin a museum of human and comparative anatomy, and that if after a trial of a year, he should prove unsatisfactory he should retire and leave

¹ James Freeman Dana, the oldest son of Luther and Lucy (Giddings) Dana, was born at Amherst, N. H., September 23, 1793. Preparing for college at Phillips Exeter Academy he was graduated from Harvard in 1813, and after graduation studied medicine with Dr. John Gorham, professor of chemistry at Harvard, but probably gave especial attention to chemistry, as he is said to have become a good practical chemist. In 1815 he was sent by Harvard to London to buy chemical apparatus, and while there pursued his studies with Frederick Accum, operative assistant to Sir Humphry Davy and dealer in apparatus. On his return he became assistant to the professor of chemistry, and was graduated in medicine in 1817. He lectured on chemistry at Dartmouth from 1817 to 1820, and on his appointment as professor, removed to Hanover in 1821, where he remained till 1826, when he was appointed professor of chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City. While at Hanover he was deeply interested in electro-magnetism and prepared apparatus to exhibit it. After settling in New York he became acquainted with S. F. B. Morse and explained to him the principles of the electro-magnet, and publicly demonstrated the facts relating to it. (See Life of Morse, pp. 162f.) In the winter following his going to New York he was greatly afflicted by the loss of a favorite daughter, and being attacked by erysipelas he died April 15, 1827. He was a very superior lecturer, and took the Boylston prize in 1815 and 1816. He had a fine personal appearance, attractive manners, and enjoyed the attachment of all who knew him. With a social, genial and generous nature he was laborious, patient and conscientious as a physician. Dr. Dixie Crosby was his pupil and always spoke of him with great admiration. He married January 1818, Matilda, third daughter of Samuel Webber, D.D., President of Harvard College, who long survived him.

² Usher Parsons, the youngest of nine children of William and Abigail Frost (Blunt) Parsons, was born at Alfred, Me., August 18, 1788. He had little early education and till he was twenty-one he was a clerk in several stores. He then determined to study medicine, and by diligent attention secured a knowledge of Greek and of Latin, and studying with various physicians, was admitted to the practice of medicine by the Massachusetts Medical Society in February, 1812. After some delay he secured, through the aid of Dr. Josiah Bartlett, M.C., the position of surgeon's mate in the navy. Ordered to New York to join the corvette *John Adams*, he volunteered for service on Lake Erie. That winter he was in charge of the hospital at Black Rock, near Buffalo, and during the next summer, owing to the sickness of others, he was the only physician in Perry's fleet. During the battle and after the victory, September 10, he had charge of the wounded on the *Lawrence*, and spent the whole day of the 11th operating on them. On the 12th he did the same for the wounded on the other vessels, having about 200 patients under his care. He had charge of the hospital at Erie, Pa., for nine months, and received a silver medal from Congress, and a share of the prize money, with which he paid his debts. He became surgeon, April 15, 1814, and in December was transferred to the *Java* at the special request of Perry, who was in command. He sailed for the Mediterranean, but, returning in 1817, he attended medical lectures at the Harvard Medical School where he received the degree of M.D. in March, 1818. In the following July he sailed for Russia and the Mediterranean on the *Guerriere*, but, leaving the ship at Gibraltar, he made a tour of Europe and returned to America in 1820, in which year he received the appointment at Dartmouth. He gave but one course of lectures, in 1821. The next year he was elected professor of anatomy and surgery at Brown University. The connection with the University lasted four years, but he remained in Providence forty-six years, till his death, December 19, 1868. He married Mary Jackson Holmes, a sister of Oliver Wendell Holmes, September 23, 1822. He had an active mind, was a great traveler, interested in seeing the work of his profession in many places, but he was fond of controversy, and "could handle the caustic pen as well as the scalpel or saw." Life of Usher Parsons by his son, Charles W. Parsons, 1870.

his specimens with the College at a price agreed upon. To help in bringing the institution into closer connection with the profession throughout the State the Board voted to accept the proposition of the New Hampshire Medical Society that it should send two delegates to attend, and take part in, the examination of candidates for medical degrees, and as representatives of the Society to sign the diplomas, provided such arrangement should be without expense to the Board. Nearly sixty years later in 1878 a similar relation was established with the Vermont Medical Society and since that time the diplomas issued by the Medical College have been signed by the delegates of both societies. The Latin form of the diploma now in use was adopted in 1821.

The most serious work of the Board was the election of a successor to President Brown, but fortunately their course seemed plain, as the general feeling pointed to the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana of Newburyport, Mass., a graduate of 1788, and a firm and active friend of the College during its troubles. Dr. Dana's qualifications for the position were so marked that not only had President Brown expressed the hope that he might be his successor, but President Appleton of Bowdoin, who died in 1819, had wished that he might be chosen to the presidency of Bowdoin. The Trustees, heartily acquiescing in the general view, unanimously elected him to the position, attaching to it the salary of \$1,000 a year, and the use for one year at a rental of \$200 of the house which they had bought of Dr. Perkins for \$3,600. Messrs. Church and Putnam were appointed a committee to notify Dr. Dana of his election.

The ties of a long and successful pastorate were not easily broken, and in addition to doubts about his fitness for the new position Dr. Dana hesitated to leave his church. But after much discussion both he and the church decided to follow the judgment of the Presbytery that was asked to give advice in the matter. The Presbytery met at Bradford, Mass., September 26, 1820, the committee of the Trustees being present to urge the claim of the College, and after careful consideration advised almost unanimously that the invitation be accepted. Their advice was conclusive, and on the 3d of October Dr. Dana wrote accepting the presidency of the College and saying that he would be in Hanover on the fourth Wednesday of the month to be inaugurated. The ceremony took place at the appointed time, the exercises being a prayer by Mr. Church, music, reading of the vote of election and the letter of acceptance, declaration that

Dr. Dana was now President, his inaugural address, music, and a concluding prayer by the President.¹

At the meeting of the Trustees at the time of the inauguration plans were laid for the new administration. The first need of funds was to be met by a general appeal for benefactions through a committee of which the President was chairman. The internal condition of the College, which during the struggle had naturally become somewhat disorganized, with special reference to the duties of each college officer and to the conduct of his office, was referred to a committee to report the next year. But the high hopes which were formed were doomed to disappointment. Even before he left his pastorate Dr. Dana's health had been seriously impaired, and the mental and physical strain incident to a change and to assuming new responsibilities proved too great. Immediately after his inauguration he returned to Newburyport to settle his affairs there and to bring his family to Hanover, but he had no sooner established himself in his new home than he suffered a nervous breakdown, resulting in physical debility and depression of spirits, which incapacitated him for work. On the advice of his physician he tried the experiment of a journey. A slight benefit was followed by a relapse, and a second journey resulting in no improvement, he determined, against much urging, to resign.

In his letter of resignation, after referring to his "deep and habitual dejection of spirit," which he could not explain or throw off, he wrote: "The College needs a President, not only of powerful talents, but of strong nerves and vigorous health; one who can enterprise much and accomplish much; one whom labors cannot easily exhaust nor difficulties embarrass, nor trials depress. In reference to all these particulars I have a painful consciousness, I will not say of *deficiency*, but of *contrast*." The Trustees at their meeting in July, called to consider his resignation, urged him to delay, but he wished it regarded as "absolute and final." A third journey extended as far as Ohio in a visit to a brother brought so much improvement that the Trustees unanimously requested him to recall his decision, but, though gratefully acknowledging their kindness, he would not consent and immediately withdrew from the College. His term of office was so short and so broken that it had little effect upon the College, though on his coming he made a very favorable impression and it can hardly be doubted that if his health had continued his sensitive nature and efficiency

¹ College files.

of action, which gave him success in his pastorates, would have had similar results in the College.¹

It was found impossible to carry into effect the vote of the year before in regard to the payment of college bills. The confusion resulting from the disturbed condition of the past few years was so great and had made such accumulation of arrears, and the poverty of the students was so pressing that the enforcement of the action was delayed for one year and then for another, and notes for college bills were taken from students at graduation as before. An attempt was made to diminish the expenses of graduation by a recommendation to the graduating class and to the Literary Societies not to incur much expense for music Commencement. The poverty of the students, however, did not keep them from philanthropic interests, for in that year they rented a field to cultivate, with the intention of devoting all the avails of the venture to the cause of missions.² William Goodell and Daniel Temple, afterward famous in the missionary work in Turkey, who were graduated in 1817, had taken graduate work in medicine in preparation for missionary labor and had perhaps helped to waken a general interest in the cause throughout the College. The professors in the medical college offered free attendance upon their lectures to those intending to be missionaries,³ and the impulse toward the service of the church was so strong that out of the 157 graduates between 1816 and 1820, inclusive, fifty-seven became ministers and four became missionaries.

In the spring of 1821 an important move was made for the welfare of the village in the formation of the Hanover Aqueduct Association. A charter for a company under that name, with a capital of \$5,000, was secured and the meeting for organization under it was held at Curtis's Hotel February 26, 1821⁴ Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Olcott, Mr. Brewster and Professor Adams being prominent in the movement. The original water supply of the village

¹ Daniel Dana, the son of Rev. Joseph and Mary (Staniford) Dana was born in Ipswich, Mass., July 24, 1771. After graduating from College he taught three years in Phillips Exeter Academy and after studying divinity with his father became the pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Newburyport, Mass., in November, 1794, where he remained till he came to Hanover. After resigning the presidency of Dartmouth his health improved and, returning to the ministry, he was settled over the Second Presbyterian church at Londonderry, N. H., January 16, 1822, where he remained until May, 1826. He then returned to Newburyport as pastor of the Second Presbyterian church, and held that relation till the infirmities of age led him to resign in November, 1845. He lived in that city till his death, August 26, 1859. He was a trustee of Andover Theological Seminary over fifty years, from its beginning in 1804 to his resignation August 2, 1856.

²*Dartmouth Herald*, May 9, 1821.

³*Dartmouth Herald*, November 8, 1821.

⁴*Dartmouth Herald*, February 7, 1821.

had been wells and cisterns, but in long dry times these proved insufficient and more than once water had to be hauled from Mink Brook. In 1805 several persons united to bring water in wooden logs from a spring near the top of the hill east of the village and south of the present road, but the supply was inadequate and variable, and the logs decayed, so that it was determined to find a larger and more permanent supply. A half acre of ground was bought at the foot of the hill on the south side of Mink Brook in the Greensborough district about two miles east of the village, and the water, which oozed from the ground and which proved to be of unusual purity, was gathered in a well and furnished an abundant supply for many years. An inch and a half lead pipe was laid as a main to the village where the water was distributed through smaller laterals. But as the village grew the supply, in times of drought, was insufficient even for domestic purposes, and in 1880 more land was bought, the original lot having been previously enlarged, additional wells were sunk, and a two inch pipe replaced the first one. The character of the water is such that it forms an insoluble coating in the pipe, so that when the old pipe was removed, after being in use for sixty years, it was found, except for external corrosion, to be as perfect as when it was laid. Even after its enlargement the aqueduct was unable to meet the general wants of the village and a much more abundant supply was brought in from another source in 1893, though the aqueduct still is used for domestic purposes.

When it became evident that President Dana's resignation was final the question of a successor was considered informally and the Rev. Gardner Spring of New York City was fixed upon for the vacant chair. A committee of the Board sent to confer with him received, as they understood, such assurance of his willingness to accept that without hesitation he was elected at the meeting in July, and the 21st of August set for his inauguration. But at the annual meeting in August the Trustees were surprised by an unexpected refusal. Mr. Thompson being absent on account of his infirmities, Judge Paine acted as President of the Board, but Professor Adams presided at Commencement and conferred the degrees. He had, in fact, performed most of the duties of President since the death of President Brown, in accordance with a vote passed in August, 1820, that in the absence or disability of the President the senior professor should perform his public duties, a practice which continued till 1892. In the conduct of the exercises of the chapel, however, according to a

vote of August 21, 1821, the professors were to take charge in rotation one week at a time, except that the tutors were to officiate once a week in rotation, and the Professor of Theology was "to perform in the Chapel every Saturday evening." This custom passed away as appointments to the Faculty came to include those without ministerial training, and was definitely abandoned in 1892.

The refusal of Mr. Spring, especially in the way it came, left matters in a bad shape, and great difficulties were experienced in finding a suitable successor to the presidency. No election was made at the annual meeting, or at an adjourned meeting in October. The students began to be impatient and the friends of the College uneasy. The thoughts of some turned toward Chancellor Kent, notwithstanding his age, and Dr. Daniel Oliver was mentioned, but eventually the choice lay between the Rev. Ebenezer Burgess of Dedham, Mass., and the Rev. Bennet Tyler, pastor of a church in South Britain, a parish of Southbury, Conn. The latter was strongly recommended by Dr. Porter of Andover and by others, and was chosen at an adjourned meeting of the Trustees, February 13, 1822. Mr. Tyler had been settled at South Britain in 1808 and, while unusually successful in building up his church, had, after the fashion of the day, prepared young men for college, and given to others instruction in divinity.

Judge Paine was appointed to convey the invitation to Mr. Tyler, and President Moore of Amherst College, formerly professor in Dartmouth, was requested to represent the College before the Consociation. Mr. Tyler was greatly surprised at the invitation and hesitated to accept it, but after receiving the advice of his friends and the Consociation he wrote as follows to Mr. Olcott:

SOUTHBURY, March 7th, 1822.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 14th. ult. announcing my election to the Presidency of Dartmouth College was received on the 19th, and followed by the arrival of Judge Paine with the official notice on the 21st. The subject has been taken into serious and deliberate consideration and referred to the proper board for decision. The Consociation convened yesterday and decided that it was my duty to accept of the appointment, and accordingly dissolved the connexion between me and the church and people in this place. I take this opportunity to notify you and through you the Trustees of the College that I accept of the appointment, and that I intend by the leave of Providence to be at Hanover with a view to be inaugurated at the time proposed.

With much affection,

I am yours, &c.

BENNET TYLER.



Bernard Lyden

The inauguration took place on the 27th of March and drew together a large number of the friends of the College. The exercises consisted of a prayer by Rev. Mr. Church, the induction into office of the new President by Judge Paine, an address by the President, which was characterized as "sound, luminous and elegant," and music by the Handel Society.¹ In the evening the public buildings and dwelling houses were brilliantly illuminated. Mr. Tyler was not able to begin work at once, but after returning to Connecticut for his family took up the duties of his office in the following June. He found the College in the full movement of change. In the uncertainty of the succession the Trustees, at their meeting in October, 1821, had asked the professors to co-operate with a committee of their own number, Messrs. Marsh, Payson and Paine, in preparing a revised code of laws for the College. Their report, made and adopted at the meeting in the following February, prescribed with great minuteness the direction of college life.

The hours of study preceded by one recitation, prayers and breakfast, began at eight o'clock in summer, and at other seasons at nine, and continued till eleven. Beginning again at two they held till evening prayers except Saturday afternoon. Morning prayers, consisting of invocation, reading from the Bible, and prayer came daily at five o'clock, or, there being no provision for artificial light in either chapel or recitation rooms, as early as the President could well see to read in the Bible. These were immediately followed by the first recitation except on Monday. The second recitation came daily at eleven in the forenoon, and the half hour between recitation and dinner was usually taken for football on the common. At three or four in the afternoon there was a recitation or a rhetorical exercise except on Saturday. Each member of a class had a declamation and a composition every four weeks and on Wednesday the four classes declaimed in turn before the whole College in the chapel. Evening prayers closed at six or as late as the light permitted and were the same as in the morning, except that a hymn was sung by the Handel Society, and on Tuesday were followed by a dissertation by one of the seniors.²

On Sunday the students were required to attend morning and evening prayers in the chapel and two services in the college church. Students were required to be in their rooms during

¹ *New Hampshire Patriot*, April 1, 1822.

² *Memorial of College Life: Class of 1827*, by A. Crosby, 1870: pp. 8, 9.

study hours and after nine p. m. and "to abstain from all loud conversation, singing, playing on musical instruments, and from all other noise which may tend to interrupt," and on the Sabbath every student was "to remain in his chamber unless the duties of public worship or acts of necessity or mercy" called him elsewhere, and no one was to attend to any secular business or diversion, or unnecessarily walk in the fields or streets. Keeping or playing with cards or dice was punishable with a fine of \$5, and persistence in either by rustication, and under similar penalties students were forbidden to be present at a "treat" or entertainment in which spirituous or fermented liquors were used. The Faculty was "particularly and earnestly recommended to inform themselves concerning each one's moral and literary character," and to this end was directed to make weekly visits to the room of each student.

The government of the College was put into the hands of all the officers acting jointly, and an elaborate system of penalties running through fines, private reproof, reproof before the government of the College, public admonition, probation with notice home, degradation, suspension, rustication and dismissal, to expulsion. Suspension was the withdrawal of college privileges for a period less than a year, and a suspended student was put under the care of some person, usually a minister, who directed his studies and accredited him on his return to college. Rustication was removal from college for a year, during which the student was his own master, but on returning to college he was not allowed to re-enter his class. A dismissed student might be restored by the Faculty, an expelled student only by the Trustees.

The college year of thirty-seven and a half weeks began in September after a vacation of four weeks following Commencement, which was changed to the last Wednesday but one of August. The winter vacation extended seven weeks from the first Monday in January, and the spring vacation was for two and a half weeks beginning on the Thursday before the last Wednesday in May. There were two public oral examinations during the year, the first one for the seniors coming on the third Tuesday of March, and for the other classes, one day each, on the next three successive days. The second examination for the seniors was on Wednesday, six weeks before Commencement, after which a "senior vacation" of five weeks was given the class "to allow the members to go home, get their new clothes (often homespun) and make other preparations," and for the

other classes on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday before Commencement. The appointments for Commencement speakers were assigned to not more than twenty seniors four weeks before the spring vacation. The quarter days were for the seniors the second Wednesday of November, for the juniors the first Wednesday of April and for the sophomores the last Wednesday before the May vacation.

The requirements for admission were increased by the addition of English grammar, Greek and Latin prosody, arithmetic beyond square root, and geography, so that it was required of a candidate for admission that he be "well versed in the Grammar of the English, Latin and Greek Languages, in Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, Sallust, the Greek Testament, Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Minora*, Latin and Greek Prosody, Arithmetic, ancient and modern Geography, and that he be able accurately to translate English into Latin." These requirements for admission, the course of study and the estimated expenses of a student were first published in the catalogue issued in October, 1822, and indicate the definite purpose of advance on the part of the Trustees. By the course of study Greek was carried through junior year, Latin only through the first term of that year, as also was mathematics, which was followed for two terms by natural philosophy. History had one term in sophomore year, rhetoric one each in freshman and sophomore years, while natural theology and moral philosophy were taken in the last two terms of junior year. Senior year was occupied with Locke, Edwards on the Will, Butler's Analogy, Stewart's Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Law and the Federalist, while composition and declamation had a part in every year. The annual expense of a student was estimated at about \$100, of which the tuition was \$26, room rent \$6, and board from \$1 to \$1.75 a week.

At this meeting in February Mr. Olcott resigned his position as secretary and treasurer and took his seat in the Board, to which he had been chosen in the preceding October in the room of Mr. Thompson, deceased. Timothy Farrar, Jr., was elected treasurer and secretary in his stead, and entered on his duties at the ensuing Commencement.

A new era had now fairly set in. Of the old Board that had carried the burden of the long and painful controversy, ex-Governor Gilman resigned in 1819; Rev. Dr. Seth Payson died February 26, 1820; Rev. John Smith, having removed to Bangor, resigned in August, 1820, as did Mr. Niles, by reason of age and

infirmity. Mr. Thompson died in October, 1821, leaving to the College property in Bristol, estimated as worth \$4,000, for the benefit of the chair of Greek and Latin,¹ and Dr. McFarland resigned in August, 1822. There were now left of the original "Octagon" only Messrs. Farrar, Paine and Marsh, with Moses P. Payson of Bath, who came into their counsels in the midst of the troubles in the stead of Mr. Jacob. The new members were Ezekiel Webster of Boscawen, Rev. John H. Church of Pelham, Mills Olcott of Hanover, Rev. Israel W. Putnam of Portsmouth, Samuel Prentiss of Montpelier, Vt., and Rev. Nathan Lord of Amherst, N. H.

The academic Faculty likewise underwent a change. Since 1815 it had consisted (besides the President and two tutors) of only Professors Adams and Shurtleff. The chair of Languages had been vacant since the resignation of Professor Moore in that year, and till the decision of the controversy at Washington no attempt was made to fill it, the instruction in that department being given by Professor Adams, in addition to his own duties as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. But as soon as the case was decided plans were made to reinforce the Faculty. In 1819 the Rev. James Murdock of Burlington, Vt., was offered the chair of Languages, but after some delay declined it. The next year William Chamberlain of the class of 1818 was elected to the place, but as he shrank from the comprehensive title of "Professor of Languages," it was changed to that of "Professor of Greek and Latin Languages," and he accepted the position under that name. As a condition of his acceptance, however, he asked that considerable additions should be made to the library in that department, and the Trustees put \$400 at his disposal for this purpose. He was inaugurated at the following Commencement and gave an address in Latin immediately preceding the regular exercises of graduation.² In the further enlargement of the Faculty the Trustees, following the precedent of Harvard and Yale, established at their annual meeting in 1819 the chair of Rhetoric and Oratory, but it was a venture about which they were by no means sure, for in the vote defining the duties of the incumbent they recognized that his work was in the nature of an experiment, and in committing to him the instruction of the two higher

¹ The property was devised to the College, the New Hampshire Missionary Society and the American Education Society as joint legatees. It greatly depreciated in value and, being sold in 1829, yielded to the College but \$1,689.

² *Portsmouth Journal*, August 25, 1821.

classes in *belles lettres* they carefully stated that after the expiration of the ensuing year the duties of the professor would be "more specifically defined." They elected as professor the Rev. Charles B. Haddock, a nephew of Daniel Webster, who had graduated at the head of his class in 1816. He was a highly accomplished gentleman, of peculiarly handsome person and elegant manners, and during all his connection with the College deservedly enjoyed great popularity among the students. His influence was at once apparent in the stimulus given to progress in his department. The old "quarter days" were enlivened with a new interest, and through his instrumentality, and with the hearty support of President Brown and his successors, prizes to the amount of \$50 a year for excellence in oratory were authorized by the Trustees, in October, 1820, to be competed for on the day after Commencement. There were to be fifteen speakers drawn from the graduating class and the two highest classes of undergraduates, three from each class, chosen by the classes in the presence of their instructors, and two volunteers from each of these classes, approved by the Professor of Rhetoric.¹ The requisite funds were provided by a subscription headed by Joseph Bell, Richard Fletcher and John Hubbard with \$50 each. There were to be two prizes of \$15 and two of \$10, and award was to be made by a committee appointed by the Board. The first exhibition was on August 22, 1821, but as no one was thought worthy of the first prize four awards of \$10 were made. Either the standard of excellence was high or the performances were poor, for there was no first award till 1824, when Solyman Heath and James C. Alvord received first prizes.

In the same connection two new societies devoted to extemporaneous speaking, the Adelpian and the Phi Sigma, were established among the students,² and both of the principal literary societies were stirred into new life. All the societies, including the Phi Beta Kappa, which at that time received members in the latter part of their junior year, held weekly meetings in Society Hall, which was on the first floor of Dartmouth Hall. Monday evening was given to the Theological Society, Tuesday evening to the Fraternity, Wednesday to the Socials, while the Adelpian and Phi Beta Kappa met on Thursday and the Handel on Friday. Saturday evening was reserved for a religious meet-

¹ Records of Trustees.

² A. Crosby, Memorial, etc., p. 16. Φ. Σ., *Phi Sigma*, were the initials of two Greek words signifying *Assembly of Debaters*.

ing in the village, conducted by the students and dating back to the revival of 1815. The Phi Sigma was originally restricted to members of the class of 1827, but in their senior year similar associations in the other classes united with it, and thus formed a general college society having four branches, but both it and the Adelpian were soon disbanded.¹ In 1825 the Trustees put two rooms in Dartmouth Hall at the disposal of the two older societies; the Fraternity used theirs as a reading room, and in theirs the Socials established, doubtless under the influence of Professor Chamberlain, a philological library, whose object was to obtain the best aids to the critical study of the Greek and Latin classics. For this purpose a heavy tax was laid upon the Society and the library gave a marked impetus to classical scholarship, but the books were ultimately incorporated into the general library of the Society.² The opening of the reading room and the library was accompanied by a greater activity in the use of the other libraries. The College library, which occupied a narrow room extending across the middle of the building, in the second story, contained few books of any practical value and was opened to students only once a fortnight. The Society libraries, which, containing about 6,000 volumes, were their main dependence, were given larger rooms and were now opened daily, instead of twice a week, for the delivery and return of books, and were kept open most of the day for consultation and reading. The societies vied with one another in their attempt to enlarge and improve their libraries, and many of the most valuable books in either library were added during that period.³ In order the better to secure their possessions the societies were duly incorporated in 1826-1827. It was the custom for the several societies to celebrate their public anniversaries at Commencement time, when an oration would be given by some member of the Society, usually in the graduating class, as in 1801 Daniel Webster gave the oration before the United Fraternity on "The Influence of

¹ The dissolution of these societies was doubtless hastened by the following vote of the Faculty passed April 9, 1829:

"Voted, that in the opinion of the Faculty the multiplication of Literary Societies in college, by dividing the attention and consuming the time of the students and in other ways, is in danger of injuring not only the character of the ancient and valuable and Rival Societies, but the general interests of the Institution and of learning; that it be therefore recommended to the members of the Phi Sigma and Adelpian Societies deliberately to consider the expediency of dissolving these Societies by mutual consent, after their next anniversaries; and that the decided and unanimous opinion of the Faculty in favor of such dissolution be communicated to each of said Societies."

² A. Crosby, Memorial, p. 21.

³ A. Crosby, Memorial, p. 22.

Opinion,"¹ and in 1819 Rufus Choate was to have addressed the Social Friends, but was prevented by illness, and in 1828 Clement Long gave the oration before the Adelpian.² It was not till 1837 that the two older Societies united in inviting an orator from abroad, when they secured George S. Hilliard to give the address.

In 1823 a further change was made in the Faculty by the introduction of Dr. Oliver as professor of intellectual and moral philosophy, who added the duties of his new chair to those which he already had as professor of *materia medica* and therapeutics, and the distinction then drawn in the catalogue for the first time in that form between the "Medical Department" and the "Academical Department," gives a hint of more ambitious ideas, similar to those that afterward took shape under President Lord and President Smith. These various changes in the governing boards of the College were attended with minor changes and movements that gave character to the new administration. Up to 1822 the only means of heating Dartmouth Hall had been fire places, which were both unsafe and insufficient, but in that year the Trustees voted that they should all be bricked up, and stoves were substituted for them. Two years later, in 1824, the recitation rooms, which had heretofore been provided by the several classes, were taken over by the authorities and from then on were provided and equipped by them.

Among the reforms, the catalogue, first issued in 1802 as a private venture of the sophomore class and hitherto but a list of names, printed as a hand bill upon one side of a sheet, took in 1820 the form of an octavo pamphlet of 15 pages. In 1822 for the first time it contained a statement of the terms of admission, the course of study and an estimate of expenses, but it was still the private venture of the sophomore class. In 1823 it presented, likewise for the first time, the names of the officers of the State, *ex officio* members of the corporation in relation to funds given by the State. This, though a small matter, may be accepted as an acknowledgment of the return of good feeling in the State toward the College and the desire of the college au-

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, August 29, 1801. Dr. A. Alexander, who was present at that Commencement strangely says that Webster's theme was Recent Discoveries in Chemistry, *Life*, p. 260. The address was printed in full in the *Dartmouth Phoenix* for March, 1857. It disappeared from the collections of the Society, where a copy had been placed, and after Mr. Webster's death a letter was found among his papers asking that it might be published. This had met a peremptory refusal, but after Mr. Webster's death it was published in a New York paper and later in the *Phoenix*.

Dartmouth Gazette, August 25, 1819: *Portsmouth Oracle*, August 28, 1819.

thorities to cultivate it. The happy change found expression in various ways. In that year the Governor, Levi Woodbury, resumed official relations with the College by taking his seat in the Board, and Messrs. Brewster and Poole, the most influential members of the university party in Hanover, subscribed \$100 each to the fund which President Tyler was raising.

As has been said, great inconvenience had been experienced of late on account of the inability of many students to pay their college bills, and in 1823 the Board remitted half their tuition to a number of indigent students, not exceeding four in each class, at the discretion of the Faculty, and also authorized their treasurer to hire ten or more rooms in the Tontine, a large building on the main street, to be occupied by students gratuitously, at the discretion of the President, but even then it was beset with appeals for credit. To gain relief President Tyler, in 1823 and 1824, applied himself successfully to obtaining subscriptions throughout the State for a fund of \$10,000, to be devoted to the assistance of undergraduates studying for the gospel ministry.¹ This was long known as the "Charity Fund," but is now called "The Ministry Scholarships." The President did not avoid the old opponents of the College in his solicitations, but took the opportunity to make special efforts to recover their favor. In Concord he called upon Mr. Isaac Hill himself to head the subscription, and got not only a subscription of \$50, but the personal friendship of that gentleman.

In 1823 Professor Dana, being a member of the Legislature from Hanover, wrote from Concord to Col. Brewster, on June 16:

There is a disposition generally prevalent among the members of the legislature to patronize Dartmouth College, but it is not likely that anything will be done by them their present session. The committee to whom was referred that part of the Governor's message relating to Literature have decided not to report unless called upon by the House. Yet they would be willing to report in our favor if any memorial on the subject should regularly come before them. Will it not be well for the President, yourself and some others to present such a memorial? If it is done it must be done quickly. Many persons not connected with the legislature are in our interest—for example Judge Durell,

¹ Some of the subscribers to this fund instead of money gave bonds, which are known to the records as "Charity Bonds." Over \$2,000 of the subscriptions, including about \$900 of the bonds, failed, so that the amount actually realized was about \$8,000. Appropriations from this fund were for many years made upon the express written obligation that if the recipient for any reason should not enter the ministry he should restore the amount to the fund, an obligation which, unhappily, was generally violated. The fund has, however, in the course of time increased by unexpended accumulations to \$14,000.

Mr. Cilley of Deerfield, Mr. Butler, &c. &c. The President has been chosen Vice President of the Historical Society of N. H.; Woodbury Vice President also; and old Governor Plumer is President.

It does not appear that Professor Dana's suggestion bore fruit at that time, but it was not lost upon the Trustees, for at their meeting in 1824 they considered it expedient to apply to the Legislature for help from the Literary fund of the State, which at that time amounted to about \$10,000, and on their behalf the President, at the session of 1825, personally solicited aid for the College from this fund.¹ The petition was referred to a committee of fifteen, headed by Mr. H. Hubbard of Charlestown, a former Trustee of the University, which reported "leave to withdraw," "a bare majority declaring that they would not under any circumstances make a grant to Dartmouth College."² Later in the same session Mr. Hubbard brought in a bill appropriating to the College one half the fund then accumulated and one half of the future receipts for ten years, conditioned on an amendment to the charter, erecting a Board of Overseers with powers substantially like those given to the overseers of the late University. The bill was quickly put to death by the usual postponement to the next session.³ In the following year Governor Morrill, who had been an *ex officio* member of the Overseers of the University, recommended that the College receive some part of the Literary fund, with a veiled suggestion of a change in the charter, but the Legislature took no action.⁴

At the June session, 1827, the Literary fund having accumulated to almost \$50,000, Governor Pierce recommended that some disposition be made of it. A resolution, introduced into the House by William Claggett of Portsmouth, supported by Mr. Gregg of Unity, declaring the expediency of establishing a university under the control of the State was, after two days' discussion in committee of the whole, indefinitely postponed by 145 votes against 65.⁵ Hanover was represented by Dr. Oliver in the College district, and Mr. Miller from the eastern section; both voted with the majority. In the meantime a bill to the like effect establishing, out of the Literary fund, in Merrimac County, a State institution to be styled the "New Hampshire University" passed the Senate, of which Messrs. Isaac Hill,

¹ H. J., pp. 60, 164.

² *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 20, 1825.

³ H. J., pp. 171, 234; *New Hampshire Patriot*, June 20, 27, and July 4, 1823.

⁴ S. J., p. 20.

⁵ H. J., pp. 18, 77, 83, 161.

Matthew Harvey and William Plumer, Jr., were members, and came down to the House where it was forthwith rejected on the first reading by a vote of 121 to 58.¹ Such was the change which a few years had effected in the temper of the House. This was the last attempt to establish a rival institution to the College.

In 1824 the question of color distinction came up at the College in a practical form. Edward Mitchell, a young man of irreproachable character, a native of Martinique, W. I., partly of African blood, who had accompanied President Brown on his return from the south in 1820, and had remained in his family after the death of the president on equal terms with his children, applied for admission to the freshman class. He was examined and approved by the Faculty, but the Trustees fearing that his presence would be unacceptable to the students, at first refused to receive him, and he left the place, but the students hearing of it held meetings and through a committee requested that he be admitted. The committee was headed by C. D. Cleveland of the class of 1827, whose complexion was dark for a Caucasian, and he is said in pleading for Mitchell to have used the argument that if color excluded from the College he himself could not be a member. The Trustees reversed their action, Mitchell was sent for, and, being received into College, passed through the course with credit and was graduated in 1828.² The precedent thus established has from that time governed the College, which has shown an unfailing hospitality to the negro, even when the doors of other institutions were closed against him. Many of that race have entered here, and many have been graduated; none of them have been treated by the students otherwise than with courtesy and respect, so far as deserved, indeed the tendency has been toward an overkindness that has sometimes done injury to the recipient. Some seventeen years earlier in 1807, a young man of color, Prince Sanders by name, came here to study, under the patronage of Col. Oramel Hinckley of Chelsea, Vt. He was admitted as a student in Moor's School and provided with a room in Commons Hall, and remained several years. Still earlier, under the first President, occurred the case of Caleb Watts, already referred to in a former page.³

A college uniform was at that time something of a fad. In the summer of 1820 the students of Yale adopted one, "with a view

¹ S. J., pp. 58, 77; H. J., pp. 145, 195.

² *Dartmouth Centennial*, p. 35; A. Crosby, p. 22.

³ Volume I, p. 300.

to promote economy in dress"; the following winter Union followed suit,¹ forming the "Franklin Society," whose object was to use only goods of American manufacture, and perhaps under this influence the students here in a general meeting March 15, 1825, recommended the adoption of a uniform. It consisted of a single-breasted black frock coat with rolling collar, having on the left breast a sprigged diamond three and a half inches long and three inches wide; and on the left sleeve half a sprigged diamond for freshmen, two halves placed one above the other for sophomores, three for juniors and four for seniors; with black or white pantaloons, stockings, vests and cravats. It received the approbation of the Faculty and that of the Trustees in the form of a recommendation for its use, but without compulsion. It was, in fact, quite generally adopted, but survived no longer than the first suit lasted.²

Professor Alpheus Crosby, who entered College in 1823 and was graduated in 1827, has left us an interesting account of college life at this period, from which the following details are taken:³

The college buildings comprised only the old chapel and Dartmouth Hall.⁴ The latter was divided into thirty-six rooms, of which about twenty-five were open to the occupation of students, but these were so unpopular that most of the students roomed at private houses. The libraries of the college and of the societies were housed in this hall, and also the philosophical apparatus, which was small and inexpensive. There was no chemical apparatus excepting in the Medical Department, nor any cabinet of mineralogy or natural history. The mineralogical collection gathered by one of the students, while in college, was the largest in Hanover.⁵ The students were of moderate means, most of them defraying their expenses by teaching school, and their exertions taught them to spend frugally what they had gained so laboriously, and to appreciate highly privileges purchased with so much effort. There was among them great plainness of dress and furniture, and great freedom from all the forms of

¹ *Dartmouth Herald*, January 10, 1821.

² Trustees' Record; A. Crosby, p. 23.

³ A. Crosby, Memorial, *passim*.

⁴ The village at that time consisted of about seventy houses with a population in 1821 of 633. According to Farmer and Moore, *Gazetteer of New Hampshire*, p. 152, there were in that year only three deaths in the village, and for the preceding sixteen years the annual mortality had been about seven, "perhaps as healthy as any place of its size in New England."

⁵ This student was Forrest Shepard of the class of 1826, but a graduate of Yale in 1827. [Statement of Professor O. P. Hubbard.]

expensive amusement and dissipation. There was a strong public sentiment among the students in favor of good order, studiousness, virtue and piety.

According to the custom already noticed, recitations were held in students' rooms, supplied with plain movable furniture at the expense of the class, consisting of a chair and table for the instructor, a small blackboard in one corner, a stove, and on two sides of the room a double row of long unpainted pine benches, which had usually served previous classes. Professor Crosby's class recited in successive years in rooms on the first floor of Dartmouth Hall, "The College" as it was then commonly called. Professor Crosby tells us that his first recitation in college was prepared at a table made by piling one trunk on the top of another, and by a light struck from flint and steel, matches being unknown.

There was then no college clock, and the bellman's watch was the sovereign standard of time for college and village. This trusty official was appointed from the junior class and the middle room on the east side of the third floor of Dartmouth Hall was set apart for his use. For prayers the bell tolled six minutes. Supper immediately followed evening prayers, and good housewives carefully watched for the first egress from chapel that they might set on their warm dishes and be ready to welcome impatient appetites. At a later day the more merciful rule prevailed that the first bell in the morning (fifteen or twenty minutes before the tolling) should never be rung earlier than five o'clock, and the custom sprang up of ringing instead of tolling during the last minute of the second bell, to warn those who were lingering that the time had almost expired. The merry tinkle of this terminal ring, when first heard, seemed to some irreverent.

"It is a deep problem in philosophy," writes Professor Crosby, "how our ears learned to distinguish so accurately even in sleep the tones of the first and second bells. Some of us for weeks or even months together slept uniformly through the noisy ringing of the first bell, but were waked at once by the gentle strokes of the second, sprang out of bed, threw on our clothes, caught up books, and though we might have to cross the common, were in our chapel seats before the six minutes had expired. Those who roomed near could spend even part of the six minutes in bed."

These hours for prayers continued to be observed till the end

of the college year in 1856, when morning chapel was put after the breakfast hour, at 7:50. The earlier custom was, indeed, barbarous and the occasion, no doubt, of much injury to health in the more inclement seasons. It gave occasion likewise for many laughable incidents. Attendance was expected at prayers, even though, as sometimes happened for certain classes, no recitation followed. It was not unusual in such cases, and in summer weather, for students to rise from bed at the last moment and, without giving themselves the trouble to dress, to attend in their places, wrapped from shoulder to feet in the long wide cloak then in fashion, ready to return to bed till breakfast. There is an authentic record of one who suffered the misfortune, when thus habited, of becoming involved in a rush, and being pitched headlong down the chapel steps and out of his cloak.

The following letter, written in July, 1825, by E. O. Hovey, a freshman, tells the busy life of a student in those days:

To give you a short history of a week—when you have this you have the history of my life at present. To begin, I rise at the ringing of the bell, about sunrise. In fifteen minutes I repair to the chapel for prayers. On Mondays we have no recitation in the morning, breakfast at half past six—by the way I board at one end of the plain and room at the other. At eleven I have a recitation in Webber's Mathematics; dinner at half past twelve; recitation in Webber at three; theological Society at four, spend from an hour to an hour and a half, at six evening prayers and immediately after, tea. So much for Monday.

Tuesday begins with a recitation immediately after morning prayers, another at eleven; at three composition in the class. Wednesday, mathematics in the morning and at eleven; public speaking at two, and meeting of the Social friends at four. Thursday three recitations in Mathematics. Friday, recitations in the morning and at eleven; speaking in the class at three, meeting of the Handel Society at four. Saturday, two recitations, afternoon for exercise and recreation except one [hour] in the Alpha Delta Society, and a lecture in the chapel at six.

Sunday, prayers as usual, meeting of the Theological Society at half past nine; public worship at half past ten, and at half past one.

For a failure in the performance of any one of the above exercises we are liable to a fine of from five to twenty five cents allowed, however, one recitation and two prayers per week free from fines. Now if you dont think the college life a busy one—then think again.

The Nation's guest [Lafayette] was at Windsor on Tuesday—about a half the students went from here to see him. I would gladly have gone but the pinching hand of poverty prevented.

The increase in the academic Faculty, already mentioned, by the appointment of Professors Chamberlain and Haddock and the partial transfer of Dr. Oliver to it, was made still more marked

in 1823 by the action of the Board in directing Professor Dana to give instruction in chemistry to the students of the College. For this service he was to be given \$350, one half a professor's salary, and the juniors and seniors were to attend his lectures in that subject. It was found, however, that the funds of the College could not sustain the added charge, and in August, 1825, the Board directed that the seniors and juniors should attend the lectures in chemistry and the seniors those in anatomy, and that the seniors should be charged one dollar and thirty-three cents and the juniors sixty-seven cents on each term bill for the benefit of the Professor of Chemistry.

The first effect of the new appointments was to give relief to the overburdened members of the Faculty who had for so long carried the whole load of instruction, but they also tended to enlarge and unify the course of study. It had been the practice, as far as possible, for one man to give all the instruction to a particular class, but in 1826 the separation of the departments of instruction was more definitely made. The sophomore tutor was discontinued and for the first time that class was put in charge of a professor. To Professor Chamberlain was given the discharge of "all duties in relation to languages, to Professor Adams those relating to mathematics," while Professor Shurtleff attended to the English studies of the junior and senior years, and Professor Haddock to those of the sophomore and freshman years.

Attempts were also made to render the library more serviceable. In addition to the \$400 spent for classical books by Professor Chamberlain, \$400 were spent in 1822 for books in chemistry and \$200 again in 1827, when Professor Hale was requested to take charge of the establishment of a mineralogical cabinet. In the following year, in answer to the representation of Professor Hale that on assuming his duties he had not been able to find in the library a single book of value in the subjects of geology and mineralogy, it was voted to spend \$100 to meet the need. To bring the Board into closer touch with the working of the College a prudential committee was established in 1824, consisting of Messrs. Marsh, Olcott and Payson, whose duty was "to consult and give advice to the Executive Government in all cases of exigency, to attend the examinations of the students," to advise with the treasurer on financial affairs, and in general to devise ways and means for the welfare of the College.

In order to consider all possible measures for the advancement

of the College the Board at its meeting in August, 1826, appointed a committee, consisting of the President with Messrs. Lord, Webster and Putnam, "to take into consideration the whole internal affairs of the College and report thereon." Their report, drafted by Mr. Lord, was presented at an adjourned meeting in January, 1827, and was the starting point of many changes.

To begin with, a question of meeting the demand for a college of more central location by removal to some point in the Merri-mack valley, which was advocated by some, was considered and answered unequivocally in the negative. Equally chimerical was declared to be the hope of receiving the patronage of the Legislature on any terms that could be accepted. At the same time it was regarded as improbable that any rival institution could be established. Premising, then, that the College must work out its own destinies where it was, and "that the great effort of its governors should be to raise its character in public estimation as a school of sound learning and of pure morals—a resort truly honorable and safe for the youth of our land," the committee proceeded to recommend various reforms of administration. Among other things it was proposed that fines for non-attendance at recitation should be abolished, as punishing the parent rather than the student; that every lesson should be recited and marked, and a report made to the Trustees at the end of the year of the work of each student; that students should be admitted only above the age of fourteen years, and be examined for entrance by three of the executive officers; that for one term each student should be on probation as to "his disposition and habits, his aptness to learn, and the probabilities of his becoming a respectable member of College and useful in professional life," and that "the rules should be rigidly applied *without favor or affection*."

As to college studies the committee expressed "a doubtful opinion," not formulated into a recommendation,

That an undue proportion of time is devoted to classical learning. It is not easy [said they] to conceive that the study of any language can be materially important except for inducing habits of mental application, or for the ideas which it communicates, or as a help to the intercourse of life.

In reference particularly to the Greek language it is believed that this neither so much exercises the mind, nor increases knowledge nor assists conversation, except in the case of those who contemplate the profession of Divinity, as many other branches of study. To a very large proportion of graduates Greek in a few years is entirely lost, and with it the time devoted to it at college, which might have been improved more usefully for purposes connected with

their professions. This may be owing in part to inadequate methods of instruction, but more, it is apprehended, to the fact that the language itself subserves no practical use. It is scarcely called for in the course of life.

The Committee would enquire whether the study of the Greek may not be made, like the Hebrew, a voluntary exercise in college, or confined to those whose intended profession requires an acquaintance with it, and whether increased facilities may not be afforded to such as may pursue this study, while additional advantages are afforded to others in studies accommodated to their respective pursuits.

The recommendations of the report being approved by the Board, a new committee, of which Mr. Lord was the leading member, was appointed to prepare a new code of laws in substantial conformity with the recommendations, and the report of this committee was presented and adopted at a meeting in January, 1828. By this code the name of "Faculty" for the officers of instruction was substituted for the former title of "Executive Authority," but the discipline was still declared to be parental. The requirement of frequent visitation of students' rooms during study hours was continued, and the oversight of their attendance made more exact. No student might be absent over night without permission of the President or of one of the instructors on the written request of his parent or guardian, and a weekly report of attendance and proficiency on a scale of marks was to be made by each instructor to the President, from which was to be made up the annual report to the Board. To prevent contamination of morals and the rise of sympathetic opposition any student who should "associate with a suspended, dismissed or expelled student, without leave of the President," was liable to severe punishment. Fines were still continued as penalties for failure to perform exercises in speaking and composition and for absence.

Instead of an annual fee of \$2, for the use of the library a charge was made according to the books taken out, ten cents for a folio, eight cents for a quarto, six cents for an octavo and four cents for a 12mo. It is not surprising that the librarian reported at the next Commencement that there was a decrease in the number of books drawn, and recommended that the library be open but one hour a week instead of two hours as before. Tuition was changed from \$26, due in quarterly payments, to \$27, due in three payments, one in each term, with \$1, for incidentals, and a library charge according to its use. For their mutual advantage instructors were required to attend occasionally each others' recitations. In place of the "performance" of the

Professor of Theology at Saturday evening chapel, given up on the resignation of Professor Shurtleff, a biblical exercise was prescribed for Sunday evening or Monday morning, which was to be a substitute for one of the required exercises of Monday. The suggestions of the first committee as to the restriction or dropping of Greek as a requirement do not seem to have met with favor, but on the contrary the President was requested to correspond with other colleges on the expediency of introducing Hebrew as a language to be studied in college.

The modification of the course of study made by the new code was still further effected by the changes which took place in the Faculty about that time. In August, 1826, Professor Dana resigned the chair of chemistry and in the following January the Rev. Benjamin Hale, a graduate of Bowdoin and Principal of the Gardiner Lyceum, was chosen as his successor, but as a member of the academic Faculty, with the title of Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Legal Medicine. At the same meeting Professor Shurtleff, whose strength was unequal to the arduous duties of the chair of Divinity combined with those of ministering to the College church, surrendered his chair and was immediately chosen to that of logic and metaphysics, which under a change of title in the following August to moral philosophy and political economy, he carried with distinguished success for ten years. The resignation of Professor Shurtleff and the coming of a new Professor of Theology again opened the question of the relation of the village church to the College. This professor preached to the students, but in the house owned mainly by members of the church, who by virtue of his preaching to them in their house regarded him as their pastor, and yet by vote of the Trustees, passed in 1806, were precluded from doing anything for his support. They wished to bring this anomalous condition of affairs to an end, and on their request at the coming of Professor Howe, that they might have some share in his support, the Trustees promptly rescinded their former vote and allowed the church to assume its proper share in the support of their pastor. The Rev. George Howe, a graduate of Middlebury, was chosen to succeed Professor Shurtleff as Professor of Divinity, but the duty of preaching was divided between him and the President. To prevent confusion with the new chair of Professor Shurtleff, Dr. Oliver's was changed to intellectual philosophy.

In January of 1826 the College was threatened with a serious loss by a robbery. Judge Farrar, the College treasurer, was

holding court at Portsmouth, and in his absence his desk was broken open and rifled of about \$1,000 belonging to the College. Diligent investigations threw suspicion upon a young man named William H. Ropes, who was living in the family of the judge, and who on being arrested confessed the theft and restored all the money. He was committed to jail and at the May term of Court pleaded guilty and was sentenced to two years in the State prison.¹

Among the changes of this time was the requirement that the President should make to the Trustees a written annual report on the condition of the College with such recommendations as he and the Faculty might wish to make. President Tyler's first report was made at the annual meeting in August and gave a favorable account of the result of the changes. The Faculty had been apprehensive of the requirement that all omitted exercises should be made up and that weekly reports should be made of the work of the students, shrinking somewhat from the extra work thrown upon them, but the requirement had been effective and was popular with the students. The abolition of fines worked well, though it had tended to increase absence from prayers. The President thought that too many fines were still retained in the penal code, and he recommended that more power be given to the President in the matter of discipline, as the details of executive business occupied more time in the meetings of the Faculty than "any person without experience would be likely to imagine," as subjects of comparatively trifling importance often led to protracted discussions that interfered with the dispatch of business.

Two recommendations of the Faculty did not meet the approval of the Trustees, one that students entering College should be required to state that they had read the laws of the College and would fully obey them, and the other that, owing to the unpopularity of the biblical exercise among the students, the Faculty be authorized to modify or discontinue it at their discretion. The permission which was then refused was granted in the following year, and under it the Faculty put the exercise on Sunday afternoon, attendance being voluntary, and during the summer term it was merged in a general religious meeting. In course of time it was found that most of the students avoided it, and in 1833 the Faculty advised an order of compulsory attendance. This was accepted and under such direction the exercise con-

¹ *New Hampshire Patriot*, January 23 and 30, 1826; Court files.

tinued in one form or another, as an exercise in the Greek Testament, or in the English Bible, or as a lecture, till it was finally abandoned in 1892. It was never an exercise which commanded the interest of the students and from the outset its character and the method of conducting it were questions of active discussion. "The whole subject of Biblical instruction," said President Lord, in his report in 1831, "is one of no ordinary embarrassment, on which our theoretical reasonings are not always found to bear well and safely in their applications. Whether the Bible should be put on a level with the classics as a text book for study, whether it should be like other studies required of all indiscriminately; and to what extent and in what form it should be used for purposes of literary or moral instruction are all questions which benevolence will be more ready to answer than discretion."

In the midst of these changes came the resignation of President Tyler. The active duties of a pastor had always been very congenial to him. He had surrendered them with great reluctance, and only under a sense of unavoidable obligation of duty to accept the call to the presidency of Dartmouth at a critical time, and he cherished a longing to be again at his favorite tasks. The failing health of Professor Shurtleff had cast upon him the principal care of the College church from the summer of 1825, and his preaching was accompanied, in 1826, with a deep and remarkable revival in the College and the village. But the official cares grew each year more irksome, and an invitation, coming to him in May, 1828, to assume the pastorate of the Second Congregational Church in Portland, Me., revived his desire for ministerial and pastoral work too strongly to be resisted. It seemed to him that he had fulfilled the most pressing duties that had devolved upon him here, and that the circumstances of the College no longer demanded that he should further sacrifice his preferences. He, therefore, determined to accept the call, and resigned the presidency in the following August.¹

¹ Bennet Tyler, the son of James and Anne (Hungerford) Tyler, was born in Middlebury, Conn., July 6, 1783. He was graduated at Yale in 1804 and studied divinity with the Rev. Asahel Hooker of Goshen, Conn. From his first pastorate at South Britain, Conn., he came to the presidency of Dartmouth. On leaving the College he was installed at Portland in September, 1828, but after holding that position for six years he became President and Professor of Christian Theology at the Theological Institute at East Windsor, Conn. Resigning in 1857, he died May 14, 1858. He is described as of a tall, stout figure, of fair complexion, of a lively, intelligent blue eye and an open benevolent expression, free from stiffness or affectation of manner, and of genial and sympathetic nature.

CHAPTER XII.

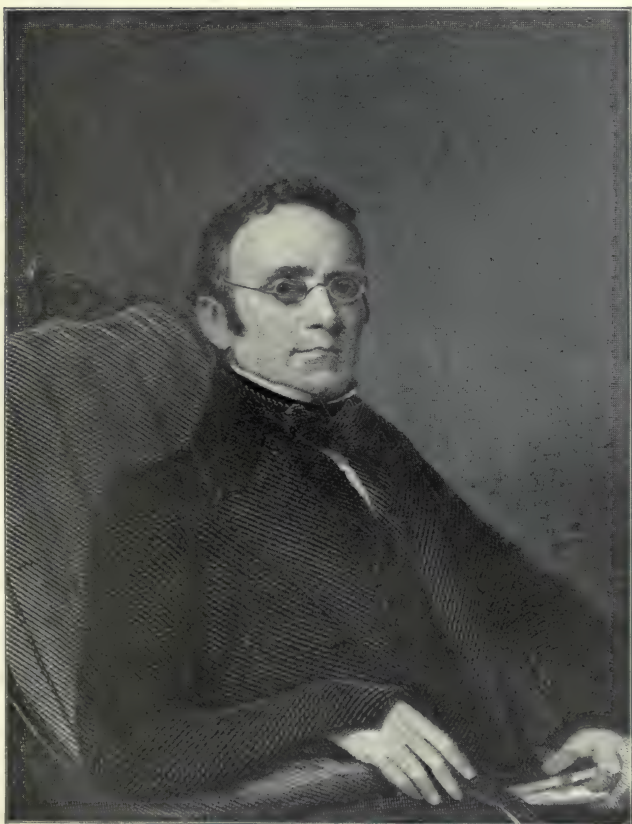
1828-1863.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT LORD.

CIRCUMSTANCES pointed irresistibly to the Rev. Nathan Lord as President Tyler's successor. Aside from his personal qualifications, the intimate knowledge that he had gained of the affairs of the College in the discharge of his duties as trustee for the two preceding years gave him peculiar fitness for the position, and it happened also that a difficulty of the throat, impairing his voice, had prevented him for some time from discharging the active duties of his pulpit at Amherst. Notwithstanding he expressed great reluctance to undertake the task, he was immediately and unanimously elected, but it was only after two months of hesitation that the urgent advice of his friends and an improvement in his health led him to accept the appointment, and he was inaugurated October 28, 1828, with the most flattering prospects which were not belied by the result. His health improved and he was able for thirty-five years to exercise a controlling influence upon the affairs of the College. His accession may fairly be said to mark the beginning of the recent history of the College.

The period of almost fifty years before him witnessed the heroism and romance of its founding, and also the struggle for existence under the second Wheelock, changing in his later administration to internal controversies and the conflict with the State which called out the loyalty and sacrifice of President Brown, while the administrations of Presidents Dana and Tyler, limited in their activities by the exhaustion resulting from what had immediately preceded, were occupied in holding fast the things that remained, in recovering friendships, in soothing alienations and in preparing the way for the development that might be possible under more favorable conditions. Under President Lord the development was realized and the College entered on the course by which under successive presidents it has reached its present state.¹

¹ Nathan Lord, the son of John and Mehitabel (Perkins) Lord, was born in South Berwick, Me., November 28, 1792. Fitting for college at the academy in that village he was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1809. After two years as a teacher at Phillips Exeter Academy he studied for the ministry and after being graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in 1815



N. Lord.

The immediate burden of the new administration, descending to it from the past, was the financial one. By special vote Dr. Lord was appointed the financial agent of the Board to raise money in the execution of plans already made. In the preceding January the Board had determined to attempt to raise a subscription of \$50,000, to become binding when \$30,000 had been subscribed, "to place the Institution on a broad and permanent foundation, to secure to it an elevated character, and to furnish it with all those advantages which will comport with the improvements of the age," and had appointed a number of agents, mostly ministers of New Hampshire and neighboring states, to direct and hasten the work. President Tyler had immediately set the project on foot, and on the 1st of February had so earnestly presented the matter to the alumni of Boston at a meeting in the Exchange Coffee House, and on the evening of the 5th to a similar meeting in Newburyport that he secured subscriptions from sixty alumni amounting to \$6,000. A printed appeal was sent out in the same month, but without much result, except to awaken interest. The agents appointed accomplished little and most of what was done was by the personal efforts of President Tyler in the vacations.

The hope was again entertained by some and found public expression that the State might now come to the help of the College with the Literary fund, which by this time amounted to \$53,000, but the hope was doomed to disappointment.

At the November session of 1828 Governor John Bell devoted several pages of his message to the subject of education. Alluding to the College as "by private munificence (with the aid of donations from the State) in possession of considerable funds . . . and enjoying a considerable degree of prosperity," and declaring that "such is the number and character of similar institutions in New England, neither the public interest requires, nor is it desirable on any account to increase them," he recommended the permanent appropriation of the income of the Literary fund and bank tax to be distributed among the towns for the support of the common schools. At the same time he suggested the establishment by the State at public charge of an

he was settled as pastor in Amherst, N. H. He was President of Dartmouth till July 1863, when he resigned, living thenceforth quietly in Hanover till his death, September 9. 1870. In person Dr. Lord (Bowdoin made him a D.D. in 1828) was of medium height, of vigorous physical powers, of massive features making a strongly marked face, keen blue eyes, shrouded in later life, owing to their weakness, with green glasses, a pleasant expression, and of rare and unfailing courtesy of manner.

experimental farm and Agricultural School. The Governor's views as to the disposition of the Literary fund were made operative by an act of December 31, 1828, but his other proposition was rejected without a division.¹

The resignation of President Tyler naturally tended to retard subscriptions, but Dr. Lord on his accession took up the work with vigor. The subscription had been made payable in five annual installments, if the subscriber so desired, and was not to be binding unless the minimum of \$30,000 had been subscribed by August 25, 1829. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts, the required amount had not been reached as that day approached, and the whole subscription seemed likely to be lost, but when on the 24th it reached only \$29,600, President Lord added \$400 to the subscription of \$300 which he had already made and thus saved the whole. He was afterward relieved of about \$300 by belated subscriptions.

This subscription was the beginning of a new era for the College. It did not remove all its difficulties or lift all its burdens, but it gave the relief that was necessary and helped morally as well as financially. There were still jealousies and enmities in some quarters, but it showed that there was a large and devoted constituency on which the College could depend, and that the current of feeling was setting toward and not against it. Financially it relieved the College of a burden of debt that, added to its other necessities, was almost crushing, for it provided the means, as has been previously told, of paying the debt to the estate of John Wheelock in 1832, when for the first time the College became free from debt except to its own funds, and there was, for that year, nearly a balance between income and expenses. It also afforded the means for the construction of much needed buildings and improvements.

In the last year of President Tyler's administration there had been a decrease in the number of students, in itself not regarded as a serious fact,² as the number of undergraduates, 134, was larger by seven than the number that New Hampshire sent to all colleges, and the decrease was explained partly by the rise of other colleges, but more by the impression extensively prevailing that the college buildings were decayed, and that accommodations were inferior to those provided in the other institutions. The College was not able to provide rooms in Dartmouth and Brown

¹ H. J., 94 and 321.

² President's Report, 1828.

Halls, with those which it rented in the Tontine, for more than half the undergraduates so that the other half and the medical students were obliged to find quarters as best they could in private houses, which were generally open to them. To remedy this condition the Trustees, at their meeting in January, 1828, voted to repair the "College" and the chapel and to erect a new wooden building at an expense of \$3,000. The oversight of the work with authority to make contracts, under the advice, as to form, of Ira Perley, was given to a committee consisting of Professors Chamberlain and Hale, although nearly all of the burden came upon Professor Chamberlain. He had been elected treasurer in 1826, on the resignation of Judge Farrar to accept the appointment of judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and as treasurer, in addition to his duties as professor of languages, he was to act as financier, and inspector of museum and of college buildings at a salary of \$375.

He did not learn of his appointment as the director of the new construction till after the adjournment of the Board, when he expressly declined to act, on the ground that his duties were too heavy to be performed properly by one man, but after conferences with several of the trustees, in which they recognized the justice of his claims, under the necessities of the situation he consented to begin the work. But it was greater than had been anticipated. On carefully going over the situation it was found that the proposed improvements were entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the College. The building committee, therefore, acting under the advice of President Tyler and Messrs. Marsh and Lord, the prudential committee of the Trustees, determined to abandon the proposed scheme and to adopt a larger one that had previously been under consideration by the Trustees. This was to repair thoroughly and to paint the "College," to put blinds upon it, and to make a large central room in it for a chapel in place of the building to be removed, and to erect, instead of one wooden building, two buildings of brick, seventy feet by fifty and three stories high, to be used as dormitories. It was also proposed to define the college yard by erecting a fence about it. The estimated expense of the buildings was \$12,000, and it was to be met by temporary loans, if necessary, but ultimately by the proceeds of the new subscription.

A decision having been reached and the plans of the new buildings, made by Captain Ammi B. Young, having been approved, Professor Chamberlain threw himself with all his might into the

necessary preparations. He spent the remaining part of the winter and the spring in making arrangement for materials and workmen and in securing proposals and making contracts, so that early in May the workmen were collected, and so rapidly did the work progress under Professor Chamberlain's personal and constant supervision that by Commencement the old chapel was moved, the ground was leveled and the foundations of the new buildings were completed. They were called, when finished, Thornton and Wentworth Halls in honor of the early benefactors of the College, John Thornton and Gov. John Wentworth. They were completed in the summer of 1829, ready for occupancy in the fall, but Thornton Hall was erected in the fall of 1828 and Wentworth in the ensuing spring. Thornton partly covered the site of the old chapel which was removed to give it room. The chapel was transferred to the northwest corner of the common to the site for many years occupied by the Hubbard House and now by the Administration Building, where it was used for a time as a vestry by the church, but later it was again moved to the northern part of the village and became a barn.

It began its journey on the 10th of May, drawn, as tradition says,¹ by forty yoke of oxen, and, unless tradesmen's receipts are misleading, under circumstances of good cheer, for on that day there were delivered to the Trustees of the College through their treasurer, who was superintending the work of removal, "1 Bbl. cider, 17 soft Buisquet, 20 loaves of Bread, 100 Crackers, 21 lbs. cheese, 6 tumblers, 3 gal. A gin, 3 do. N. Rum, 1½ do. molasses," which were supplemented on the 12th by two more quarts of gin, three of rum and a pint of molasses.² That there was some carelessness seems to be indicated by a charge made on the 10th by Dr. Alden of thirty-four cents for two broken quart bottles. Similar refreshment was later furnished at the "raising of the floors."

Before the buildings were begun contracts had been made for all that was necessary. Benjamin and Nathaniel Hall of Lebanon contracted to furnish 390,000 brick of proper quality at \$3 a thousand, and 5,000 tiles; the underpinning of granite came from Church and Ball of Lebanon at 25c. a foot, while John B. Annis of Orford delivered on the bank of the Connecticut in Lyme all the dressed stone for sills and caps for the windows, and jambs and lintels for the doors at 54c. and thresholds at 50c. a foot.

¹ Crosby Memorial, p. 28.

² Receipts in files of Treasurer.

Hewn sticks of spruce and white pine were bought for \$9, and hemlock for \$5 a thousand. Shingles were \$2 a thousand, but the price of everything that had to be brought from a distance was correspondingly high. Nails cost 7c. a pound, glass, 8 by 10, cost 8½c. a light, white lead 9½c. to 12¼c. a pound and linseed oil from 75c. to 85c. a gallon. All this was in Boston and freight was \$1 a hundred. Labor was abundant and ordinary laborers were paid 75c. to \$1, and stone and brick masons \$1.50 a day. The workmen were boarded by Abigail Dewey and Sophia Barton for \$1.62½ a week for a time, and later for \$1.75. The contract to do the brick work on the two buildings was let May 31, 1828, to Willard and Chapin of Windsor, Vt., who offered to lay brick for \$1.22 a thousand or to do all the brick work on the buildings for \$567.

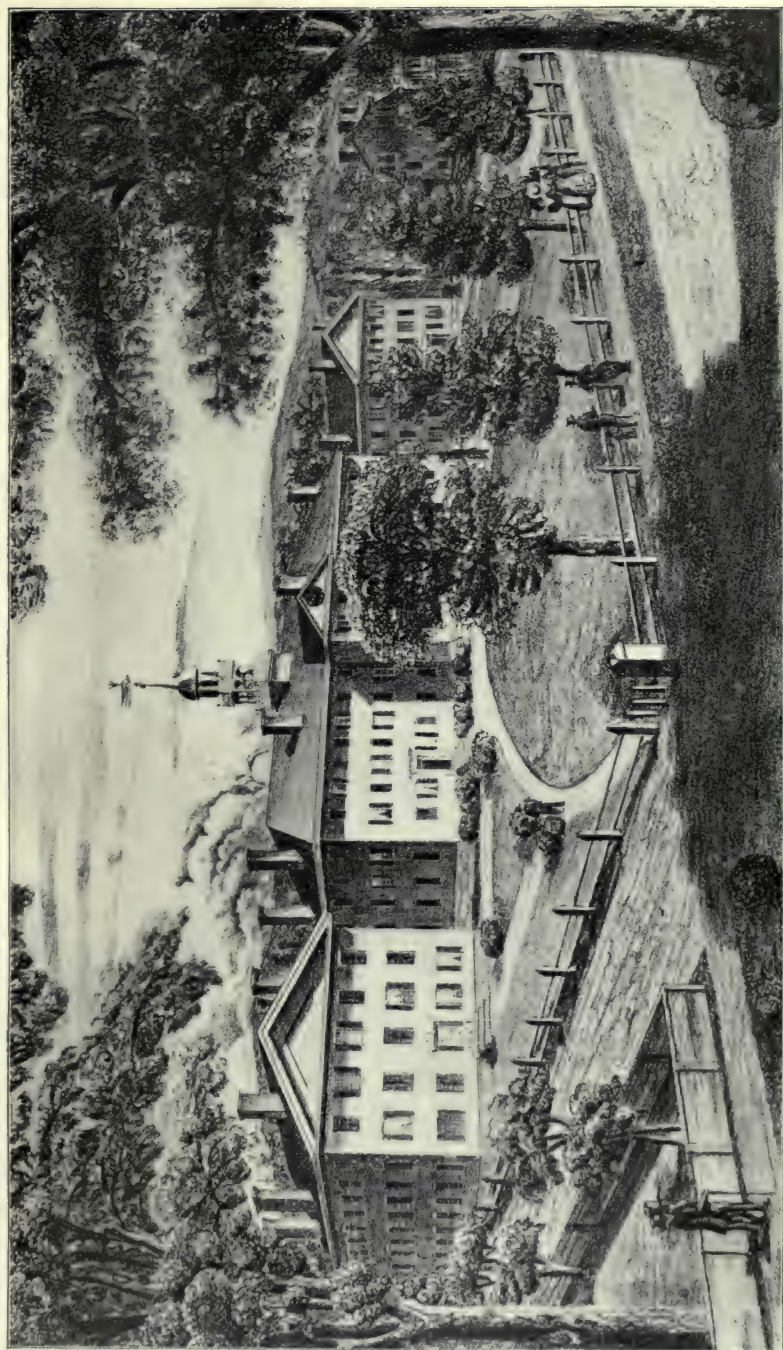
But, notwithstanding all the care of preparation, there was delay. The brick furnished were of an inferior quality and were not delivered at the time agreed upon. There was a delay also in delivering the lime, so that as the winter came on, though the first building was erected, the second had not risen above the foundations. The difficulty about the bricks was remedied by securing a new supply from Thomas Potter of Lebanon, who furnished 130,220 brick at \$3.83 a thousand. The work of the builders was satisfactory, but for some reason the contract with Willard and Chapin, who received \$487.16 for their work on Thornton, was cancelled and on March 23, 1829, a new one for the second building was made with Alpheus Baker and Philo Sprague of Lebanon, who were to "lay all the brick and stone above the underpinning stone thereof, and to make their own mortar and stagings and tend themselves," the materials being furnished and conveniently delivered by the Trustees, and to complete the work before the 20th of June, for \$350. The work was done promptly and satisfactorily and the contractors further did the plastering and setting the hearths in Wentworth Hall for \$165.

Work on the alterations and repairs of Dartmouth Hall was begun as soon as that on the new buildings. In accordance with the plan to devote part of it to a chapel, in place of the building removed, a large room was constructed in the center of the edifice occupying the entire width, and, by the removal of the second story floor, gaining the height of two stories. It was entered through a vestibule by a single door in the middle of the western front, and the platform and desk were on the east side. Other

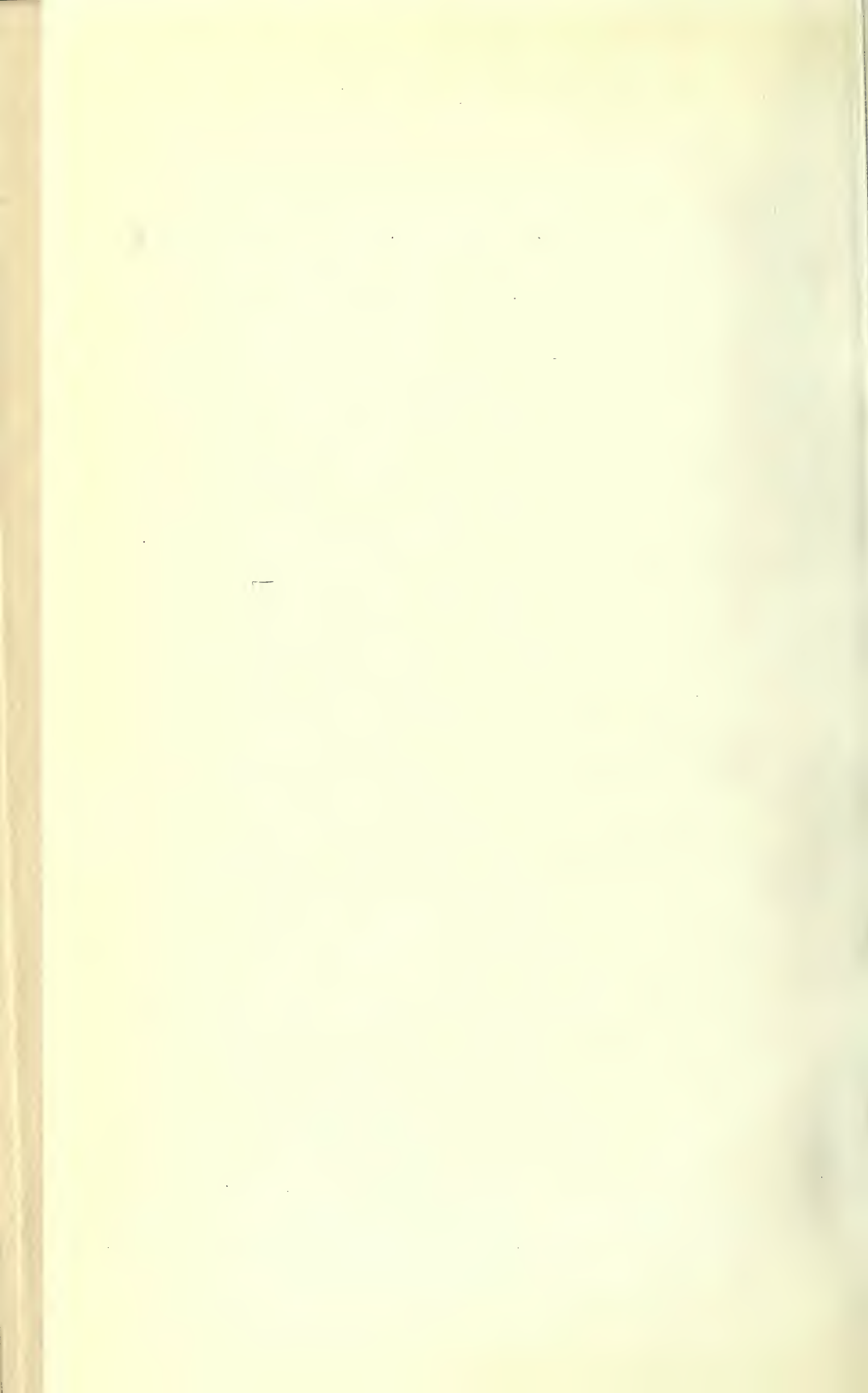
public rooms were constructed and the building was otherwise thoroughly repaired. The rooms remaining for students were refitted and those in the middle and lower stories renumbered. Four of the largest chimneys, which were considered unsafe, were taken down and rebuilt at an expense of \$105; the cornice which had been left imperfect on the south and east was now completed; the building was painted inside and out with three coats of paint, blinds were put on the windows of the front, and to make it more perfect the gable of the west front was for the first time made alive by the dial of a clock. A new bell of a remarkably sweet tone, weighing 720 pounds, the result of a subscription of \$250 raised for the purpose in the village, was hung in the belfry, and for nearly forty years, till it cracked in 1867, called the successive generations of students to daily prayers and recitations. The clock was likewise a gift and came under peculiar circumstances. While the repairs were under way a gentleman wrote to Professor Adams saying that he dreamed that a clock would be of use to the College, and if it was so, he would be willing to make a gift of one. Naturally he was informed that such a gift was greatly desired, and in due time he gave the clock which was the college time piece till the burning of Dartmouth Hall in 1904, though in its later years it was very erratic. After the work on the buildings was completed the college yard was graded and surrounded with a "sufficient fence."

The expense of the repairs upon Dartmouth Hall was about \$3,000, which with the cost of the two new buildings brought the expenditures for construction and repairs to \$16,200, a little more than \$3,000 above the original estimate, and about \$300 were spent for furniture and stoves.¹ All the work was done and the buildings were ready for occupancy in October of 1829, but the last months had been months of great anxiety. Reliance had been placed upon the new subscription to furnish funds for the new construction and when, as the summer advanced, the subscription was incomplete, the very progress of the work and the expected advantage from it seemed the promise of crushing disaster. But, happily, the subscription did not fail, the buildings were paid for, the burden of debt was lifted, and a new aspect was given to the College. The buildings were for the first time insured, Dartmouth for \$7,000, and Thornton and Wentworth for \$6,000. Probably with a view to saving the library it was

¹ Reports of the Treasurer for 1829 and the President for 1830.



THE COLLEGE YARD, 1829-1840.



voted "to buy a dozen two-bushel baskets to be used in case of fire."

The labor involved in the oversight of the construction of the buildings, added to the financial responsibility, was too much for the strength of Professor Chamberlain, who had never been robust. Consumption followed upon a cold resulting from exposure and he died July 16, 1830. He had become responsible for \$250 toward the new subscription, of which he had paid \$10, but before his death he filed a paper with the Trustees asking that his services should count as an offset to his subscription. In it he said that with the exception of the help of Capt. Ammi B. Young, who had been hired both summers to oversee the carpentry work, there had come upon him, in addition to the whole care and responsibility of making contracts and settling accounts, the devising of ways and means. "In the course of this business," he wrote, "I have obtained and paid out—from loans and subscriptions—about five thousand—and from other sources of the College, principally old debts, about eleven thousand dollars, have kept a register of every separate day's work (joiner excepted), have critically examined and paid every account, executed and filed receipts and discharges, about 1,400 in number, have kept a diary journal and ledger account with the vouchers annexed with the whole concern." For clerical assistance and incidental expenses he had expended, without charge to the Trustees, \$105, and he asked that this amount and his services in supervising construction might be regarded as balancing his subscription of \$250, "a sum," said he, "for which no man of business would have given up his time and services as I have done for the past two years, and which the Trustees could not have hired for twice the amount." The Trustees recognized the justice of this request and offset the subscription by continuing his salary to the end of the year.

Ira Perley was chosen as treasurer to succeed Professor Chamberlain, and his election, coinciding with the payment of the subscription of \$30,000 and the increase of the college plant, marks the beginning of the modern period of the college treasury. In 1830 for the first time books were opened on a regular system of double entry, and in accordance with the suggestion of President Lord a careful inventory was made of the college property, by which it appeared that the nominal assets were \$85,752.30 and the liabilities were \$20,562.95, including \$5,424.38 borrowed from the Charity fund. The lands and buildings, on the basis

of rental value, together with the equipment, including the library, apparatus and mineralogical cabinet, estimated at \$5,000, were rated at \$47,762.50. In that year \$3,600 were due the College on unpaid rents, and the estimated annual income was \$6,700, and the estimated expenses were \$7,300. Thanks to the subscription a change soon took place, and in 1832-33 for the first time in many years the College was free from debt, except that to its own funds, which amounted to \$4,668, and then first began investments on mortgage security.

There was still, however, a great uncertainty about the income. Tuition was \$30 a year, but there was always a considerable arrearage, and the rents from leases continued to be difficult to collect, especially in Wheelock, from which in 1832 only \$250 were realized. This town, since the tenants had tasted the sweets of freedom from paying rent during the uncertainty of ownership in the conflict with the University, had presented a continuous series of vexatious delays in the payment of rents. The original survey of the town gave to the College as its share, besides several small gores, one hundred and fourteen lots of one hundred acres each. Of this amount about one thousand acres were deemed unfit for use, one hundred and fifty acres were reserved for the use of the minister and the school and a considerable part had been bought outright, so that in 1823 a little over eight thousand acres were under lease with a nominal rental of about \$550. The amount of rent and capital unpaid with overdue interest at that time was \$3,891.37. Ejectment for non-payment of rent proved unavailing, as tenants, after allowing rents to accumulate, gave up the land and had nothing that could satisfy the damages awarded against them. The difficulty of collection was increased by "speculators who became assignees of large tracts of land and underleased it to others for short periods from whom they received rent, without paying or intending to pay anything to the College, and directing their tenants to surrender the premises to the college agent whenever a call should be made for rent." ¹

The disaffection toward the Trustees was shown by the refusal of the town to assume any responsibility for the lots reserved for the support of the minister and of schools and assigned to the town by the Trustees, or to receive the rents arising from them, and they were considered as lawful plunder by all living near them and stripped of most of their valuable timber. If an appli-

¹ Report to Trustees, 1824.

cant appeared for the lots he was referred by each party to the other, but at last the Trustees made a lease assigning the rents to the town for the purpose specified and holding them, when paid, subject to the order of the town. Before 1823 the Trustees had employed an agent in the town to take charge of their affairs, but after that year they put them into the hands of the treasurer, who made several visits a year to the town to make collections. In 1828 he reported that having been able to visit the town but once during the year the rents collected were but about half the average amount for the four years previous. Matters did not mend, and three years later the new treasurer, Mr. Perley, reported, after a visit to the town, that the Trustees were "principally known to that part of the country as distrainers of rent and were not entirely free from the odium which usually attaches upon that character." He said that the tenants complained that the rent was an annual drain of money out of the place which did not come back in any shape, that it constituted a perpetual incumbrance embarrassing the sale and transfer of their property, and that as such tenure of land was not common in this country, it seemed a kind of servitude and they could hardly look upon themselves as free men, as long as they were bound by it, and consequently, he said, that they paid the rent less cheerfully as it was taken for the support of a foreign institution. He, therefore, recommended that the rents be capitalized and sold outright, as this would encourage the payment of arrearages, and also that tenants might be allowed to subdivide their holdings.

In accordance with these recommendations the Trustees, after some delay, took action in 1834 by which tenants, who were not in arrears, might within two years extinguish the principal of their leases, except for a nominal rent which should not be less than one dollar, or might by surrendering their leases, receive new leases of portions of the original allotment, running to different occupants, provided that the rents of all the portions equalled the former rental of the whole, and that no parcel should be leased of less quantity than twenty-five acres. Tenants, who were not in arrears, were also allowed to surrender their leases and to receive new leases of the "pitched land" for the terms of the original lease, at proportionate rental, provided they gave by surrender, or otherwise, a good title to the "draw land."¹

¹ The terms "pitched land" and "draw land" arose from the method of assigning lands. When the town was opened to settlers it was divided into lots of one hundred acres each, and three lots constituted a "right," which was the smallest amount for which a lease was given. As the land throughout the township was not of equal value, it was divided, except about 2,000 acres

But the question of rent was complicated with the question of title, raised by parties in Vermont in connection with Moor's School, and it was not till October of 1834 that the Trustees, after sending Mr. Parker of their own number together with their treasurer to Wheelock to examine into the state of affairs there, definitely adopted measures looking toward the capitalization of rents and the sale of lands in fee simple, and also permitting the division of leases with proportionate rents, provided that no lease should be given for less than twenty-five acres.

The interests of Moor's School, involved with those of the College, were of minor importance but were still more confused. The College and the School each owned one moiety in Wheelock, but though the School had an independent organization yet its tenants were only too willing to withhold the payment of their rents till the question between the College and the University should be decided. The School was in further difficulty over a question that arose as to its rights in the Scotch fund, the logical sequence of the position taken by the Society in 1771. The Scotch fund was confessedly exempt from the jurisdiction of the

which, "lying on the mountain and remoter skirts of the town was left as improper for occupancy," into two parts. The first was considered the more valuable and comprised about two thirds of the township, while the second contained the other and less desirable third. A settler was allowed to choose two one-hundred-acre lots in the first part, and this was called his "pitch," but the third one hundred acres necessary to complete his "right" he drew by lot from the second part, and this was his "draw land." This portion of his right was often remote from his "pitched land," and an encumbrance rather than a help, as rent was charged upon it as upon the better portion and yet cultivation or improvement of it was difficult. The feelings of the settlers were expressed in a petition to the Trustees in 1820:

"We the subscribers for and in behalf of the inhabitants of the town of Wheelock Beg leave to Represent to your Honors that in Consequence of the Dispute between you and the State of New Hampshire Respecting the ownership of Dartmouth College the Rents on the Lands in said Wheelock have become large and in many Instances the Land is connected with Furriners who Dont pay any Rent for it in consequence of its not being of much Value which subjects the Inhabitants in Wheelock that own lands leased with them to pay the Whole Rents or become Liable to lose the whole as in a number of leases the Letters have been sued Subjected to a bill of Costs and quit the land, which Now Lays Common the buildings and fences are gone and the farms are growing up with bushes which many of these Inhabitants were Industrious working men and would have been Able to pay the rents on the land that they owned Could they have been released from the other or Draw Lands, So Called for there generally is one third of the Land in a Lease Land that was Drawed by a Draught and the Most of that is poor and owed by People in Different parts of the Country and many of the Inhabitants of Wheelock are now connected in that way and must be subjected to Bills of Costs and themselves and Families turned out of Doors without anything unless your Honors will take the matter into Consideration and grant them Repreave in Some way that will Incurrage them that they Can pay Rents for what Lands they posse[ss] or at least cast of Some of those Draw Lands or say if they will pay for the pitched Land that they shall be discharged from the other and give them a reasonable time to settle up for money at this time is so Scarce that it is not Possible for them to pay all the back Rents and Interest in one Season if you Sue the Whole but we favourably Hope that the Land is not what you wish for we believe that what has been forfeited has not been of any use to you and we think that it will not unless you will lease it in smaller leases we Cheerfully hope that your Honors will take the above under Consideration and Grant Some Relief in Some way as we are in duty bound will ever pray."

College Trustees. It was expressly excluded from the operation of the charter of 1807, and President John Wheelock claimed to control its expenditure in his own right as the proprietor, under the will of his father, of Dr. Wheelock's Indian Charity School, and at his death bequeathed it to the President of Dartmouth University. The Society was disinclined to accept that view and in March, 1817, recommended the dismissal of the four Indians then on the fund until the controversy should be determined. They were accordingly sent home, and we hear of no others till President Tyler's time, but the School, which since 1811 had been under the care of Mr. Joseph Perry, as Preceptor by appointment of President Wheelock, continued under his charge till 1818 with the tacit acquiescence of President Brown. In August of that year the Trustees advised President Brown to appoint a master, and Mr. William Chamberlain was employed.

At the death of President Wheelock the School came to his successor burdened with a debt of about \$1,200 and charged with an annual salary of \$200 to the President for the time being and of \$150 to the Preceptor. For several years after taking office President Wheelock made no charge for his services in conducting the School, but in 1805 he secured a certificate, signed by several of the Trustees of the College acting as a committee of examination, that the President was entitled to \$200 a year for his services, and from then on that sum continued to be the salary of the President of the School till the election of President Smith in 1863. By reason of the withholding of the rents by tenants in Wheelock the debt of the School increased and could not be reduced while the School was in operation. It was, therefore, suspended on the advice of the Trustees in 1829 by President Lord, who found on his coming a debt of nearly \$1,300, "a building dilapidated and ruinous, insufficient for its purposes, and unworthy of repair, the School without available resources and wholly insolvent for the time being."¹

In November of 1831, in order to simplify the administration of matters in Wheelock as well as to apply more effectively whatever returns might come from there, it was, with the consent of the President, proposed by the Trustees to the legislature of Vermont to transfer to the College all the interests of the School in Wheelock on the assumption by the College of all the obligations of the School. Mr. Charles Marsh attended the session of the legislature at Montpelier in support of the petition and secured favor-

¹ Letter of President Lord to Trustees, 1864.

able action from the Assembly, but the Council refused to concur,¹ on the ground that the lands granted to the School might be forfeited to the State through *non-user*, and that it would not then be wise to grant them to an institution outside the State. Under the authority of a resolution passed by the House in concurrence with the Council the Governor appointed, as an agent to investigate the question of forfeiture, Judge Asa Aikens of Windsor, who made a long report in October, 1832,² in which, after reviewing the history of the School and the circumstances of the grant, he concluded that "no legal cause of forfeiture had occurred," and that the interest of the College, the School and the academies in that part of Vermont would be furthered by the transfer of the grant to the College. The Assembly immediately passed an act in conformity with the report, but the Council again failed to concur, and in the following year united with the Assembly in passing a resolution for the appointment of an agent to bring a suit-at-law or in chancery for the recovery of the lands in Wheelock belonging to Moor's School.³ Nothing being done, the proposition was renewed two years later, but the title was too secure to be disturbed and the agitation came to an end by 1837.

As would be expected the uncertainty of legislation but intensified the trouble with the tenants, and more suits for non-payment of rent were instituted and contested, and in course of time again decided in favor of the School. The continued suspension of instruction having in the meantime an unfavorable influence, the President was, in 1834, advised by the Board to employ an instructor and reopen the School, but the advice was not acted upon until after the final decision of the court in 1837. It was not possible to occupy the old building, which by that time was past recovery, and as, in consequence of the decision in the suits, a considerable amount of back rents had been received, it was determined to erect a new one. The old building was accordingly sold and moved away and a new one of brick, which was long known as the "Academy," was erected, and in the same year (1837) the School was reopened after a suspension of nine years. The cost of the building, about \$3,500, was greater than afterward seemed expedient, as it was not then sufficiently understood how nearly impossible it was that such a school could be supported without large funds under the shadow of a college, where the ex-

¹ Vt. H. J., 1831, p. 139; Vermont Governor and Council, Vol. VIII, p. 41.

² Vt. H. J., pp. 183-189.

³ Vt. H., J. 1833, p. 186.

pense to other than boys from the vicinity must necessarily exceed what was usual in the other neighboring academies.

President Lord attempted to secure Indian pupils, visiting St. Francis and Lorette, near Quebec, for that purpose with but little success,¹ and after twelve years of financial loss the School was suspended in 1849, it having become clear that it could receive few or no students from abroad, that the expense of supporting it for the mere accommodation of a few families of the village could not be justified, and that instruction for the few Indians who came could be secured more efficiently and more economically by other means. At that time the old debt had increased to more than \$2,500, which for many years was carried by loans from different parties on the personal indorsement of President Lord in addition to his obligation as President of the School. To aid in the payment of the debt the Academy building was rented in 1852 for \$175 a year to the Visitors of the then recently organized Chandler School and by this rental, with the receipts from Wheelock, the debt was greatly reduced at the time of the resignation of President Lord and was due wholly to him, as on the demand of the creditors for their money, in the lack of available funds of the School, he had met the demands from his private means.

The Academy building, proving too small for the use of the Chandler School, was remodelled and enlarged in 1871, partly from the funds of the Academy but partly by contributions for that purpose from the friends of the Chandler School, and has since been known as the Chandler Building. It underwent a second enlargement in 1898 made possible by the bequest of over \$28,000 by Frank W. Daniels of the class of 1868, and since that time has been devoted to the use of the department of mathematics and graphics. The accumulation of the funds after the payment of the debt allowed, after 1893, the employment of a preceptor, in accordance with the terms of the foundation, in connection with the village high school. The original object of aid to Indian youth was, however, never lost sight of, and during nearly all the time, either in the College, or in the village school, or in neighboring schools, or at times under private instructors, Indian boys were aided toward an education by the funds of Moor's School. The question of transferring these funds to the College as a means of greater usefulness, which was presented to the legislature of Vermont in 1831 and negatived by them as far as Wheelock was concerned, was also presented to the Scotch Board

¹ Letter to the Scotch Board, April 30, 1838.

with a like result. This fact, as well as the condition of the School, was brought out in a letter to the Trustees written by President Lord after his resignation, under date of July 20, 1864:

But it may be well for me to state that the Corporation designated and known by the Charter as "The President of Moor's Charity School," has never ceased to be vital and active during my administration. For, although the School, as to an order of public instruction, was suspended while the tenants held their rents in abeyance, and afterward, as at present, it has been in constant operation, and has so claimed successfully in a controversy with the Legislature of Vermont, as far forth as it is an Indian Charity School. There has been little or no time when I have not had more or fewer Indian youth under my care as Pres^t. of the School, and procured instruction for them accordingly under accredited teachers, or when I have not maintained communication, directly or through their Board of Commissioners at Boston, with the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of the Gospel, and been recognized by them as carrying out satisfactorily its design. When the Academy building was rented to the Visitors of the Chandler School it was with the distinct understanding that the teachers of that School should be also the teachers of any Indians that I should see fit officially to put under them as Pres^t. of Moor's Indian School, and that such pupils should be chargeable for tuition only at the rates which had been always ordered when the School had been opened to the public.

I have held that Moor's Indian Charity School cannot cease while the Corporation known as the President of that School exists and exercises the responsible care of Indians in a course of instruction at Hanover under such teachers as he may appoint.

As to the usefulness of maintaining this Indian Charity or any School at Hanover in connection with it as compared with the benefit of having the Scotch Fund and the School Rents at Wheelock appropriated to the general use of the College, I have long had serious doubts. But during this generation it would be impossible so to impress the Society in Scotland, or the Legislature of Vermont. Before experience, many years ago, I expressed these doubts to the Society in Scotland. The consequence was that a delegation of two distinguished officers of that Society came immediately to this country to see if there were not some Jesuitical design to misappropriate the Indian fund, or otherwise frustrate the purpose of its donors. I was able to satisfy them fully in that respect, but not to persuade them that the objects of their charity were not paramount, or that its original intention was not simply the advancement of the College. Of course I did not hesitate to use afterward the proceeds of the fund for the end which larger experience has still more led me to judge of comparatively little and doubtful benefit, viz. the education of Indians at Hanover. And so of the Wheelock grant: Vermont would be likely to move for its revocation if asked to consent to any application of it to the general uses of the College. However important a different direction of the School property may seem, time only can effect it.

It took a little less than fifty years from the time of writing this letter to bring about the change in the attitude of the Vermont legislature desired by President Lord. In the spring of 1912

the Trustees of the College, having considered the possibility of making the property of the Moor's School more serviceable than it had been for a long time by its transfer to the College, appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Powers, Chase and Mathewson, to see how it could be brought about.

This committee reported at a meeting of the Trustees on March 7, 1913, that in view of the grant of lands in Wheelock that had been made by the State of Vermont jointly to the School and the College, it had seemed advisable to secure the consent of that State to the dissolution of the School and the transfer of its interests to the College. Accordingly an act in the shape of a joint resolution of the two houses of the legislature giving the desired consent had been prepared and introduced at the winter session of the legislature. The resolution had passed both houses and had received the approval of the Governor under date of February 5, 1913.

On receiving this report the Trustees, acting as Trustees of Moor's School, took the following action:

Whereas the necessity and expediency of maintaining Moor's Charity School have long since ceased, and consequently the reason for longer continuing the existence of the corporation known as The President of Moor's Charity School, incorporated in the year 1807 by the legislature of the state of New Hampshire, has also ceased; and

Whereas the said corporation now owns an undivided half interest in lands in the town of Wheelock and State of Vermont, by virtue of the grant to it and the Trustees of Dartmouth College by the State of Vermont of the township of Wheelock, on the 14th day of June, 1785, and also certain funds derived from leases and sales of said lands heretofore made and from income accruing thereon, the same constituting the entire property now belonging to the said corporation; and

Wheress the legislature of the State of Vermont, by a joint resolution approved February 5, 1913, gave the consent of said State to the transfer of all the real and personal estate of every kind now belonging to the corporation known as The President of Moor's Charity School, from said corporation to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, to be hereafter held for their exclusive use, and also consented to the dissolution of said corporation; and

Whereas the charitable purposes for the promotion of which the corporation known as the Trustees of Dartmouth College was incorporated, are closely related to the charitable purposes for the promotion of which the corporation of The President of Moor's Charity School was created:—

Therefore, *Resolved*,

1. That the corporation known as The President of Moor's Charity School convey by a good and sufficient deed or deeds, all its property of every kind and

description wherever situated to the Trustees of Dartmouth College to be thereafter held by them and their successors for their exclusive use.

2. That this corporation be dissolved after completing the transfer of its property to the Trustees of Dartmouth College as aforesaid.

To give legal effect to the above votes in the dissolution of the School and the conveyance of its property to the Trustees of the College, Messrs. Mathewson and Chase were appointed a committee for such proceedings in court as might be necessary. Perhaps before this volume shall appear Moor's School will have closed its corporate existence.

But other interests than the financial called for the attention of the new administration. Within its opening year three vacancies occurred in the Board of Trust, and all among its older members. Moses P. Payson, who came into the Board in the thick of the contest with the University, died in the fall of 1828 and Ezekiel Webster in the following spring, while in the summer of 1829 Elijah Paine, one of the original "Octagon," owing to the infirmities of age, resigned. Their places were taken by Samuel Hubbard, a lawyer of Boston, William Hall, a merchant of Rockingham, Vt., and George Sullivan of Exeter, one of the former counsel for the University, whose election clearly indicated the restoration of good feeling in the State. Of these three Mr. Hubbard retained his connection with the Board for nearly twenty years, but Mr. Hall died in 1831 and was succeeded by John Aiken, a lawyer of Manchester, Vt., and Mr. Sullivan, resigning, was succeeded by William Reed, a merchant of Marblehead, Mass., in 1834, in which year also Rev. Z. S. Barstow of Keene, N. H., was chosen in place of Dr. Tyler. Many changes followed in quick succession so that by 1845 Charles Marsh was the only one remaining who was a member of the Board on the accession of Dr. Lord, and his death occurring in 1849 removed the last member of that powerful group that had carried the College through the great struggle with the State. To him more than to any other member of the Board was due the successful result of that struggle, as both from his ability and his nearness to the College he was the foremost adviser of the then college officers.

Changes in the Faculty equalled those in the Board of Trust. On the death of Professor Chamberlain the chair of Greek and Latin, after being informally offered to Theodore D. Woolsey, later the eminent President of Yale College, was taken by the Rev. Calvin E. Stowe. On his resignation in 1833 Alpheus Crosby who had been tutor from 1828 to 1831, was recalled as full pro-

fessor, but the duties of the chair becoming too heavy for one man, the chair was divided in 1837, when Professor Crosby kept the Greek, and Edwin D. Sanborn, who was tutor in 1835 and then had been made an associate in the department in 1836, became professor of latin. In 1833 Professor Adams, who had borne so long the heavy burden of instruction and temporary administration, gave up the active duties of his professorship to his son-in-law, Ira Young, and became professor *emeritus*. Professor George Howe, who had succeeded Professor Shurtleff in the chair of Divinity soon found, as he had feared, that his strength was not equal to the demands upon it, and he resigned in 1830. But as he was unable to preach for nearly a year before his resignation the labor of supplying the pulpit fell almost wholly upon the President, till it became apparent that neither his strength nor the demand of other duties would allow him to continue that service. It was also evident that the difficulties connected with the system of uniting a college officer and a village pastor in one person were too great to be overcome; a sacrifice of both relations occurred. To separate the College and the village would be to the disadvantage of both, and, as the President said in his report of that year, would "make the village a scene of sectarian warfare, neutralize and destroy the proper influence of the College over it as a Christian institution, and perpetuate vexatious feuds and contentions to the common injury and disgrace."

To prevent such a result the President devised a plan whereby the College should attend the ministrations of the village pastor, and not, as heretofore, the village share by sufferance the preaching of the professor of divinity. He organized in 1830 the Dartmouth Religious Society, composed of members of the Faculty, the church and the community, for the support of a common pastor. This organization was to unite with the church in the call of a pastor, was to be responsible for his salary, toward which the College was asked to contribute \$300, at that time three sevenths of the pastor's salary. In return for this contribution the students were to attend the services of the church and to have seats provided without further charge to the Trustees, but as some difficulty still continued about the seats the Trustees in 1835, in connection with plans of general improvement in the meeting house, directed the purchase of pews by the College and their division into slips. This plan was to the mutual advantage of church and College, as by it the church assumed its

rightful relation to its pastor and gained a position of dignity in relation to the College which it had hitherto lacked, while the College secured all the benefits, as far as the services of the church were concerned, which it had had before, and saved a little more than half of the salary which it had paid to the professor of divinity. With minor changes, relating especially to the amount of the contribution of the College, this arrangement has continued substantially in good working order to the present day.

The new administration had other difficulties to meet than those which came from appointments. It was put to the test on the side of discipline, as is almost always the case with a new executive. The relaxation of discipline incident to a change in the presidency, and especially in the interval before the coming of the new president, the excitement connected with the removal to the new dormitories, and the unaccustomed opportunities for intercourse between the students, "led to various irregularities and disturbances which the ordinary influences of authority could not prevent." During the spring term several of the worst offenders were severely dealt with, and only the resolute attitude of the administration, aided by the timely coming of a vacation, checked a general outbreak. William H. Duncan, of the class of 1830, referring in later years to the threatened rebellion of the College, said: "Some will recollect the electric effect of a speech of Dr. Lord's to the students who were moved to rebel. They had threatened to leave college *en masse* (as they often do if their wishes are not complied with). One sentence from Dr. Lord went like a loaded shell into their ranks. It was this: 'Go, young gentlemen, if you wish; we can bear to see our seats vacated, but not our laws violated.' This was said with such regal decision and dignity that no man of those classes spoke of deserting the college."¹ As often happens, a season of disturbance was followed by one of corresponding calm, and the next term was reported by the President as "one of uncommon stillness and sobriety and decorum," with a decided turn in the thoughts of the students to serious things.

But permanent good order was not secured, and in the spring of 1832 another rebellion broke out in the freshman class. The stove in their recitation room smoked and after ineffectual complaints the class threw it into the river, and all were suspended until they apologized. They protested in a *round-robin*, but met the conditions and were restored, yet they cherished so joyous a

¹ *Boston Journal*, September 11, 1870.

memory of their rebellion that they celebrated its anniversary in the following year with such riotous demonstrations that one of their number was temporarily removed from college. One of the class, Reuben Peaslee of Plaistow, gave to the affair a humorous turn by a poster giving a description of it in verse. Another college disturbance is shown by the following extract from a student's letter.¹

We have had rather squally times here this term. The difficulties arose in and have been *chiefly* confined to the Sophomore class. They were assembled at a student's room and made some noise, and one of the Tutors went in rather abruptly and imprudently ordered silence &c, when some of them insulted him. For this two were suspended for three months. At this some of the class were much offended, and on the night following some individuals took a large cannon from the gun house in this village, drew it up near the college building about under the offending tutor's window, and fired it with such tremendous charge as to break about three hundred and twenty squares of glass from the college buildings. It jarred the houses in most distant parts of the village, was heard several miles distant and supposed to be an earthquake. The rogues soon returned but the Faculty were on the alert immediately, went to the students' rooms to see whose shoes were wet (for it had rained some) and tried some into the tracks where they drew up and fired the cannon, and found the boots of one to fit some of the tracks. With this and some little other evidence they [*sic*] faculty expelled him. They could not detect any others. At a meeting of the students upon case of the expelled one a classmate of [*sic*] made a speech so outrageous against the Faculty that they dismissed him for a year, but after he had made a *very humble* acknowledgement they received him back. All quiet now.

The restless activities of the students sometimes found means of expression that were not so objectionable, even if violent. In 1833 at the southern end of the village, on the brow of Negro hill, was a house known as the "Seven Nations." It acquired the name from the motley character of its inhabitants, for it was used as a tenement and was uniformly occupied by rough characters and families of unsavory reputation. It fell into a very dilapidated condition, which made it an eyesore to the community, and the character of its tenants, who were often disorderly, made it a public nuisance. It was owned by Col. Brewster who indicated to the students, perhaps in response to a request, that he would be glad to have it torn down. Acting on the suggestion they proceeded one night in a body to the house, expelled the tenants and razed the building to the ground.

¹ Extract from a letter of Solomon Laws of the class of 1836, written two weeks before his graduation to his brother, Nathaniel F. Laws of Peterborough, N. H. For the offence which he describes one student was publicly expelled, the Faculty expressing the hope that this "penalty would be sufficient to maintain the authority of the laws."

The depression of the cellar was never fully leveled and may still be seen on the left of the road descending toward Mink brook.

Amid the pressure of questions of restricted finances, of imperilled title to property, of new construction and of discipline, the consideration of the scholarly interests of the College was not lost sight of. The vital importance in which they were held was shown in the report of the President in 1833, who declared his conviction,

"That it is becoming more and more important to provide for the highest possible advantages of instruction in the college, for the most efficient and faithful administration. Any failure in these respects may soon turn the current of popular opinion unfavorably to its reputation and advancement. The college is already under the disadvantage of reproach as being solely controlled by alleged sectarian influences, but few public men have any concern in its affairs, many of the most considerable among the professional classes of the State were educated at other Institutions and their attachments have never been transferred; it has no patronage of wealth and power and stands unfavorably in all these respects to meet the spirit of competition which is so manifestly impelling other kindred institutions of the country, so that any defectiveness in its interior organization, or any unequal working of its departments . . . may occasion material and permanent loss, which can in no wise be prevented except by keeping the college in the best possible attitude and in the highest credit to which it can fairly be entitled.

To ascertain whether the most was being secured with existing resources the President was requested in 1829 to prepare an exhibit of the work done by the several classes and by each member of the Faculty. The schedule which he presented¹ showed that at least on paper the College had no occasion to be ashamed of the diligence of its students. The freshman class, for instance, in addition to the biblical exercise on Sunday had sixteen exercises a week, in which in the course of the year it was able to read five books of Livy, supplemented by Roman antiquities taught by subjects, the odes, *carmen saeculare*, a book and a half of the satires, eleven epistles and the *ars poetica* of Horace; in the *Graeca Maiora* portions of Herodotus, of the Anabasis and the Cyropaedia of Xenophon, of Theophrastus, Polyaeus, Aelianus and Homer, and all this was attended with written translations and metrical exercises. Arithmetic was reviewed in twenty exercises under the professor of intellectual philosophy and political economy, algebra was given an exercise a day for two terms, while in rhetoric Porter's Analysis was

¹ President's Report, 1830.

studied for twenty exercises, and thirty-five exercises were given to compositions and an equal number to reading and declamation. The schedules of the junior and sophomore classes were nearly if not quite as full, the senior only being somewhat lighter. That English composition was more than a name is indicated by the report of the professor of rhetoric, who stated that during the year he had examined 1,472 compositions, had heard 124 dissertations and declamations, and besides rehearsals had listened to fifty performances for exhibitions and Commencement.

In presenting to the Board this statement of work, so abundant from the side of the student, the President felt called upon to offer excuse for the Faculty. "It will probably be thought," said he, "that the several instructors perform but a small and inadequate amount of daily service. It is, however, to be considered that the preparation for college exercises, the hearing of private recitations, and the necessarily frequent meetings of the Faculty occupy no small portion of time, and that some of these duties are exceedingly vexatious and oppressive, far more so than I have been prepared to expect, or than any individual unaccustomed to the service can well conceive." Yet the Faculty, he went on to say, was about to form a new arrangement of studies which would increase the amount of instruction and other labor and contribute to raise the character of their several departments.

But notwithstanding the apparent diligence of the students, in which the President believed "the College came behind no other," he still thought that there was "to the mass of the students an immense waste of time, an evil inherent in the whole system of college instruction, arising from the want of more thorough instruction, and the insufficient stimulus now afforded by mock examinations and the demoralizing influence of the system of encouragements and rewards." He, therefore, proposed a system of examinations that should be a terror to the lazy and inefficient and a stimulus to the diligent. Three or four weeks of the summer term were to be set apart exclusively for examinations which were to be conducted, in the presence of intelligent committees from abroad, in such a way as to task the powers of every student and "to exhibit the results of all the studies of his course." It is not surprising that the Board hesitated to adopt the recommendation in so heroic a form, but it did consent to the principle and, in place of the semi-

annual examinations of one day for each class heretofore existing, established annual examinations extending over "two weeks or more," and authorized the Faculty to appoint a committee which at the close of the examination should report on the merit of each student with a recommendation that he be advanced or degraded.

The experience of a single year was sufficient to show that two weeks were not needed for the examinations, and in 1832 the time was cut down to "not less than ten days." Four sessions were held on each of the ten days. The seniors and freshmen stood the brunt of the examinations, twelve sessions being assigned to the seniors, of which the moral department had six, the physical two, the classical three, and the rhetorical one, while the juniors were finished in seven sessions, the sophomores in ten and the freshmen in eleven. Longer trial proved that the system was not productive of the results desired and after a reasonable time a return was had in 1845 to the method of two examinations, one at the end of the fall term and one just before Commencement, a method which, with some variations corresponding to varying arrangement of terms, has continued to the present. The examinations were all oral and so continued till 1874 when written examinations were introduced, but the public oral examination at the end of the year in the presence of a committee, on which in later years a member of the Board of Trust was expected to sit and sometimes found it convenient to do so, was continued till 1893.

The "examining committee," as it was called, was continued till the same date, but was steadily shorn of authority. Instead of a recommendation that a student be advanced or degraded it was soon asked merely for an opinion as to his merits, and the Faculty was allowed to give such weight to the opinion as it saw fit, and even to ignore it altogether. The examiners were usually taken from ministers of New Hampshire or Vermont, and, as the college course broadened, it became increasingly difficult to secure men who were competent to give a discriminating judgment upon the subjects presented. Examiners, who, though besought "to ask questions," sat through successive examinations without apparent knowledge of a subject, or exhibited total ignorance of it, as when one examiner in German held his book upside down during the whole exercise, brought discredit upon the system and became themselves objects of ridicule.

The attempt to improve the scholarship of the College was supported by the enlargement of the means of instruction. In 1831 \$1,000 were devoted to the purchase in London of books for the library, and in the next year \$400 were added for books published in America. In 1833, \$1,000 were spent in enlarging the physical apparatus, and \$200 were voted for the purchase of a cabinet of minerals, but the latter expenditure was delayed. The improvement of the outward appearance of the College by the erection of the new buildings and the fencing of the college yard was so marked that it brought the desire for further improvement and led in 1831 to the leveling of the common, and a few years later, in 1836, to its fencing. In 1832 the graduating class was brought into closer touch by being admitted for the first time to the Commencement dinner, but the expense thereby incurred was met by the charge of eight cents upon the quarter bills of each student.

By the rearrangement of the course of study in 1830 the afternoon recitation hitherto largely a matter of form was made compulsory and substantial, and a system was introduced of marking scholarship on a scale of 1 to 5, of which 1 was the highest mark. In this arrangement the importance of providing instruction in modern languages was seriously felt. Though no such instruction had been provided by the College the students had found means to secure it, and two years before the Faculty had allowed seniors to substitute a recitation in French for their afternoon exercise in Greek or Latin. In 1830 students of the two upper classes secured a Mr. Ely, who had resided in France, to give instruction in French, and in the following year the President reported that twelve weeks' instruction in French had been given to nearly all the members of the College by a Mr. Linberg, "a gentleman of highly respectable qualifications," and that the College had paid about \$100 toward his compensation. He clearly saw that so small an appropriation would not long be satisfactory to the students, particularly in view of the fact that at almost every other college in New England instruction was given in modern languages as a thing of course, and he recommended the consideration of the appointment of a professor of modern languages.

The Board had just found it "inexpedient to appoint a professor of chirography," and while they were more ready to appoint a professor of modern languages, yet, though the matter was brought to their attention year after year and they appointed

a committee to consider ways and means for so doing, and, indeed, announced in the catalogue that they had made "arrangements for regular and permanent instruction in Modern Languages," they could not make an appointment. The result was that other teachers followed Mr. Linberg in a similar capacity and that optional instruction in French was furnished quite regularly, but not recognized in the catalogue as a subject of study till 1851. For the next two years there was an instructor in modern languages, but a permanent appointment was not made till 1860, and since that time those languages have received their full share of attention.

Perhaps the most important change of the time was in the matter of college honors. Besides the grand anniversary of Commencement there had been observed from early times three other public exhibitions of original oratory by the three upper classes, that for the seniors taking place in November, that for the juniors in March and that for the sophmores in May. Each term thus witnessed one of them, which with the Commencement marked off the year into four nearly equal periods and were hence called "quarter days." Before the introduction of the marking system distinctions in scholarship were indicated only by assignment of parts for these occasions. They naturally fostered a spirit of rivalry that gave rise to violent excitements and jealousies and to endless trouble, which for some years prior to 1832 the Faculty attempted to ameliorate by inviting from the classes a preliminary vote upon the rank of their members. The sophomore quarter day, last observed in May, 1823, was especially troublesome, partly because the burden of the appointments always rested upon one of the younger members of the Faculty, the sophomore tutor, and it was, therefore, the first to be discontinued, and the day appropriated to the juniors. President Lord was soon convinced that the system of honors as then administered was productive only of evil, and in 1830 urged the abolition of the remaining quarter days, so that "the honors of college should be gathered only once—at the time of graduation," thus destroying the "rivalry and competition coming from invidious appointments for exhibitions of questionable utility." This was accordingly decreed in 1832. But the Commencement honors were in fact no less objectionable, and in October, 1834, at the solicitation of the President, supplemented by a petition of a large majority of the students, to whom he had persuasively presented the

subject, it was decided that all college distinctions on that occasion likewise should be entirely abolished. The annual contest for prizes in declamation that had been held on the day after Commencement by the two upper classes was also discarded in 1839 in obedience to the same rule.

Subject to the principle of equality it was left to the Faculty to arrange the exercises at their discretion. For the next four years, 1835 to 1838 inclusive, parts were assigned to the entire class, numbering from 35 to 61, and the whole day was consumed in listening to their efforts. The burden of this was intolerable to all parties, and tended to make the occasion ridiculous. As the classes increased in numbers the plan became simply impossible of execution. The Trustees expressed a willingness to extend the exercises over two days, if necessary, but relief was first sought by excusing many from actual performance, and in 1839, by resort to the *lot*, no other method suggesting itself that would at the same time check the torrent of eloquence and preserve the impartiality which the rule demanded. But the effect upon the appearance and reputation of the rhetorical department can well be imagined. Aside from the President and one or two others, the Faculty had not fully favored the new system, and upon the accession in 1840 of Professor Brown as the new head of the department of rhetoric a strenuous effort was made by the Faculty for its modification, but they were not able to carry their point against the President and one professor who stood against the modification. It is true that after a while means were found to evade the stringency of the system by allowing the poorer scholars, on whom the lot had fallen, to resign and to select as their substitutes such as would perform their parts with credit.

At the annual meeting of the Trustees in 1834 the college year was rearranged with special reference to the convenience of the students who were absent from Hanover in the winter for the purpose of teaching. Commencement day was brought back from the last Wednesday but one of August to the last Wednesday of July, and the opening of the fall term, following a vacation of four weeks, from the latter part of September to the last of August. The term was made to close about the 25th of November instead of the last of December, and the former winter vacation of six and a half weeks, which had always been the longest of the year out of regard to the severity of the winter and the consequent expense of residence, was extended to fourteen

weeks for those students who were engaged in teaching, and to seven weeks for others. Teachers were thus allowed to be absent for three months, the ordinary length of a winter's school, without interrupting the regular course of study, while the students who did not teach returned to Hanover for a "short term," as it was called, in which the studies were arranged without reference to the other parts of the college course. At first freshmen and sophomores, and juniors and seniors recited together, but later all recited together in two or three subjects which were assigned, or which they selected from several offered for their choice. At the end of the short term the teachers, having finished their schools, returned, and the college as a whole took up again the regular subjects after an interval of fourteen weeks.

The teachers had nothing "to make up," while those who stayed in Hanover had, as the catalogue stated, "a gain of an additional course of study." The list of subjects for the winter term, first given in the catalogue of 1837, included philosophy of the moral feelings, commentary on American law, physical geography, Quintilian and French exercises. The next year rhetoric, meteorology, modern history and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* were offered. As a rule two, but sometimes three, members of the Faculty were detailed to teach in the short term, though at other times they were selected by lot, and as they served in turn the short term was for the majority a long winter vacation, which was greatly valued.

This arrangement of terms continued practically unchanged for thirty years, for though from 1840 to 1846 the expression "winter term" was omitted from the catalogue, the statement was continued that students whose circumstances required them to teach in the winter would be allowed an absence of fourteen weeks. The elimination of the "short term" and the establishment of a continuous course of study covering three terms took place in 1866. Students were still excused to teach, but were obliged to make up on their return the work pursued by their classes during their absence. The labor involved in this making up tended to diminish absence, and at the same time the numbers that engaged in teaching were lessened by the gradual change that took place in the schools. The establishment of high schools and the increased amount of schooling given even in rural communities called for a more continuous service than could be given by a teacher engaged only for a term, and this fact, together with the crowding of women into the work of teaching, diminished

the number of schools that called for student teachers in the winter. But for several decades Dartmouth was really a teacher's college, and every winter a large majority of the students taught in the district schools of Vermont, New Hampshire and eastern Massachusetts, especially in those on "the Cape," being sought by school committees not merely for their ability to impart knowledge but for their physical prowess by which they were able to hold in check scholars whose main object in going to school was "to throw the teacher out."

The scanty records of the Faculty between 1835 and 1865 do not enable us to determine exactly how many students went out each year to teach. All who wished to do so were excused and many found other reasons for avoiding attendance during the short term, so that generally not more than perhaps thirty per cent of the students were present during the winter. In course of time it began to be used as an argument against the College that its course was really shorter than that of other colleges, and it was partly to avoid this imputation that the short term was abolished and the course of study made continuous.¹

Returning teachers brought back with them the money which enabled them to meet their college expenses and also experiences that were both valuable and interesting. Most of them taught in schools where "boarding round" was the regular practice and the teacher went from family to family according to a definite system determined by the number of children going to school, and as each family usually kept the annual killing of the pig till the coming of the teacher his customary meat diet through the term was fresh pork and sausage. It was no uncommon thing for a student to break his own road through the snow drifts to the school house and to build the fires. The conditions of his work were primitive and the subjects which he taught

¹ In the winter of 1853-1854, according to some statistics on file in the Treasurer's office, 107 students engaged in teaching, 31 seniors, 22 juniors, 31 sophomores and 31 freshmen, whose combined earnings were \$9,016.00.

The *Aegis* for July, 1861, contains a statement as to the students engaged in teaching during the year 1860-1861, from which it appears that out of the 275 members of College, excluding the students of the Medical and the newly-organized Chandler Schools, 173 taught during the year. The aggregate length of their schools was 2,278 weeks; the total amount earned was \$23,089.75, and the total net amount brought back to college, after deducting payments for board and other expenses, was \$14,185.75, a sum that would have paid nearly half the expenses of all who taught, for tuition, board, room-rent, fuel, lights and washing, reckoned at the maximum rate of \$174.50 given in the catalogue of that year. At the minimum rate of \$124.50 the proportion of expenses met would have been much larger. Of the 173 who taught there were 35 seniors out of a class of 57, 40 juniors out of 65, 52 sophomores out of 72, and 37 freshmen out of 81. Of the schools 64 were in Massachusetts, 76 in New Hampshire, 25 in Vermont and 3 in Maine.

were not advanced, but he widened his acquaintance, learned adaptation and self-dependence and brought back to college the confidence born of success. He unquestionably lost something of the value of his college course, as his year gave but thirty-two weeks of instruction instead of thirty-nine, but his experience in teaching was in the line of mental training and without the financial aid thus secured most would have been unable to go to college at all. So large a common interest was not without its effect upon the College, which gained a certain unity and perhaps narrowness of purpose, the result of similar experiences in a single field, and many entered teaching after leaving college because they had found it pleasant and profitable during their student life. The great decrease in late years in the number of Dartmouth graduates who take up the work of teaching is partly due to the fact that only a few teach while in college and that thus few have their attention directed to that occupation.

The portraits of the counsel in the College case, which the Trustees had desired to have painted by their vote of 1819 had not been secured except in the case of Mr. Webster, of whom Dr. George C. Shattuck of Boston had given in 1828 a portrait copied by his daughter from a painting by Stewart. In 1834 the Trustees renewed their former vote, authorizing portraits of Messrs. Smith, Mason and Hopkinson by Stewart, and requesting Dr. Shattuck to take charge of procuring them. He not only did so, but gave the three portraits to the College, to which at the further request of the Trustees he added his own.

For several years from 1830 great difficulty was found in securing a pastor for the College church and an occupant of the chair of Divinity. The peculiar trials of a pastor in a congregation composed of such diverse elements as the citizens of the village, the Faculty and the students of the College were severely felt by Professor Howe, and it proved hard to find a successor willing to undertake the task which he found too heavy. Several were approached without success, among them the Rev. Absalom Peters, and in June, 1830, a call was extended to the Rev. Willard Child of Pittsford, Vt., but he did not accept. The charge was finally accepted by the Rev. Robert Page, who was installed October 5, 1831. He remained about a year and a half, being dismissed by Council May 9, 1833.¹ The brevity of Mr. Page's

¹ Robert Page was born in Readfield, Me., April 25, 1790, was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1810, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1815. He remained at Bradford, N. H., where he was ordained May 22, 1822, six years, and was at Durham two years and a half before coming to Hanover. After leaving Hanover he had several pastorates and died at West Farmington, Ohio, January 12, 1876. [General catalogues of Bowdoin and Andover.]

stay was not calculated to encourage aspirants to the succession. Candidates were sought in various directions with no success, the Rev. George Bush and the Rev. David Peabody of Lynn, Mass., successively declining a call.

In August, 1834, the President reported to the Board that it had been "found as yet impossible to obtain the services of a parish minister. The gentlemen who have been invited to that office during the past year," said he, "have declined, and what with the extreme scarcity of candidates competent to the ministry in this place and the unfavorable impression which exists abroad in regard to the character of the society, and the reduced spirit of the society itself in view of their repeated disappointments it would seem now very improbable that a pastor will be settled here." In addition to these difficulties, the Divinity professorship having been vacant for several years and, in the pressure of many immediate interests, measures of conciliation toward the clergy having been neglected, the latter in 1834 began to exhibit disaffection toward the College, on the ground that it was not sufficiently watchful in providing theological instruction, and devised a scheme for a manual labor school for theological students, to be located at Concord, which revived the fear of the college authorities of a rival institution. President Lord took pains to meet the ministers of the State by attending the various associations in Merrimack, Grafton and Hillsborough counties, and by correspondence with the ministers of other counties, and he so changed their views of the College that when the matter came up in the State convention in June the scheme was voted down by a strong majority. But for the sake of future security in this direction and because of the difficulty of obtaining a pastor for the College church, the President was inclined to advise the election of a theological professor and a return to the old system of preaching, with the understanding that the citizens would probably contribute \$200 a year to his support, "rather than be deprived of religious privileges on the Sabbath by the withdrawing of the College to the chapel."

After the dismissal of Mr. Page the clerical members of the Faculty had supplied the pulpit in rotation, and the President advised as the best arrangement for the time being that this plan be continued and an appropriation be made to compensate them for the surrender of the privilege of eking out their salaries by preaching elsewhere. This arrangement met the approval of the Board and Professors Shurtleff and Haddock undertook

to stand in the gap for a time. Notwithstanding the fact that the revenues of the chair of Divinity were totally inadequate to support a professor, it was offered to Rev. Joseph Torrey of Burlington, Vt., and to Professor Clement Long, but in vain. The hopes of a refuge in that direction proving delusive there was nothing left but to struggle along with the Religious Society. Accordingly about the middle of January, 1835, a unanimous call was given to the Rev. Henry Wood, then at Haverhill, N. H., and his acceptance was followed by his installation, on the 8th of April, the Rev. George Punchard of Plymouth preaching the installation sermon.

Mr. Wood came to the pulpit in the midst of great religious excitement. The Rev. Jedediah Burchard, an evangelist of New York, had been holding protracted meetings in this region. He was two weeks at Woodstock in February, and at Norwich two weeks in March, where students and Faculty attended his meetings. At their desire he was invited to come to Hanover and on Fast day, April 2, he began a series of protracted meetings at the College Plain, which continued eighteen days with services in the afternoon and evening of each day. Opinions were divided about him. Some of the best people were quite carried away with him, while others opposed his coming, and were not convinced of the wisdom of it by the results. His methods were characterized by loudness and rudeness of manner and roughness of speaking, with a sort of levity that repelled and shocked many. One who gave him careful attention while here said of him:¹ "Much of Mr. Burchard's matter in what he calls his sermons is mere harangue, and much too of correct illustration, though more witty than solemn, with a minor portion of solemn and thrilling truths, which if uttered by a person of more solemnity of manner and conciliating address would with the Divine blessing produce a salutary and permanent impression upon the crowded houses that congregate wherever he goes. In many cases he offends by his impudence when he might otherwise convince."

As an example of his brusqueness it is told ² that Solon Grout, a respectable attorney in Hanover, chancing to enter the middle aisle of the meeting house in the course of his services, Mr. Burchard broke off his discourse to shout at him: "Here comes another miserable sinner going straight to hell." At another

¹ Diary of W. W. Dewey.

By William H. Duncan, long a lawyer in Hanover.

time he publicly asked prayers "for that old sinner, Richard Lang." Various disorders attended the excitement for which Mr. Burchard was not responsible. At one place where he preached a person in the gallery, to make disturbance, shouted a request for prayers for the devil. "Hear that fellow," exclaimed Burchard, "asking prayers for his father," and at Hanover on Sunday, April 5, the meeting house being crowded, some evil minded persons attempted to break up the services. Mr. Burchard's work was for the time being very effective and at the communions of April 26 and June 14 seventy united with the church by profession. He was very liberal in holding the church organization wide open to receive all who professed conversion in the excitement, but the church here refused, much to his dissatisfaction, to receive all whom he thought worthy. Other churches in neighboring towns which were less conservative suffered very unhappy consequences from backslidings and dissensions in the following year.

The excitement was followed by an expression of fanaticism and radicalism in which "some of the students lost all respect for the ministry, the church and civil government."¹ With this Mr. Wood had no sympathy and the dissatisfaction of the students had much to do with his leaving a few years later, but his ministry was attended with much success, as additions were made to the church at every communion but one during his stay, one hundred and sixty-eight in all. When Mr. Wood came to Hanover the meeting house was much dilapidated. The original tall and well proportioned steeple, being unprotected in some of its parts, had by 1827 become unsafe, and in that year the upper fifty feet were cut off and pulled by ropes bodily to the ground. The square tower or "belcony" was left standing and capped only with an ornamental railing. In 1838 under the influence of Mr. Wood and Professor Adams the house was thoroughly repaired, the steeple was rebuilt in its present form, the old square pews were taken out and the present slips of half the width were substituted, but furnished as before with doors, though the wooden buttons were replaced by brass. Half of the windows were boarded up and all were provided with blinds. The entire floor was raised to the level of the wall pews, the pulpit platform was rearranged and the sounding board removed. The old pulpit remained for a year or two till replaced by a mahogany desk bought with the profits of a fair held by the ladies

for that purpose. Chimneys were built at the north end and the long pipes from the stoves at the other end, suspended over the aisles, for many years dripped creosote on the floor and frescoed the chimneys. A movement to secure a vestry was also started, which resulted in the erection in 1841, at an expense of about \$1,000 raised by subscription, of a small building on a lot of land adjoining the church, given by Mills Olcott for that purpose.

But, as has been said, Mr. Wood, like Professor Howe and Mr. Page before him, found his place an exceedingly difficult one to fill. To the diversity of the three elements composing the congregation was added the special opposition of the students, which resulted in the resignation of Mr. Wood and a council was called which dismissed him December 21, 1840.¹ President Lord was absent from town, and the Faculty was not represented in the deliberations. It soon transpired that the council had accompanied its action with some severe reflections upon the condition of affairs in the congregation quite the reverse of flattering to its members, and especially to the college Faculty. They were accused, directly or by inference, of upholding an aristocracy in religion,² of excluding the common people from equal accommodations in the house of God and of failure to give proper support to the pastor, and were admonished of a low state of religion in the town and college. The resolutions, which appear to have been adopted without a dissenting voice, were not communicated to the Faculty till nearly the middle of January, when they received an answer from the President in his keenest mood. Naturally this occasioned some estrangement with the clergy of the vicinity. There was, however, no long vacancy in the pulpit. Rev. John Richards of Woodstock,

¹ Henry Wood was born in Loudon, N. H., April 10, 1796. He was graduated as the first scholar in his class in 1822 at Dartmouth, where he was tutor the next year. After studying theology at Princeton 1823-1824 he was tutor of Greek and Latin for six months in Hampden and Sidney College. He was ordained and settled in Goffstown, N. H., June 7, 1826; then settled at Haverhill, December 14, 1831, where he remained till he came to Hanover. On leaving Hanover he removed to Concord where he established and edited the *Congregational Journal* until December, 1853, when he resigned the editorship on account of a private letter which he had written commending Gen. Pierce, and which found its way to the public through the columns of the *Christian Observer*. On leaving the *Journal* he became consul at Beirut, Syria, by appointment of President Pierce, who, in 1857, named him chaplain in the navy. In this capacity he accompanied the fleet to Japan in 1858, and set up the first Protestant mission there. He died at Philadelphia, October 29, 1873, aged 77. Mr. Wood was a man of much ability and of marked eccentricities, both of manner and of thinking, which had much to do in bringing about his leaving the church at Hanover.

² This charge seems to have grown out of the fact that some were unwilling to accept the view of Mr. Wood that domestics should be regarded as members of the family and given a seat at the table at regular meals.

Vt., took charge of it as stated supply January 1, 1841, and officiated to general satisfaction, so that he received a call to settle and was installed as pastor April 20, 1842.

The retirement of Mr. Wood was connected with the anti-slavery agitation which began about 1835 to be an element of discord, and so continued to the end of President Lord's administration. In that year a number of young men entered college from Phillips Academy, Andover, bringing strong anti-slavery opinions which they had imbibed from George Thompson, the noted English anti-slavery lecturer. He had come to Andover in the spring and given eleven lectures in a small Methodist church. He was accompanied by a minister, the Rev. Amos A. Phelps of the Pine Street Church, Boston, and they had with them "a young darkey who had run away from his master and whom, after they had had their say, they trotted out to tell a little about his slave life and how he escaped from it, which he did with a glib tongue and forceful effect. That darkey boy when he grew up to manhood was Frederick Douglass."¹ The lectures of Mr. Thompson aroused intense interest among the students of the Academy and about fifty of them attempted to form an anti-slavery society. The formation of the society was forbidden by the Principal, Mr. Osgood Johnson, under sanction of the Trustees, on pain of expulsion. As a result fifty students left the Academy issuing a manly statement in justification of their conduct, prepared by D. C. Scobey,² one of their number. Fourteen of the fifty came to Dartmouth, and Dr. Adams thus describes their entrance:³

I and about a dozen of the rebels at Andover were in the senior class, ready to enter. I was always predestined, when the time came, to go to Dartmouth because an uncle of my father, Ebenezer Adams, was at the time a leading professor there. Others were inclined to go there because its President, Nathan Lord, was the only college president in New England known as an anti-slavery man. The way to Dartmouth seemed clear, excepting as rebels we had and

¹ This account of the movement at Andover is taken from a manuscript narrative, written in 1905, by the Rev. Ephraim Adams, D.D., of the class of 1839, who came to Dartmouth from Phillips Academy, and after graduation from college and a theological course at Andover Seminary became one of the "Iowa Band." The narrative was prepared at the request of his son, Professor H. C. Adams of the University of Michigan, who has kindly given the writer access to it. It would seem that he must have been in error in regard to Frederick Douglass, since Douglass's autobiography gives the year of his escape from slavery as 1838.

² Published in the *Phillips Bulletin* for April, 1907. See also *The Pioneer Preacher* by Sherlock Bristol, one of the Andover students, pp. 40-52.

³ Thirteen were of the class of 1839, Ephraim Adams, Cyrus Baldwin, J. P. Bartlett, Ralph Butterfield, Sylvester Dana, H. Eaton, Alonzo Hayes, Samuel Noyes, D. C. Scobey, P. LeB. Stickney, G. S. Towle, Luther Townsend, P. T. Woodbury, and one, J. W. Pillsbury, was of the class of 1840.

could get no recommendation from the Academy as to character, etc., which, according to customs between institutions was necessary. We did not know how it would be, but concluded to risk it. So as the time came a dozen or more of us were at Dartmouth for the freshman class of 1835. The custom then was not formally to receive those entering college into full membership till after a week or two in attendance upon recitation. When the proper time came a copy of the laws was given in the class room with a certificate of membership enclosed to all excepting those of us who came from Andover. We were astonished, not knowing what it meant, but determined to know; we got together at once and appointed committees to visit each of the professors to find out. The committees were to go at the same time, giving no opportunity for them to get together, but each to be taken alone. When the time came for the committees to report, things looked rather dubious. No one had anything to bring at all cheering or encouraging. It was all non-committal, holding us in suspense with one exception, which happened to be the report I brought as the last one. The one whom I was to see was a kind, jolly old man (Prof. Shurtleff) who, as I opened my business without hesitation and with friendly assurance, simply said, "Oh, never mind, never fear. You just go on as good students, and it will be all right." It was sunlight breaking through the clouds. We did go on. A copy of the laws with a certificate of membership soon came. We soon formed an anti-slavery society in college.¹

Chief among the promoters of this society was Stephen S. Foster, a sophomore, who became, after graduation in 1838, the prominent advocate of extreme radicalism, to which he was still further urged by another leader of the same views, Abby Kelly, whom he married in 1845. Foster was born in Canterbury, N. H., in 1809, and it was not till he was twenty-two that he determined to become a missionary to the then distant but opening west of the Mississippi valley, and for that purpose to secure a college education. Entering college in 1834 at much above the average age, he brought an unusual earnestness and determination, which led him to refuse to perform military service on the ground that it was inconsistent with Christian principles, and when arrested, rather than pay a fine, he went to jail at Haverhill, from which he wrote letters, descriptive of the horrible condition of the prison, that had much to do in bringing about a movement for prison reform.² In his freshman year he transferred his connection to the College church and made himself prominent as a speaker at the church meetings, in the Theological Society and elsewhere.

Soon Foster and some with him outran the rest and advanced to a position of enmity not only to slavery but to all the institu-

¹ The delay in matriculation was occasioned by the time taken in inquiring of Mr. Johnson, if he had objections to the admission of the students. His reply is lost, but he gave his consent in a statement of facts. Records of the Faculty, September 7, 1835.

² Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, Parker Pillsbury, Concord, 1883, p. 124.

tions of society, and were characterized by the designation "come-outers." In consequence of this position he was cut off from membership in the College church in November, 1841, three years after his graduation. President Lord was much engaged in the anti-slavery movement on the same side, but he did not follow or sustain Foster in these extravagances, which, in fact, did not develop themselves until after his graduation. But in the agitation in which he was engaged while in college Foster enjoyed the sympathy of the President to a high degree. At that time Dr. Lord was much more radical on that subject than Mr. Wood or most of the Faculty. Professor Shurtleff was so far behind him and out of sympathy with the prevailing sentiment in Foster's class as to lead him to hasten the resignation of his professorship which he was already contemplating on account of his health, and he retired in 1838. Mr. Wood in October, 1835, six months after his coming, finding it necessary to take some stand on the subject of slavery, expressed guarded views in the same direction in a sermon, which so attracted the students that it was published by them in a pamphlet, and quoted with approval by Garrison in his paper, *The Liberator*. But he did not hold the ground he had taken and in 1838 the students, under the lead of Foster, began to testify dissatisfaction with him, which cropped out in the Theological Society, when a motion, made by Dudley Leavitt of the class of 1839, to express this feeling to President Lord, called out a hot discussion of several hours and was indefinitely postponed only by a small majority. The feeling continued to increase in connection with the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment, and in 1840 resolutions of similar purport were passed by the Theological Society and communicated to the Faculty. As has been said there were other grounds on which the Faculty was dissatisfied with Mr. Wood, and partly, perhaps, for this reason no action was taken by that body, except an expression of regret, at which the society appointed a committee to explain and justify itself, but the fact that the action of the students was received without reproof for their interference had its effect in leading him to seek a dismissal soon after.

The development of the anti-slavery feeling naturally aroused a corresponding opposition, and in the following year there was a painful exhibition of intolerance and disorder on the occasion of an attempt by Foster, accompanied by Parker Pillsbury and Henry C. Wright, to hold a series of meetings in support of the

anti-slavery cause in the village. They had difficulty in obtaining a room for the meetings, but finally hired the hall in the Dartmouth Hotel. The proceedings of the meeting are related in full in his book by Parker Pillsbury.¹ The programme of the meetings consisted in the presentation of a series of resolutions to be discussed and voted on by all who chose to take part. At the first meeting which came in the afternoon the resolution presented was,

"That every person in the nation, north or south, who is not an open abolitionist, is by his influence sustaining and perpetuating slavery, and should be regarded by every friend of humanity as a virtual slaveholder."

This was lost by a small majority, and at the evening meeting was followed by the resolution,

"That American slavery is a complication of the foulest crimes; robbery, adultery, man-stealing and murder; and should therefore be immediately and unconditionally abolished."

The discussion began with hissing and hooting, which did not wholly cease during the evening, and at times completely silenced the speakers. The audience, from which the women soon retired, was composed largely of students, but they took no part in the discussion of the resolutions, which was carried on in opposition to the radical speakers by a clergyman from Massachusetts, who represented the moderate party and attacked the radicals with sneers and sarcasms which but added to the tumult. The result was that the meetings, which it had been intended to continue for two days and evenings, were brought to an immediate close, and the reformers departed carrying far and wide a very unflattering account of the state of society at Dartmouth. But the movement was under way, and the Liberty party had a few adherents in Hanover, though it was in a decided minority here as elsewhere throughout the State, and the abolition wing of the party was still less numerous. In fact the two wings of the party were almost as much at odds with each other as with the regular parties, and all others were at one in hatred of "abolitionists." There were a few fearless men at the College who felt deeply on the subject and had no hesitancy in speech or act. Professor Chase was one of the most radical of that way of thinking, and President Lord was in sympathy with him. The first time that any votes of the Liberty party were seen at the Hanover polls was in 1841 when four appeared, two of them being cast by

¹ The Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles, pp. 208-217.

President Lord and Professor Chase and a third probably by Hood. In March, 1844, the party in Hanover cast seventy-six votes for its candidate for Governor and held the balance of power in the local elections, and, after two days balloting, succeeded in electing their candidate, Professor C. B. Haddock, as representative to the legislature.

The party had already established at Hanover in August, 1842, under the direction of its central committee and through its agents, Messrs. St. Clair and Biggs, a paper for the support of its principles, entitled *The People's Advocate*, which was in sympathy with the moderate wing of the abolitionists. It soon passed into the control of J. E. Hood, who conducted it till its end in 1844. At first its energies were mainly devoted to furthering the cause of temperance, in which it did efficient service, but more and more it became the organ of the party in its opposition to slavery, and when Mr. Hood could no longer carry it, an unsuccessful attempt was made to transfer it to Concord. In February, 1844, it was reduced in size and price and renamed the *Family Visitor*, with two editions, one for local circulation, the other with somewhat varied contents called the *Advocate Edition* for general circulation. It survived but four months, the last issue being that of June 5, 1844. President Lord continued in active sympathy with the cause till about 1847, when his views were changed and he became an upholder of slavery, but even then he was known to contribute money and countenance to an escaping slave, and several of that unhappy class were efficiently helped on from this village to freedom in Canada.

An unfortunate difference occurred in 1835 which occasioned much public discussion and some loss of friends to the College. Professor Benjamin Hale had come into the Faculty in the chair of chemistry in 1827. His main work was in the Medical Department, but it was stipulated at his coming that the seniors and juniors should be admitted to his lectures to the medical students on chemistry, and that he should have a course of recitations in chemistry with the juniors. He greatly enlarged his work in the College without additional compensation. Instead of admitting the seniors and juniors to his lectures before the medical students he gave them lectures by themselves and extended the recitation course with the juniors from thirty to forty exercises. In addition to this he gave annually twenty lectures in geology and mineralogy. For some years he instructed the seniors in the philosophy of natural history, and for two years took charge

of the recitations in Hebrew, "not, perhaps," said he, "much to the profit of my classes, but because I happened to be fresher in that study than any other college officer." He had charge of the cabinet of minerals, which he began by giving 500 specimens of his own, the few that belonged to the College being scattered and unmarked, and at his leaving it consisted of 2,300 specimens. Besides this he had served gratuitously as an assistant to Professor Chamberlain in the erection of Thornton and Wentworth Halls.¹

Professor Hale was a graduate of Bowdoin College of the class of 1818, and had been admitted to deacon's orders in the Episcopal church September 28, 1828, at Woodstock, Vt. Dr. Oliver was also a member of that denomination. Both were regular attendants of the College church and during the vacancy in the pastorate Professor Hale occasionally preached there. After a time, about April, 1830, he began to conduct at his own house and at the medical building Sabbath evening services according to the English form, which Dr. Oliver and some others attended, including some students. Services were also held in neighboring towns, and in 1834 an Episcopal society was organized in Norwich which drew away several members from the other churches and brought remonstrances from Mr. Goddard, the pastor of the existing church at Norwich, and from others. During vacations and at other intervals of his college work Professor Hale preached in Portland and Boston for several weeks and acted as agent of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society in the western part of that state. His activity in this way and some unguarded expressions of his in regard to the extent and exclusiveness of church prerogatives occasioned considerable uneasiness among the ministerial friends of the College, and it was thought necessary to be rid of him. The method of doing it, however, was unfortunate. Without notifying Mr. Hale of their purpose the Trustees at their annual meeting in July, 1835, abolished his office under the pretext of making a more appropriate and economical arrangement of instruction. But the true object was perfectly transparent, as it became instantly necessary to appoint, under a slightly different style, a professor to discharge the precise duties that he had done. Indeed, he himself was necessarily employed to perform the duty of lecturing the ensuing term, until his successor could be secured.

¹ Valedictory Letter to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, 1835. See Chapter on "The Museum and Cabinet."

The situation was aggravated by delay in communicating the matter to the Professor, so that he first heard of it from remarks made in the presence of a friend by one of the Trustees in the stage coach as he was leaving Hanover after Commencement. Even then the official announcement was strangely delayed. As the President left Hanover the day after Commencement he merely sent Professor Hale a note saying that the Trustees had passed resolutions on a matter that nearly affected him, and as he could not command time to go into it he had asked Mr. Olcott, the Secretary of the Board, to send him a copy of the resolutions. But it was not till the following Monday, and then in response to a note of inquiry from Mr. Hale, that the copy was furnished him, and this, without explanation or comment, was all that he ever received either verbally or in writing from any member of the Board or any one representing them in regard to the matter.¹ It was suggested in a pamphlet that supported the action of the Trustees and was undoubtedly authorized by them, that though Professor Hale was genial and agreeable as a man and a pleasing speaker, and though at first he was diligent in administering the details of his department yet as time went on he was more engrossed in other matters, and he did in fact leave the apparatus and collections in such a condition that his successor, who came to Hanover in the following April to lecture, asked to be excused from lecturing till fall in order that he might have time to put the illustrative material into shape.²

But whatever secondary reasons there may have been, the primary one was the desire, under the pressure from the ministerial constituency of the College, to purge the College from the suspicion of Episcopal influences. In the preceding winter President Lord had conveyed to Professor Hale the request of the Faculty that his Sunday evening meetings be given up and indicated the feeling abroad about Episcopal influences at work at the College, and the Trustees may have acted under a sense of responsibility to their constituency which they did not wish publicly to acknowledge. The liberality of one generation finds it difficult to appreciate the strictness of a preceding one.

There followed an acrimonious controversy by pamphlet and newspaper articles, and many strong friends of the College, then and since, were forced to sympathize largely with Professor Hale, the infirmity of the method of removing him overshadowing all

¹ Valedictory Letter to the Trustees of Dartmouth College. ² President's Report, 1836.

other considerations. The resignation of Dr. Oliver in 1837 and of Dr. Mussey in 1838 were understood to have been, partly at least, occasioned by these occurrences.

After the departure of Professor Hale the mineralogical cabinet, which had been under his charge, passed temporarily into the custody of Professor Young, and then into that of Professor Hubbard. It soon received a large addition from Professor Frederick Hall of the class of 1803, who gave to the College in 1838 \$10,000, of which one half was in money to be devoted to the foundation of a chair of mineralogy and geology, and the other half was in specimens of minerals, which he said constituted a collection the third or fourth in value in the United States, and were valued at \$5,000. The specimens were brought to Hanover in 1838, Professor Hubbard going to Washington to receive them, and were at first placed with the old collection in a room in the second story of Dartmouth hall, but were later removed, on its completion, to more commodious quarters in the first floor of Reed Hall. The money portion of the gift was paid in five semi-annual instalments of \$1,000 each, and on the death of Mr. Hall in 1843 the College became his residuary legatee, thereby receiving, ten years later, the proceeds of western lands, amounting to \$4,103, which were applied to the endowment of the professorship to which his name was given. In 1838 a friend offered \$2,000 for the library if the Trustees would raise the sum of \$10,000. This they promised their best endeavors to do, but, not meeting with success, determined to present the matter to the alumni at Commencement in 1839, but they did not secure the desired amount.

In 1835 the number of academic students, which for twenty years had averaged about 150, began rapidly to increase, passing 200 in 1836 and reaching 340 in 1840. In 1841 Dartmouth graduated 76, Yale 78, Harvard 48, and Princeton 60. In 1842 Dartmouth sent out the largest class in its history till 1894, 85 in number, against 105 at Yale, 55 at Harvard and 45 at Princeton. Though the authorities were sensible that this "unexampled and almost unnatural prosperity as to numbers could not be reasonably expected to continue, being out of all proportion to that of similar institutions,"¹ it was, nevertheless, necessary to provide suitable accommodations for them all. Already in 1834, in view of the urgent need of a new building, a public appeal had been ordered for funds for that purpose and also for

¹ President's Report, 1839.

the library, the museum and apparatus. Owing, however, to the unfavorable state of the times the appeal was not issued, and even though it was voted again the next year it was again postponed, both because the time seemed not ripe and because the failure to fill the chair of theology had relieved the expected strain upon the treasury, but in 1836 the difficulty of obtaining rooms for students began to be severely felt, and it was evident that any considerable addition to their number would exceed all the means of accommodation. The question of new buildings was earnestly considered at the annual meeting, and a subscription was again ordered for that purpose. It was not undertaken, however, for by the death in February, 1837, of Hon. William Reed of Marblehead, Mass., then a member of the Board of Trust, who left a handsome legacy to the College, means to carry out the building project seemed to be assured. A site was obtained by the purchase from President Allen of the Wheelock mansion for \$3,000. The house was sold¹ and moved away, and the new building was begun in 1839. Its architect was Ammi B. Young of Boston, who was paid \$277.75 for the plans. The contract for it was awarded to Dyer H. Young of Lebanon, who agreed to erect and finish the building for \$11,000, but on the supposition that the actual cost might exceed or fall below that sum, the contract provided for such contingency by apportioning the gain or loss between the parties. The cost was found greatly to exceed the estimates and after a careful examination the claims of Mr. Young were adjusted by the payment to him, as the entire cost of the building, of \$14,557.53. But he was still unsatisfied and presented a further claim "not on any supposed legal right, but on the ground of equity and good conscience." On this ground the Trustees again considered it. The account was somewhat involved as Mr. Young had bought much more material than was needed for the construction of the building. Some of this he had sold at a profit, and had credited the profit to the College; some he had used on other contracts, and some had been stolen. A compromise was finally reached by which the Trustees paid Mr. Young \$500 more, making the total first cost of the building \$15,057.53, or more than the cost of Thornton

¹ It was bought by Otis Freeman for \$525, and moved in 1838 to the south side of Wheelock street one remove to the west from Main street. In 1846 A. P. Balch, who then owned it, changed the original gambrel roof to a sharp A roof which it now has. It was occupied as a private house till 1900, when, after being remodelled on the inside, it was given by Mrs. Emily Howe Hitchcock for a village library and is now the "Howe Library." It is the second oldest house in the village, the one next to it, now occupied by the ΔΚΕ fraternity, being the older by one year.

and Wentworth together.¹ This sum was exclusive of the land, and also of the \$250 paid for the oversight of the construction, which was entrusted to Professor Ira Young. The architect, contractor and overseer were brothers. On account of the relationship Professor Young had been reluctant to act as overseer, but he did so to the entire satisfaction of the Trustees and without a suspicion of favoritism. The work of all three was faithfully done.

The building was of brick, 100 by 50 feet on the ground and three stories high, having pilasters at the corners and a plain but appropriate frieze. It was built in imitation of the lines of a Greek temple. The height of the different stories was not the same, the first being about ten feet, the second six inches less and the third a little over eight feet, the windows diminishing eighteen inches in height in the successive stories, but, in order to give the building a height corresponding to its length, the outside walls were built four and a half feet above the ceiling of the third story rooms, leaving waste a space that with dormer windows would have been sufficient for another set of rooms. It was completed and ready for occupancy a little before Commencement, 1840, and received the name of Reed Hall. The building was at once used for the relief of Dartmouth Hall, as the cabinet of minerals given by Dr. Hall was transferred to quarters on the first floor, which also contained lecture and apparatus rooms for the philosophical department. To the libraries was devoted the whole of the second floor, the College library occupying the eastern side, and the Society libraries the western side which was divided so that the Social Friends had the south end and the United Fraternity the north end. The third story, given up to students, contained but ten suites of rooms, which were so inadequate to supply the existing demand that the idea was entertained of erecting, at the north end of the college yard, another and corresponding building to be used exclusively as a dormitory, but in the decline in numbers that almost immediately followed the design was abandoned.

Mr. Reed's bequest was \$7,000 outright, and \$10,000 more subject to the life interest of another of the legatees, and still further \$12,500, contingent upon the pleasure of Mrs. Reed. It was understood that Mrs. Reed, owing to some representations that had been made to her about the policy of the College, was not favorably disposed toward it. Dr. Lord visited Marblehead,

¹ Records of the Trustees, adjourned meeting January, 1843.

and after a conference Mrs. Reed came to Hanover and professed a deep interest in the welfare of the College. But the part of the bequest that was conditioned on her pleasure never came, and the other parts only after long delay. Difficulties arose in the settlement of Mr. Reed's estate and the \$7,000 were not received till 1865 and the \$10,000 not till 1868, when both amounts were covered into the general fund.

The increase of students necessitated also an increase of instructors and of educational apparatus. Professor Oliver P. Hubbard, who had taken up the work of Professor Hale's department in 1836, under the inappropriate style of "Associate Professor of the Physical Sciences," was in 1837 advanced to a full professorship of chemistry, mineralogy and geology, but in the next year, on the establishment of the Hall professorship of mineralogy and geology, was put into that chair and made professor of chemistry and pharmacy in the Medical Department, and continued in this double relation till 1866. Coincident with this there came a permanent enlargement and an entire reorganization of the Faculty. The chair of mathematics and natural philosophy had been in 1833 surrendered by Professor Adams to his son-in-law, Ira Young. In 1838 this department was divided, leaving natural philosophy, to which was joined astronomy, to Professor Young, and Stephen Chase became professor of mathematics. The department of languages had also been divided the year before, as has already been stated. The Rev. David Peabody took charge of the rhetorical department in 1838, being made the next year professor of oratory and belles-lettres on the new Evans foundation,¹ but was succeeded on his death in 1840 by Samuel G. Brown. On the resignations of Dr. Oliver and Professor Shurtleff, already mentioned, in 1837 and 1838, the united branches of intellectual philosophy and political economy passed into the hands of Professor Haddock. Three tutors were also employed, and in 1835 Daniel Blaisdell succeeded Ira Perley in the office of Treasurer, which he held for forty years. The salaries of the professors were raised in 1838 to \$900, and that of the President to \$1,200.

In the same year the Medical Faculty was entirely changed by a rearrangement of subjects and the substitution, in place of Drs. Oliver and Mussey, of Dixie Crosby, John Delamater, Elisha

¹ The bequest left by Mr. Israel Evans was not actually received till 1847, when it amounted to \$4,393.

Bartlett and Oliver Wendell Holmes as professors,¹ and the appointment of Stephen W. Williams as lecturer, and was now for the first time distinguished from the "Academical Faculty" by a distinct enumeration in the catalogue. For several years the immediate care of the financial affairs of the medical department had been in the hands of Dr. Mussey, and when a final settlement was had with him the Trustees expressed in unusual phrase their high appreciation of the fidelity, exactness and wisdom of his management.²

The Medical Faculty still continued to have a large part in the management of the Institution, but the Trustees ordered that henceforth the Prudential Committee should make at least one careful examination of it every year and report its condition to the Board. They further gave it support by voting in 1838 \$500 as an appropriation for the increase of its anatomical museum. Examinations for degrees, which had before been at no fixed dates, were restricted to the times of Commencement and the close of the fall term.

The changes in its Faculty within the next few years were many. Of the new appointments only Dr. Crosby continued in his connection with the College. Within two years Drs. Delamater and Bartlett had retired, the latter being succeeded by Joseph Roby in 1840, and in the next year Drs. Holmes and Williams gave up their places to Drs. Edmund R. Peaslee and

¹ To these four were given respectively the chairs of surgery and surgical anatomy; *materia medica*, obstetrics and diseases of women and children; theory and practice of physic and pathological anatomy; and anatomy and physiology. Dr. Williams lectured on medical botany and medical jurisprudence.

² Reuben Dimond Mussey, the son of John and Beulah (Butler) Mussey, was born in Pelham, N. H., June 23, 1780. Beginning the study of Latin with his father he went to the academy at Amherst and was graduated from Dartmouth in 1803. For two years he studied medicine under Dr. Nathan Smith, receiving the degree of M.B. in 1806, and began practice in Ipswich, now Essex, Mass. Three years later, his home being broken up on the death of his wife, he pursued further medical study in Philadelphia where he gained the degree of M.D., and on returning he formed a partnership with Dr. Daniel Oliver in Salem. Both later came to the Medical College at Hanover, Dr. Mussey in 1814, one year in advance of Dr. Oliver, as professor of theory and practice of medicine, *materia medica* and therapeutics. He also held the chair of obstetrics from 1814 to 1830, and from 1822 that of anatomy and surgery. During his connection with Dartmouth he also gave lectures at Bowdoin and in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, and at Fairfield, N. Y. Resigning at Dartmouth in 1838 he went to the Ohio Medical College at Cincinnati, and in 1852 founded the Miami Medical College. Returning from Ohio to the east in 1858, he died in Boston, June 21, 1866, at the age of 86. Dr. Mussey was eminent as a surgeon as well as a general practitioner, with a reputation second to none in the State. In person he was short, spare, with high cheek bones, a small gray eye and a broad prominent chin, and with a brusque and forbidding manner. For over thirty years he was a strict vegetarian. He had much to do with the musical revival that occurred in the early part of his residence in Hanover, and he was also an earnest supporter of the cause of temperance, and wrote much to advance it, his last pamphlet being, "What Shall I Drink?" in his eighty-fourth year. [Address commemorative of Reuben Dimond Mussey, by A.B. Crosby, Manchester, 1869.]

Edward E. Phelps, whose official relation to the College continued nearly forty years and was ended only with their lives.

In 1841 the President urged anew the filling of the theological chair, vacant since 1831, in order to afford conveniences for professional post-graduate study.¹ "Another step," he added, "will then place the College in the position of a University, to which Divine Providence has been so evidently leading it, and for which public opinion is in a great degree prepared." He believed that there would be students enough to sustain this additional step, viz., a law department, upon a very slender endowment. Subscriptions for that object had been unsuccessfully solicited at an earlier period, in 1808, and the influence of this idea of Dr. Lord's was no doubt effective in giving shape to the will of Judge Parker thirty years later. Several candidates for the theological chair were considered, but none proved available and in the financial stress that followed in the College the appointment was delayed for several years.

In furtherance, however, of the ambitious plans outlined by the President in 1841 Dr. William Cogswell² was brought into the Faculty under the unusual title of Professor of National Education and History, with the expectation that he would for a time at least devote himself chiefly to the solicitation of funds, and to the development of a plan to organize "a learned Society that should be nearly related to the College and serve to concentrate upon it the moral and intellectual resources of the Northern part of New England."³ It was thought that such a society would be highly advantageous to the community at large "in diffusing knowledge and the principles of morality and virtue among the people," and, in the words of the President, would be "of great importance to the College, a sort of popular branch, which although it has no co-ordinate corporate powers with the Board of Trustees, yet in a measure represents public opinion at the College . . . and may be expected to perpetuate its influence upon the people."⁴ This was the Society

¹ President's Report, 1841.

² Dr. Cogswell was a graduate of the College of the class of 1811, and after studying divinity had been a pastor in Dedham, Mass., for fourteen years, and was then agent and secretary of the American Education Society. After leaving Dartmouth in 1844 he was President and Professor of Theology at Gilmanton (N. H.) Theological Seminary till his death in 1850. He was short and stout, and, from his likeness to the character in Dickens's story then just published, received from the students the nickname of "Pickwick."

³ President's Report, 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of the Northern Academy, an account of which will be given in another place.

But it was not long before the tide of students, which had so rapidly risen, began to set in the other direction, as had, indeed, been expected, but to a degree that had not been anticipated. The class entering in 1838 had over 100 members; it graduated 85 in 1842. The class entering in 1842 numbered but 43 and graduated 30, at the same time with 82 from Yale, 63 from Harvard and 68 from Princeton. In 1840 the catalogue showed 341 academic students and in 1845 but 179. Classes entering subsequent to 1842 showed a progressive increase, so that in 1846 the President was able to say that "the farthest point of reaction in numbers" had been reached, but the shrinkage of nearly one half gave a fearful check to the prosperity of the College. The income from tuition was of course correspondingly reduced while the force of instruction remained necessarily much the same, with the exception of tutors, which were dispensed with from 1844 to 1855.

In their distress the Board turned to the Faculty with an earnest appeal to sink all minor and personal considerations in a common purpose to help the College, and in 1842 resolved "that the Board of Trustees regard the members of the Faculty of the Institution as salary officers, and that the Board to some extent have a claim on their time and exertions for the benefit of the Institution, even out of their particular department when called for by any occasional and special exigency, to administer instruction to others than the particular classes assigned to each, and the Trustees affectionately entreat the respective members of the Faculty to unite as a band of brothers, especially in this time of unprecedented pecuniary distress and divide the burden of such labors among them without expectation of further compensation."

To add to the financial embarrassment the legacy of Mr. Reed was not received, and the cost of the new building fell upon the current resources thus terribly reduced. There was inevitably a curtailment of the far-reaching plans of a few years back. Dr. Cogswell resigned in 1844 to take charge of the Theological Seminary at Gilmanton, the Society of the Northern Academy, from which so much had been expected, resulted in a practical failure, and the university idea went for the time out of sight, until revived twenty years later under President Smith in 1865. Yet, notwithstanding the sharp and depressing reduction in numbers,

the net result was a great advance not only in equipment and in resources but in the average number of students, which was permanently increased nearly fifty per cent. in comparison with the former standard.

But the great reduction in numbers and the consequent straitening of the finances forced the Trustees in 1841, although in that year the income equalled the expenses, to turn again to the idea of a subscription. In September the movement was set on foot with the following appeal:

The Trustees of Dartmouth College have exhausted its available resources in providing for the security of its property, and the accommodation and instruction of its students.

A further enlargement of its facilities for education has become very important, in view of the increased number of students, and the advancement of knowledge in the country, and is deemed essential to the permanent interests and prosperity of the Institution.

The sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars is requisite to sustain the Departments of Instruction, to make the necessary additions to the Library and to the philosophical, mathematical and chemical apparatus.

In these circumstances the Trustees earnestly solicit the contributions of the community. They have authorized the Rev. Dr. Cogswell and the other members of the Faculty to present the College to its friends and the friends of good learning, for their sympathies and patronage. These gentlemen will make the proper explanations of the views of the Trustees; and it is hoped that the College will be enabled, by the timely liberality it may receive, to keep pace with the increasing population and intelligence of the important section of the country which it represents.

The subscriptions were to be due in three equal annual instalments, the first payable August 1, 1843, on condition that \$30,000 were subscribed before that date. But the condition was not met as the subscription fell short of the required amount by \$7,000. Fortunately among the subscribers was Samuel Appleton of Boston, then in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He had pledged \$1,000, and sometime in August, 1843, sent in a check for that amount. He was informed of the failure of the subscription and that the check would be held subject to his order.

I very well remember [he replied] the conditions to which I subscribed—and at the time I sent you the check I did not know whether the conditions of the subscription were fulfilled or not, but it was my intention then, and it is my intention now, that the College should have the benefit of the donation which I sent you without conditions. I regret extremely to learn by your letter that the whole project has entirely failed from the want of a few thousand dollars to make the requisite sum. And you attribute the failure to the unexpected and profound financial distress of the country. It would ill become me

to give advice to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, but I hope that it may not be deemed impertinent in me to suggest the propriety of again calling on the subscribers without conditions. As the pecuniary distresses which pervaded the country the last year are fast disappearing, I think it reasonable to suppose that most of those who subscribed conditionally in a year of adversity will cheerfully pay their subscriptions without conditions in a year of prosperity. Perhaps \$20,000 might be obtained without much difficulty.

The suggestion was promptly adopted. Agents were sent out anew, seeking new subscriptions and renewals of the old ones on a similar condition, limited to August 1, 1845. The matter was pushed with the greatest diligence through that year and the next. It was interrupted by the retirement of Professor Cogswell in January, 1844, but it was carried on till the expiration of the time limited by the Rev. John Richards of the College church, and the Rev. John M. Ellis, who had lately been pastor of the church in East Hanover. Some \$6,000 of the old subscriptions were not renewed or were lost by death of the subscribers, so that at the annual meeting in 1844 the President reported that about \$8,000 remained to be subscribed. The small subscriptions had been so thoroughly gleaned that he believed that the sum could be raised only by large individual gifts in the cities. As the second limit drew near there were well founded fears of a second failure. When a little more than a month remained the entire result of the two years' work footed up no more than \$26,000 and President Lord almost in despair went himself to Boston to try to save it. He called among others on Mr. Appleton who responded, on the 27th of June, 1845, with a check for \$9,000, which with the \$1,000 previously given he devoted to a professorship of "Natural Philosophy." Thus twice was the College indebted to him for the salvation of the subscription. It would, indeed, have been a terrible blow to lose it after so much expense and anxiety. One would think that a single experience in conditions of time limits would have been enough.

The rapid increase in the number of the students, as well as the still more sudden decline, was not without its effect upon the life of the College, in the stimulus given to the literary spirit, as evidenced by the successful establishment by the students in November, 1839, of a literary magazine, called *The Dartmouth*, and issued at irregular intervals. There had been two preliminary failures in 1835 and 1837, when a paper called *The Magnet* had a brief existence, but this, which was handsomely printed and ably conducted, had a longer life and only died

out with the reaction in 1844, to be resumed again under the same name a little more than twenty years later.

Another effect of the growth of numbers was the extension of the student societies in a new direction by the introduction of the modern Greek letter fraternities, beginning with the $\Psi. \tau.$ in 1841. This was followed in rapid succession by the K. K. K. and the A. $\Delta. \Phi.$, but they did not meet with the approval of the authorities and in 1846 the Trustees voted that after 1849 no elections be made, except by permission of the Faculty, to any other societies than the older $\Phi. B. K.$, the Social Friends, the United Fraternity and the Theological Society. The next year the President reported among the "favorable indications of the state of the College the reaction in respect to the secret societies," which caused several of the best students to withdraw from their connection with the societies and led to the belief "that the predominant feeling of the two lower classes was in favor of their discontinuance."¹ The movement toward the fraternities was, however, too strong to be resisted, the vote of the Trustees remained a dead letter, and within a few years the large majority of the students was enrolled in the fraternities.

There was also a revival, resulting from the increase in numbers, of an old abuse in habitual absences from college exercises. The Faculty being few in proportion to the students, it was hard to enforce the special recitation of lost lessons, and resort was had to the ancient punishment of fines, which, however, but increased the evil, as not a few were quite willing to purchase exemption in that manner. Evasion of rhetorical exercises was most marked and the scale of fines adopted was fifty cents for the first neglect and one dollar for the second, while a third brought the offender before the Faculty for discipline. Each failure to prepare a composition was punished by a fine of twenty-five cents.

The use of ardent spirits by the students had always constituted a troublesome problem for the college authorities, as it was difficult to secure a higher standard among them than prevailed in the community generally, in which the use of intoxicants was common. At times the College suffered from this evil more than at others. In 1811 a student wrote:²

The tumultuous whirlpools of dissipation are now surging over this plain, and far too many are already immersed in its destructive commotions. The more sober and responsible part of the inhabitants say the students were never so

¹ President's Report, 1847.

² M. Pillsbury, May 6, 1811.

dissipated as at present. This opinion, however, I think might much more properly be applied to the medical students, than to the members of the College.

A natural reaction led to an improved condition within a few years, but there was no permanent change till, in 1827 and 1828, the subject of temperance assumed great prominence here. President Tyler and Dr. Mussey were very active in the movement, not only at home but throughout the State. An exceedingly able address on the effect of ardent spirits, delivered by Dr. Mussey in 1827 to the students and before the New Hampshire Medical Society, enjoyed great popularity and influence.¹ In 1828 a temperance society was formed in the College, which preserved its activity a number of years, certainly as late as 1833,² and the subject came prominently before the College church. President Tyler, as chairman of a committee, reported a series of resolutions which were adopted May 1, and a form of pledge of total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, except when prescribed by a physician, was urged upon the members, and a committee headed by Professor Adams was appointed to secure signatures to it.³ The students' Theological Society also took determined and persistent steps to crush out the evil, refusing to trade with merchants who sold liquor, and in 1835 the Phi Beta Kappa Society threw its influence in the same direction by voting that "no individual ought to consider himself bound in the least degree by any practice heretofore existing, to furnish a treat of any kind, or to any individual, upon his election as a member of this society."

Dr. Mussey's activity in the cause continued without abatement for many years. A prize essay on ardent spirits, written by him about 1836, was given an immense circulation by the temperance societies and exerted a powerful influence. In June, 1841, the temperance spirit again became vigorous. The sale of ardent spirits was openly made at several groceries, and with special aggravation at the Dartmouth Hotel, so that many regarded it as likely to injure the College in rendering parents unwilling to expose their sons to such influence.⁴ A reform was inaugurated among the students and villagers by two or three residents, who procured the assistance of Nathan Crosby, of the class of 1820, agent of the Massachusetts Temperance Society

¹ A. Crosby, Memorial, p. 23.

² Church Records.

³ Records of Social Friends, May, 1833.

⁴ President's Report, 1841.

at Boston, who had acquired a wide reputation as a lecturer. Mr. Crosby lectured in the evening in the meeting house to the citizens, the next afternoon to the children and on the third morning to the students. The meetings were enthusiastic and were enlivened by the singing of temperance songs, the most popular of which was,

"The drink that's in the drunkard's bowl
Is not the drink for me."

The results were very marked and in general enthusiasm a total abstinence pledge was quite numerously signed.¹ The students determined not to patronize the hotel, and gave up in consequence their annual ball at Commencement in 1841, and the Faculty withdrew the Commencement dinner to a pavilion erected for that purpose.² The College church again took up the subject and on September 9, 1841, voted to "regard the sale of intoxicating drinks as an immorality and a disciplinable offense in the church." The vote was not an idle one, as at the very next meeting of the church a member, named Alvan Tubbs, was brought before the church for selling ardent spirits as a beverage and after a probation of four months was suspended from the communion of the church.

The effects of the movement of 1841 having passed away, the subject of temperance was again agitated in the autumn of 1843, in consequence of a special impetus given by the death from drink of two brothers, named Ingalls, who died within a year of each other. Though the reform movement had spread quite generally in the southern part of the State, Hanover was still in the background. The sale of spirits was increasing, and strangers tarrying over night were wont to complain of the prevalent intemperance and profanity. The local paper, *The People's Advocate*, beginning in October published several communications on the subject, which stirred up much excitement, the most effective being a series of pretended defences of rumsellers by "Patch, Jr.," written no doubt by the editor, J. E. Hood. A

¹ *Amulet*, June 15 and 22, 1841.

² The dinner was described by a correspondent in the *Congregational Journal* of August 6 as "furnished in a Pavilion erected for the occasion on ground adjoining the Academy building [now Chandler Hall]. The entrance was through the hall of the Academy—thence under an elegant arch of boughs and evergreens to the Pavilion. The whole room was hung with festoons and flowers in a style of elegance and taste that surpassed anything that we have ever seen at Dartmouth or elsewhere. In this splendid Pavilion, lighted up in the evening and further embellished with portraits and paintings, was the scene of the *Levee* of the graduating class." The building was 125 feet by 25.

suggestion which he made after a few weeks for a series of public meetings found favor, and the first was held in the Methodist meeting house Monday evening, December 11, 1843. Professor Sanborn presided and Mr. Hood was secretary. Professors Sanborn and Chase and Dr. Dixi Crosby, being chosen a committee for that purpose, proposed through the newspaper the following subjects for discussion at future meetings: "1. The history of alcohol, and its effects upon the human system; 2. Its moral and economical effects upon the seller and buyer; 3. Its social influence; 4. The duty of every citizen in relation to temperance; 5. An examination of the license law; 6. How shall we protect ourselves against the acknowledged evils of rum-selling?" These subjects were discussed at subsequent meetings held in the vestry during the winter.¹

The law at that time being one of local option, a most determined effort was made by the temperance people to elect at the annual town meeting a board of selectmen favorable to their cause, and an article was inserted in the warning for the March town meeting, directing the selectmen to withhold licenses and to prosecute those selling without license. Mr. Hood lost no opportunity, by argument direct and indirect, by sarcasm and even by charging upon the rumseller constructive murder in the case of those who died as the result of drink, to throw odium upon the traffic. The rum party retorted by an article in the warrant to lay out a highway across the Common. When the issue was joined in town meeting the result was a vote of about four to one in favor of instructing the selectmen to withhold licenses, and the choice without regard to party of a board, consisting of Isaac Ross, Col. Ashbel Smith and Maj. William Tenney, pledged to that course, although they were not instructed to prosecute offenders. The proposition to destroy the Common by a highway was lost by a still more overwhelming vote. The same day Lebanon voted similar temperance instructions by a nearly unanimous vote, and at Concord not a single license was granted. Gratitude was publicly expressed to the people of the eastern section for their decided expression of goodwill respecting the temperance cause and the Common. "A wish," said Mr. Hood in his paper, "has sometimes been expressed for a division of the town. It will scarcely be advised again. We of the village need the support of the staunch friends of good order in East Hanover to protect us against the malicious plots of unprin-

¹ *The People's Advocate*, December 16, 1843.

cipléd men. The floating population of this village needs such *ballast* as they took in town meeting day."¹

The landlord of the Dartmouth Hotel, Parker Morse, promptly conformed to the sense of the community by discontinuing the sale of liquor in compliance with a petition that had before been presented to him, but his reformation proved delusive. The lower tavern and some of the groceries still held out, but they were obliged to be so circumspect that they would serve only *temperate* drinkers and the "hard customers" had to get their supply from Norwich. Mr. Hood continued to lash them in his paper and so exasperated them that in May, 1844, his office window was broken in the night. His determined efforts, supported by others, did much, by forcing the liquor traffic into secrecy and lawlessness, to stamp it with deserved ignominy. The discussions of the winter were not without their effect upon the students, and in March there was held a mass meeting at which was formed the "Dartmouth Total Abstinence Society," and a pledge was signed by most of the students.²

Professor Crosby gave a lecture before the society by invitation, and in June they secured the presence of John B. Gough. But the trade still continued and after a time with more openness. Commencement in 1853 saw the largest assemblage ever known here on such occasions, except at the Centennial in 1869, and much was said of the disorderly scenes about the public houses. The "American House" kept by Mr. Thompson in the lower house, though selling liquor, was still quiet and orderly, but the Dartmouth Hotel kept two bars in open and active operation at the same time that the Commencement dinner was spread in the hall. A public house, kept in the north end of the old Tontine by Horace Frary, was credited with a similar character, and in the next year students were forbidden to board or room there on account of the sale of liquor. At the June session of the General Court in 1855 was inaugurated the prohibitory system, by which liquor selling, when not actually repressed, was for the time driven into secret places from which, as will be seen, it was difficult wholly to dislodge it.

On the 7th of May, 1841, there was a large gathering at the College in commemoration of the death of President Harrison. The arrangements, which were in the hands of a committee of citizens, headed by Mills Olcott, and seven students, contem-

¹ *Family Visitor*, March 27, 1844.

² *Family Visitor*, April 24, 1844.

plated an occasion of more than local interest. The Governor and his staff, the judges of the Supreme Court and distinguished men from abroad were invited, and four military companies, the Dartmouth Phalanx, the Cadets of Norwich University, the Lebanon Rifle Company and the Hanover Light Infantry, were to aid the funeral pomp. Unhappily few of the invited guests could attend, but all the military companies were present and, according to the local paper, were more than "grand." The procession assembled in the college yard at two o'clock p. m., and marched with the boom of minute guns to the meeting house, where, with other exercises, the Handel Society rendered a part of the oratorio of Judah, "He was like a morning star," and also an original dirge, and Professor Haddock pronounced an eulogy which was highly commended. Party politics were mainly laid aside, though some churlishly spoke of it as a Whig affair.

Two years later there was a celebration of a different kind. Monday, October 24, was made a great occasion by the reception of Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, then candidate for the vice presidency of the United States. At sunrise there was fired a morning gun. At eleven o'clock the Colonel was received on the river road a mile and a half south of the village by a cavalcade of citizens under direction of Col. Timothy Dwight Smith, and on the top of the hill near the Lebanon line by a military escort. Col. Brewster, with a voice that could be heard all over the village, took command at the hotel corner and conducted them to the meeting house where a procession was formed and marched through lines of citizens across the Common to the Dartmouth Hotel; a company of young misses, dressed in uniform and carrying banners, strewed green leaves before the distinguished guest. At the hotel he took his stand on the balcony of the second story, when, after a salute of three guns and music, a flattering address was made by William H. Duncan, who stood on the top of a hogshead in the street. Col. Johnson, wearing the historic red waistcoat that he wore at the battle of the Thames, told in reply the story of the killing of Tecumseh and his own narrow escape, pointing to the eleven holes still visible in the jacket. After a national salute of twenty-six guns the citizens generally were introduced by Col. Brewster. There was a public dinner at the hotel at three o'clock, and a levee in the hall at seven for the reception of ladies. From all these festivities many of the citizens held aloof and it was specially remarked that the Colonel was not noticed by the College Faculty.¹

¹*People's Advocate*, October 28, 1843.

The next day was ushered in by a sunrise gun as before, and at 9 o'clock a military escort under General Ransom, with a procession of citizens conveyed Colonel Johnson to Norwich. Cannon were fired from each bank of the river as he passed, and the people gathered on the hills on either bank to witness it. At Norwich, after the usual interchange of speeches, he joined with a great multitude of people in a genuine western barbecue. The Colonel seemed greatly delighted with the notice taken of him, and repeatedly averred that he had never been so honored before.

Political celebrations were much in vogue in those days. On July 21, 1847, the Whigs held a grand jubilee at Hanover in honor of the election by that party of two representatives to Congress, Messrs. Tuck and Wilson. Several students took part in the speaking, Oliver Miller of the junior class responding to the "Students of Old Dartmouth."¹ On the 23d of November, 1848, there was a rousing Whig ratification and jollification over the election of General Taylor, and a grand dinner at the Dartmouth Hotel, at which Daniel Blaisdell presided, and Levi P. Morton and Col. T. D. Smith acted as toastmasters, two being necessary by the extraordinary number of twenty-one regular and several volunteer toasts. The festivities were ushered in with a salute of fifty guns.²

The following from the *Family Visitor* of May 15, 1844, gives a reminiscence of an industry preceding the introduction of bathrooms and now no longer pursued here. "Mr. Kinsman has constructed a neat and convenient bathing house, which will be open to visitors in a few days." The little building stood on the south side of Wheelock Street nearly opposite the site of the present Episcopal Church. For a number of years it enjoyed considerable patronage. Among others who made use of it the young ladies of Mrs. Peabody's school, which was kept in a house where Webster Hall now stands, were required to form a weekly procession thither with soap and towels. This was perhaps but an illustration of the general spirit of improvement, which, strikingly indicated in 1836 by the leveling and fencing of the Common, by general consent was further marked by the organization, September 23, 1843, of the "Hanover Ornamental Tree Association" at a public meeting in the vestry duly advertised in the village paper.³ The association published in April, 1844,

¹ *True Democrat*, July 30, 1847.

² *True Democrat*, December 1, 1848.

³ *People's Advocate*, September 23, 1843.

a pamphlet of "Hints on Transplanting Trees," which was enforced by a public meeting, April 18, in the meeting house, and an address by Professor Haddock. The result of its labors are many of the trees that now beautify the village.

On the evening of April 14, 1845, a beastly fellow, named Parkhurst, living on the southwest edge of the village, was, after repeated warnings, subjected by a vigilance committee of the students to a substantial coat of tar and feathers, for keeping a vile house and compelling his wife and daughter to a life of prostitution. The immediate occasion of the outbreak was Parkhurst's forcing his fourteen-year-old daughter to dance naked in a student's room in the college buildings for the price of \$5. The procession which seized him was commanded by Robert Colby of the senior, and Daniel S. Hough of the junior class, and after taking him to the rear of the college buildings held a trial, at which he was formally condemned. He was then taken to the top of Sand Hill where the tar and feathers were administered, the feathers being obtained from the pillow which a student ripped open for the occasion. Amid the jeers of the crowd Parkhurst was then marched back to his home to the accompaniment of martial music, being spared a ride upon a rail only after his promise, extorted by the threat of worse things to come, that he would quit the town within a week. Five students were dismissed for being present at the dancing.¹

In the same summer a new jail was built for Grafton County at Haverhill and the College had the discredit of furnishing its first occupant. This was a member of the class about to graduate, a person of good mind and high scholarship, who was exposed as an habitual thief. There were found in his possession some two hundred valuable books taken from the college library, besides a great variety of miscellaneous articles, watches, razors, etc. with much that could be of no value to him. There were even articles which had been taken from the parlor tables of houses where he had been entertained. Soon after his imprisonment his father came and deposited the amount of his bail (\$500), and took him away.

In the summer and autumn of 1847 there was a series of robberies about the village that created general alarm. They culminated in a burglary at a jewelry store, on the site now covered by the south end of Bridgman's block, under cover of a fire which

¹ *True Democrat*, April 18, 1845; and statements of Dr. J. W. Barstow of the class of 1846; records of the Faculty.

the criminals had set in a house known as the "Shay's house," standing immediately north of the present Crosby Hall. The house was totally consumed, and some five hundred dollars' worth of goods were taken from the store and hidden in the rocks on Observatory Hill. The culprits were not immediately discovered, but as they grew bolder other attempts soon after revealed them. They proved to be two village boys of about eighteen years of age, belonging to respectable families. In their last attempts they were armed with deadly weapons. They were convicted and sentenced to terms of some length in the State's prison. After a time both escaped, but no serious effort was made to retake them and they were allowed to return home unmolested.

The occurrence of several fires within a few years forced upon the attention of the authorities the helpless condition of the village. The only means of protection against fire were a small hand-tub of home construction and a "bucket brigade" formed about 1840, each member of which provided himself with two or more leather buckets and held himself in readiness to respond with his buckets in case of an alarm, and to stand in line to pass the buckets from a well or reservoir to the burning building. In November of 1847 a movement was started to give better protection. Meetings of the citizens were held at which about \$800 were raised to buy an engine and hose and to build cisterns in different parts of the village. It was felt that the College, having much at stake, should help in the matter, and Professor Sanborn was authorized to apply to the Trustees. Accordingly he wrote in February, 1848, saying: "We are now left in a critical condition in regard to fires. Our engine is nearly worthless, valued at \$50 the engine company is dissolved¹ in expectation of a new organization, and there is absolutely no apparatus to protect the village against fire." He asked for help from the Trustees, adding that if the plans were carried out, and twenty-eight feet of suction hose were bought to drop into the well on the east side of the Common and three hundred feet of leading hose, the college buildings would be better protected than the property of private citizens.

The Trustees contributed toward the new apparatus, cisterns were built, an engine costing \$800 was bought and a fire company organized to man it. In term time, however, the students were

¹ The company referred to was "The Hanover Engine Company, No. 1," and was formed June 23, 1824, at "the store of John Carpenter," for the care of the engine which had now become worthless.

among the most effective means of safety. They not only were efficient in removing the contents of threatened buildings, but were daring in going into exposed and dangerous situations, and a constant aid at the pumps of the engine. The engine bought at this time and named the "Phoenix" lasted more than twenty years. Another was bought in 1866, and another and much larger one in 1868 through the efforts of Mr. Elijah Carter, who on his own responsibility bought a large engine at Concord, when hand engines were replaced by steam engines in that city. It was later taken off his hands at the price which he paid, \$500, and was in use in the village till the establishment of the gravity system in 1893, when it was sold for \$125.

The inner life of the College during these years was marked by much turbulence. Few of the students came from families of wealth; most of them were either wholly or in part self-supporting and they often gave expression to their independence by smothered or open revolt against college regulations. Almost their only lawful amusements were training in the "Phalanx," the students' military organization, which was disbanded in 1845 owing to its convivial tendencies, and kicking football on the Common, which, during the winter, was impossible. In accordance with the strict ideas of the times the Faculty opposed what are now considered as harmless diversions. Theatrical presentations were regarded as so objectionable that in 1829 the dramatic presentation of the *carmen sæculare* of Horace was prohibited.¹ Cards were of course under the ban, and bowling was likewise an occasion for discipline, while in 1835 thirty-one students were fined two dollars each for attending a dancing school. Under such a condition the spirit of mischief found expression in uncharted ways and often developed into lawlessness and insubordination. The Faculty was constantly on the watch to check disorder, and the students were as constantly devising some new forms of roguery. Members of the Faculty, acting as police officers, sought to catch marauders and disturbers of the peace at night, and the students liked nothing better than to match their wits against those of

¹ This, however, was probably not so much on account of its theatrical character as of disturbances which grew up with it. The presentation was harmless enough as described by a student of those days in *The Dartmouth* for January 30, 1880:

"There was a practice in College at this time of some classical significance. How long it had existed, or how it originated, I do not know. The freshman class read Horace in the spring term and it was the custom for them, early in May, to give an exhibition of that part of the Roman secular games which was associated with the poet they were reading. Having made careful preparation, and, being duly organized, they marched through the streets in the evening, carrying torchlights and an arch wreathed with ivy and dotted with lamps, singing in Latin the secular ode."

the Faculty in preparing strange surprises. As an expression of their humor a flock of turkeys was found one morning in the chapel; at another time some cows were stabled in the cellar of Dartmouth Hall, and on one occasion a cow, and on another a horse, were driven up two flights of stairs to the upper passage of the same building. From time to time animals of various kinds appeared in recitation rooms and now and then an instructor, on reaching his desk, found it occupied by a skunk. A favorite amusement was to ring the bell at night, or to steal the tongue so that it could not be rung in the morning, or to fasten the doors of the recitation rooms so that they could not be opened at the proper hour.

The records of the Faculty for this period disclose the difficulty which was experienced in dealing with the turbulent spirits of the students. In March, 1832, it was determined to "read the catalogue" at frequent intervals. This was to call each member of the college in review in a meeting of the Faculty to see if any one had any thing to say against him. A little later in the year a committee, appointed to propose "a new mode of college discipline," could find nothing beyond the suggestion that at the first meeting of each month "each officer should report the names of those who need admonition or correction." But this apparently led to so many reports that it was soon decided that no case of discipline should be brought before the Faculty till the individual instructor and then the President had tried in vain private advice or admonition to lead the student "to a right state of feeling." To bring the Faculty into closer touch with the students the practice was established a few years later, in 1845, of assigning a number of students to each officer, whose duty it was to be to visit every student at least once a term, and as much oftener as might be convenient, and for such visitation the buildings and streets were allotted among the Faculty according to a definite plan.

There were three chief occasions of discipline, habitual absence from exercises, noisy disorder, usually the blowing of horns, and riotous outbreaks often accompanying intemperance and leading to destruction of property. The practice of requiring lost lessons to be made up privately so far failed of its object that in 1838 the Faculty asked the Trustees, though unsuccessfully, to repeal the requirement and to assign each class to the supervision of a single officer, who by "moral suasion should secure punctual attendance." In succeeding years, moral suasion not proving effective, committees were appointed to devise rules for securing

punctuality and preventing absence in term time, but with very little success. On one occasion all but five of the senior class absented themselves from examination, on another the senior class requested a two days' leave of absence for a *hunt*, and on being refused twenty of the class went without leave, but on their return they were told that they would be separated unless they apologized and promised good behavior, which they did. At the end of each term there was a long list of absentees both from daily exercises and from examinations. Fines were imposed upon many, some were disciplined, some were sent to their homes with statements of their shortcomings in the hope that parents might bring about a reformation which the college could not, and upon some was laid the performance of special tasks as a punishment, but the evil was not checked.

Noise is a natural form of expression of youthful spirits, but how or when it took the form of horn-blowing among the students at Dartmouth is not known. Perhaps the sound of the conch shell with which the first President assembled his students, or of the horn, that in his day and again on the failure of the bell in 1820 called the college to its duties, so caught the fancy of the students that they were unwilling to let it pass away. Certain it is that horn-blowing became a characteristic feature of the college life, varying in the intensity of its expression at different times. In some years there was little of it, and again a wave of it would sweep over the college till it became almost unendurable. In 1835, the Faculty attempted to bring about quiet by enactment, and the President announced to the students at the opening of the fall term the decree that "they abstain from loud noise in their sports and that any wanton mischief or destruction of property would expose the offenders to immediate separation from College." It is, perhaps, not surprising that within a week the Faculty "commenced a series of meetings to consider some acts of wantonness and abuse, particularly in breaking of glass, in direct disregard of the proclamation," which resulted in the dismissal of several students. Among them was a senior of whom the record naively says: "sentence not well received by him."

A few years later the Faculty attempted to stop another form of disturbance by voting that "any man who fires a rifle or gun within one mile of the college buildings shall be subjected to discipline." This vote was perhaps more effective than the other, as no case of discipline arising under it is recorded, but possibly

the culprits, if there were any, escaped after the manner of one who many years later was called before President Smith for this offence. On being asked by the President if he had fired a gun or rifle round the college buildings he promptly replied in the negative, but on returning to his friends explained that though he had frequently fired a rifle *behind* the buildings he had never fired one *round* the buildings.

The early and middle forties were especially a period of noisy disturbance. A minor form appears from the report of the examining committee of 1845, which refers to "a practice which seems to have assumed its more objectionable character within a comparatively recent period. We refer," said they, "to the tumultuous expression of applause in class and society meetings by stamping, shouting, etc." Dr. J. W. Barstow of the class of 1846 gave in a letter a vivid picture of the more violent forms:

Horn-blowing was in full vogue and blast from 1842 to 1845, but the origin of the vicious habit antedated my own college days.

I remember that in 1843-4 the practice had become general in college, so much so that the Faculty had magnified the *nuisance* into a *crime*, until at length *expulsion* was threatened to any student caught with a horn *in hand*, or even found in his room,¹ and some detective work was undertaken by certain of the Faculty, who, I remember were, on two occasions recognized in spite of disguises—as they patrolled the rear of Dartmouth Hall and the North Building. This action of the Faculty was not wise though the provocation was great, but it only added a fresh motive and stimulus to the outlaws—and in student eyes every specially busy and daring performer was exalted into a *hero*. . . .

After 1844 the habit was less frequent, and was chiefly confined to the *end of the term*, when the long line of Concord stages, loaded down with homeward bound students, filed quietly down the lane from the rear of the buildings, turned to the Lebanon road and, as they passed Reed Hall and beyond all danger of arrest, the din began, sudden and indescribable—stirring the village boys, deafening the citizens and carrying woe to the Faculty heart. But it was soon over as the stages hurried out of sight on the road to Lebanon.

In '49-'50, which I spent in Hanover in Dr. Crosby's office, I do not remember hearing a single horn from the college buildings, and all horn-blowing had passed out of fashion. . . . I well remember one morning in 1844, in the acute stage of the horn fever, hearing Tutor Henry Parker [afterward Professor Parker of affectionate remembrance] address a band of students in front of the North Building (where the Tutor had his room), on what the Tutor called, in his bland and winning way, "the cornucopia habit." He begged the boys "as gentlemen" to wait a few years—each to acquire his own horn of plenty in legitimate business and "not *just now* to make the village hideous with *plenty of horns*." Parker was a favorite with everybody and all listened and

¹ No vote to this effect appears in the records of the Faculty, though in July, 1851, it was voted to "separate from College not to return" all students "who shall make disturbance with horns by day or night." This vote followed the "Great Awakening."

applauded, and a marked reduction of horn-blowing was noticed about the North Building, though with Dartmouth and Reed Halls it made little difference.

The noise of horns was not restricted to the night, as is shown by a vote of the Faculty of July 17, 1848, which reveals at once the annoyances of the Faculty and the humor of the scribe: "Voted, to require Sophomore Read to deliver up his trumpet wherewith he discourseth most horrible music to the college, and furthermore to apologize to Professor Chase for his insult to him, and in default thereof, to be suspended from examination. N. B. Read is also to be admonished for blowing his horn, during Professor Brown's recitation." Read, as the record further shows was obedient to the mandate, "delivered up his trumpet and apologized to Professor Chase."

Dr. Barstow must have left Hanover early in 1850, not to have remembered the outbreak which is described in the following statement, which accompanies a vote of the Faculty passed April 26 of that year, and exhibits, besides the prevalence of noise, an extreme but not uncommon concomitant of college discipline. A vote separating two members of the junior class is thus explained in the records:

The history of the above vote is as follows: for several days prior to April 19th, the peace of the college and of the village had been disturbed by horn-blowing in the night and by acts of outrage against the property of the college. Between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock of the night of the 19th of April, Barton was caught with a horn in his hand. On the 20th of April Barton was cut off from college. The class immediately met and petitioned for Barton's pardon. At the same meeting, a vote was passed to accompany Barton on his departure to the cars, in procession, and to write a letter of condolence to his father. The last vote was to be executed, unless the Faculty should grant the petition. After learning the facts the President, by vote of the Faculty, addressed the class upon the great impropriety of the conduct of the class. The class received the address unkindly, voted that the charges of the President were "unjust, uncalled for and unnecessarily severe" and that an apology was due to the class from the President. Accordingly as no concessions were made to the class, a portion of the class led on by Secombe and Foster, accompanied Barton to the cars and huzzaed as he took his seat in the cars. On the evening of the same day a large number of students, disguised, met in front of the college and blew horns in concert for about half an hour. They were provided with sticks and stones. This conduct was justified by Secombe and Foster as a very proper mode of showing their indignation at the *unjust* treatment of the Faculty. Secombe admitted that he was out with the mob, while the horns were blown and declined answering as to his being disguised. Foster refused to answer questions respecting his own participation in the riot. For this conduct and for the avowal of these sentiments, the above named individuals have been separated from college.

This disturbance was slight in comparison with one that occurred in July of the next year, and that for its violence was known as the "Great Awakening." On the fourth of that month there was a celebration at St. Johnsbury, connected with the opening of the Passumpsic railroad, at which Professor Sanborn was to give the oration. Excursion trains were run, but the day was so stormy that comparatively few attended; the exercises had to be adjourned from a tent to a hall and the fireworks were not lighted. There was so much disappointment that a second attempt was made on the seventh, when the railroad ran excursions at a quarter fare. Some hundred or more students, primed for a boisterous time, provided with horns, and some with bottles, went from Hanover. They were disorderly on the train both going and coming, and being displeased with the table service at the banquet they disturbed the after-dinner speaking, in particular interrupting with cat-calls the ponderous speech of a congressman, who had a part and who afterward wrote to a newspaper reflecting on the students and the College. When the Faculty took up the matter for discipline the College was thrown into a ferment, and on the night of the twelfth gave expression to its feelings in a terrific outburst of noise, in which for several hours, with the blowing of horns and other disturbances, pandemonium was let loose. In the resulting discipline eleven students were separated from college, and the vote already referred to, prohibiting horn-blowing, was passed. Naturally the vote was not effectual, but there never was another outburst of frenzy like the "Great Awakening." As the years went on horn-blowing gradually diminished, till it was almost wholly restricted to the expression of dissatisfaction with the acts of instructors who were in disfavor with the students. It was finally brought to an end in 1896, under the administration of President Tucker, when, in consequence of disciplinary action, the student body voluntarily declared the abandonment of the custom.

Noise, however, disturbing as it might be to the peace of the Faculty and the village, was far from being the worst evil of college life. From time to time there were manifestations of a spirit of lawlessness, often connected with intemperance, that indicated much greater demoralization on the part of individuals, and that were as difficult to check as the more general demonstrations of disorder. College property was often the object of wanton destruction. It was a common thing to break the windows of the rooms of freshmen and of the rooms where they

recited. These rooms were often defiled with assafœtida or worse smelling substances, and now and then the furniture belonging to them would be destroyed. Scurrilous and indecent sheets were occasionally issued, and in 1848 the press and types, on which one of these, "Old Grimes," had been printed, were found under the floor of a closet in Dartmouth Hall. The following letter of a student, named Willard, to his brother shows the disturbances of the earlier period:

HANOVER, Aug. 18, 1824.

It is now almost Commencement. Three days more will bring us to that day, when the devil reigns predominant; he has come this year a week beforehand; already have the students burnt one barn, stoned Professor Chamberlain, burnt him and tutor Perley and hung the President, in effigy &c. The cause of this outrage was this; a certain fellow in the Freshman Class by the name of Stark, a grandson of old General Stark was called upon by tutor Perley to attend a private recitation, which order he paid no attention to, because he said he had a right to be absent once a week (which is really the case) and he had not been absent during the whole term. The tutor then told the Government that Stark was contrary and meant to insult him and wanted Stark to make a confession; but he had too much of the blood of old '76 running in his veins to make a confession when he knew he was innocent; and even the President himself confessed that the tutor was most to blame, but they must support his "dignity." Whether he was most to blame or not they sent him in exile for the term of 6 weeks, which so enraged the students that they immediately formed a company called the "bear leged rangers" and performed the remarkable feats above related.

The records of the Faculty also indicate the character of the troubles. A vote of June 28, 1829, dismissed a sophomore from college, because he "did, on the night of the 23d instant, set fire to and discharge a stone bottle filled with gunpowder, in the principal college building, to the imminent danger thereof, and in contempt of an officer of this college." A case of a different discipline occurs in the vote of May 19, 1829:

A complaint having been made against Senior Evarts for forcibly entering Mr. Markham's inn and demanding spirits at an unseasonable hour and for using profane and incorrect language when satisfaction was demanded for it,

Voted that he exhibit to the Faculty this evening evidence that he has satisfied Mr. Markham for this outrage, and that we meet for a further consideration of his case at $\frac{1}{2}$ past seven.

$\frac{1}{2}$ past seven P. M.

Met according to adjournment. Evarts having presented a certificate from Mr. Markham testifying that reparation had been made for the outrage upon his dwelling,

Voted that Evarts be put on probation for profaneness and the use of ardent spirits, if he shall read before the faculty a satisfactory confession.

Voted also that the Pres. write to his mother and informer [*sic*] of the punishments inflicted upon her son and our own fears in relation to him.

Voted that the students at the commencement of the next term be interdicted from all intercourse with the bar or table of Mr. Markham's hotel during term time.

A third vote passed November 27, 1843, shows a third variety:

Whereas Sophomore Warren appears, from evidence, to have been the leader of a party of students, in disguise, who broke open a citizen's house, threatened the inmates with death, and finally not proving successful in gaining possession of the house, threw large stones through the windows and doors to the manifest danger of the lives of those within; whereas the said Warren is reported to have carried a loaded pistol on the night of the above mentioned attack, and whereas the said Warren, though put upon strict probation for his misdemeanors, still persisted in a course of dissipation and secret violation of college laws, such as frequent participation in convivial entertainments at a public inn, the keeping of ardent spirits in his room, and feasting upon stolen fowls which students had fattened in the college building and other violations too numerous to mention, therefore voted that Sophomore Warren be and is hereby expelled from college.

Four other students were disciplined for engaging in the "irregularities above charged." All escapades were not of so serious a nature, but the students were constantly on the watch for opportunities to enliven their otherwise quiet life. In particular they were ready to exercise their ingenuity upon strolling showmen who came to the village. In June, 1844, one William C. Tappan came to the town giving lectures and experiments on animal magnetism in the Dartmouth Hotel. His trials are indicated in an advertisement in the *Family Visitor* of the 5th, in which he "offers a reward of \$5 to any one who will give him information of the person who stuck a pin into the side of one of his magnetized subjects, as he was waking him from the mesmeric sleep on Friday evening, to the great injury of the magnetizee."

But noise, disturbance and mischief were but the incidents of college life, underneath which the steady work of the college went on. High ideals found expression in fidelity to duty, hard study and worthy character, so that the President, in his report of 1845, expressed his belief that there was a steady advance in the standard of scholarship in the College, saying, "that the position of the College in this respect was never higher absolutely or relatively than at the present time, I should have confidence in affirming, even if I were not so fully justified by the reports of Examining Committees."

The completion of the new subscription led at once to plans of

improvement and enlargement, and among the first things to claim attention was the repair of the older college buildings, which having been fifteen years without material repairs had fallen into a very low condition. Attention had, of course, been often called to the subject by the Inspector, but the straitened circumstances of the College had caused little notice to be given to it. Grounds and buildings alike indicated neglect. It was of little use that at one time the Faculty voted that "the experiment of scouring be made upon the windows of the recitation rooms," and at another that "the college back yard be immediately cleaned," or that in 1842 the Inspector was authorized "to put up such a fence as shall keep out the entrance of cows." There was not enough money to keep the buildings and grounds in order. So dire was the need that in 1846 it was voted that if the students in the brick buildings wished to repair their rooms the College would meet one half the expense, if it did not exceed \$5, and that the unoccupied rooms in Dartmouth Hall might be repaired at an expense not exceeding \$20 for each room if the students would furnish the money and take the rent of the rooms in payment. In the summer of that year Professor Sanborn, upon whom had devolved the duty of inspection in 1845, laid open the need of repairs with characteristic pungency.

"It is now generally admitted," said he, "that dormitories in public buildings for students are of very doubtful utility. Such rooms are certainly very unproductive property. Public property is less respected and consequently oftener injured than private property. Unoccupied rooms are uniformly assailed, windows are broken, doors are mutilated and frequently the rooms are grossly defiled. . . . During the past year more than twenty rooms have been unoccupied; some of them are positively untenable, others are soiled, shattered and defaced. The neglect to occupy these rooms brings a heavy tax upon those who room in the village, which seems to annoy and irritate those who pay it.¹ The injury done by lawless students also enlarges every term bill. These charges to my certain knowledge injure the reputation of the College abroad and prevents students from entering it." He further said in reference to the recitation rooms, which had fallen into a sad state of dilapidation: "acting in my official capacity I have uniformly visited the public rooms before prayers in the morning [which were at six o'clock] to remove all writing from the blackboards and abate other nuisances which lawless students may have placed there. . . . At the beginning of the summer term I met the three lower classes separately, informed them of the intention of the Trustees and Faculty to increase their accommodations and comforts if there should

¹ The rent of unoccupied rooms in the college buildings was assessed upon students rooming out of the buildings. This was often a cause of injury to the buildings, for the students thus assessed feeling, as one who was afterward a Trustee expressed it, that they "ought to get their money's worth" wantonly destroyed college property by breaking windows, and in other ways, till they thought that they had equaled the amount of their bill.



THE COLLEGE, 1852.



be a corresponding reform on their part, and obtained from most of them an openly expressed resolve for reform. . . . It is impossible to maintain good order in and around old and dilapidated buildings. Every dollar expended in repairs yields a rich revenue in security, quiet and good order."

In addition to the want of internal repairs the three older buildings stood in crying need of shingles, and Dartmouth Hall was in a critical state from the condition of the steeple, which was wholly decayed. As the new subscriptions now began to be productive, two thousand dollars were appropriated for the renovation of the buildings. The steeple of Dartmouth Hall was immediately rebuilt, not on its former lines, but in the beautiful form in which it now appears in the steeple on the new Dartmouth Hall, which is the replica of that on the old hall when the hall was burned. The name of its designer is unfortunately lost. The rooms in the two upper stories of that building, which had been "untenantable for several years and used by lawless students for all conceivable mischief, the theater of noise and riot," were handsomely fitted up and became the first choice of the students. The recitation rooms were repaired and each connected with a "guard room," which was occupied by a student who should be responsible for the care of it. Society Hall, at the south end of the building, the meeting place of the literary societies, was repaired and made into a very convenient and handsome room for the use of the students. All the buildings were shingled. Dartmouth Hall was painted and the walls of the space ways in all three, covered with scrawls and pencil marks, were washed with a color.

These improvements which were substantially completed in 1848, though Thornton Hall was not shingled until 1850 and Reed Hall not repainted till 1851, had a marked effect upon the discipline of the College, of which nearly one half had for some time arisen from injuries done to the recitation rooms. In the three following years there was but a single serious case of damage. In 1851, at the time of painting Reed Hall, walks were laid out in the college yard, which had previously been enclosed by a fence. The yard was now still further secluded by planting along the front a buckthorn hedge, which the next year was extended to the east along the northern side of the yard, at an expense of \$1 a rod. Three years later it was determined that "the field north of the college grounds in which the observatory is situated be appropriated as college grounds and never more for pasturage," and thus began the existing college

park. In 1849 a plan and drawing of the village of Hanover were made by Joseph A. Hudnut of Boston, for which he was paid \$15 by the Trustees. The appearance of the College of that time is well preserved in an engraving that was made by J. W. Watts and published in the catalogue of 1852-1853.

The further application of the proceeds of the new subscription was a matter of much moment, for the rapid decline in the number of students had stimulated the college authorities to recover the lost ground by enlarging and improving the appliances of instruction in every possible way. The \$10,000 given by Mr. Appleton were of course appropriated to a chair of natural philosophy according to his wish. With the balance it was desired to pay the debts of the College, but this could not be done and meet the expectations of the donors, who had been asked to subscribe for the increase of the facilities of the college in various ways, or satisfy the just demands of both Faculty and students for better equipment. Three years later, in 1849, the President reported that there had been an excess of expenses in the balance sheet of the year of \$986.77, that the College was in debt a little over \$20,000, while its "means of paying" barely reached \$19,000. There were still due on the subscription \$5,131.06, but this was "too high an estimate" of what would be realized, and there was need of economy. The Faculty on being asked to present their view as to the most needed expenditures recommended an appropriation of \$10,000 for the library and \$6,000 for apparatus. The Trustees naturally did not see their way clear to make such large appropriations for these objects, and were content to set apart, in 1846, \$200 for the library, but this small sum was in view of the fact that in that year a gift of \$1,000 was made for the library by the three brothers Edmund, Isaac and Joel Parker, two of whom were members of the Board of Trust.

The appropriation for apparatus was on a much more generous scale, Professor Young having reinforced the recommendation of the Faculty by a special statement.

"The original cost of our apparatus," said he, "was about \$2,300 and its present value not much above \$1,300. The purchases previous to 1834 amounted to about \$1,100. This sum was mostly expended from 1812 to 19, when the cost of instruments was unusually high, and the articles purchased were many of them of an inferior quality, and most of them are now either *worn out* or *broken*, or unsuited to the present state of the science they were intended to illustrate, so that the whole collection is in reality of little value.

"In 1834 an appropriation of \$1,500 was made, and the President and



VILLAGE IN 1855.

myself were authorized to apply it at our discretion. Of this we have expended about \$1,200, making it our steady aim to purchase no articles except such as our immediate necessities required, and as could be obtained of good quality at a reasonable price from American artists. Hence our purchases have been mostly limited to electricity, electromagnetism and pneumatics."

He particularly desired to obtain geodetical instruments, "such as are actually used in civil engineering and topographical surveying, such as might lead a respectable portion of the students to find their necessary exercise in *real* practical surveying," microscopes, both compound and solar, with corresponding polarizing apparatus, "a good telescope," a sidereal clock and micrometer, "which involves the germ of a small astronomical observatory," and a full set of standard meteorological instruments. In order that he might spend the money, if appropriated, in the wisest way he proposed to make a tour of the more important colleges to examine their apparatus and observatories, and to meet the expense of the trip he became the agent of the College for collecting the instalments due on the subscription.

These requests met with favor and \$2,300 were appropriated for apparatus to be purchased under the direction of Professor Young. Geodetical instruments to the value of \$250 were immediately purchased and a six-inch telescope ordered from Munich. It was delivered in this country in May, 1848, but as a duty of thirty per cent. was unexpectedly demanded, it was allowed to lie in the custom house for some months, pending the result of a petition to Congress for a release from the duty. The release was granted and the telescope reached Hanover safely in the September following. Its cost on the ground was \$2,379. As there was no observatory it was set up in a rude frame in Professor Young's garden, which allowed but a partial and uncertain use of it. During the next year there was erected, also in Professor Young's garden, near the present site of the south Massachusetts Hall, a small observatory, 28 by 13 feet, divided into two rooms, one furnished with a pier (resting on an old mill stone) and a sliding roof for the telescope, and the other with two piers (one of them being supported by the second of the divorced run of mill-stones), and an opening through the roof and sides, in which were the clocks and transit instrument. This room was plastered and had the comfort of a stove and "other conveniences for a computing room." The whole cost of the structure did not exceed \$250. A lively interest in the study of astronomy was awakened among the students, so that the

instruments were in almost constant use, when the weather would permit, either for instruction, the gratification of visitors or regular observations. "I trust," wrote Professor Young to the Trustees, that "the interest thus awakened among the students will have its appropriate reflex influence upon the Honorable Board in stimulating them to use all proper means for the early completion of the promised observatory and instruments."

Four years passed, however, before such a building was erected. In December of 1852 Dr. George C. Shattuck of the class of 1803, a physician of Boston, who had already given to the college the portraits of its counsel in its celebrated case, put at the disposal of the Trustees \$7,000 for the construction and equipment of an observatory, on the condition that the Trustees would add as much as might be needful to complete the work, supposable about \$4,000. This they at once decided to do, authorizing their treasurer to borrow that sum, if necessary, and directed Professor Young to prepare plans and undertake the construction of an observatory. He had for some years been making his preparations, having carefully studied the plans of other observatories and having secured from his brother, A. H. Young, the architect of Reed Hall, valuable suggestions. After making all arrangements for the work he left the construction under the charge of Professor Hubbard and went to Europe in April of 1853 to purchase instruments for the observatory and for the physical laboratory, and books for the library. Dr. Shattuck added to his previous gift \$2,000, of which \$1,200 were to be spent for books on mathematics, mechanics and astronomy, and \$800 for books for the Latin department. Professor Shurtleff added \$1,000 for books in intellectual philosophy and political economy, and the Trustees appropriated \$500 from the Parker fund. Professor Young returned from Europe in September, having purchased instruments and books to the value of a little under \$7,000.

Good progress had been made on the observatory during his absence under the supervision of Professor Hubbard, but owing to the suspension of the work during the following winter and to delays caused by workmen from abroad, it was not finished and ready for occupancy till the opening of the college year in the fall of 1854. The building, which was of brick, consisted of a tower twenty feet in diameter, surmounted by a revolving dome in which the telescope was mounted, and of three wings,

arranged in the form of a cross. That to the east, sixteen by twenty-six feet, contained a transit room while those to the north and south, each sixteen by twenty feet, contained an observer's room and a computer's room, the library being placed in the tower under the telescope. The cost of the building was a little over \$4,800, the sum which the Trustees were obliged to add to the gift of Dr. Shattuck for building and apparatus, being about \$1,200.

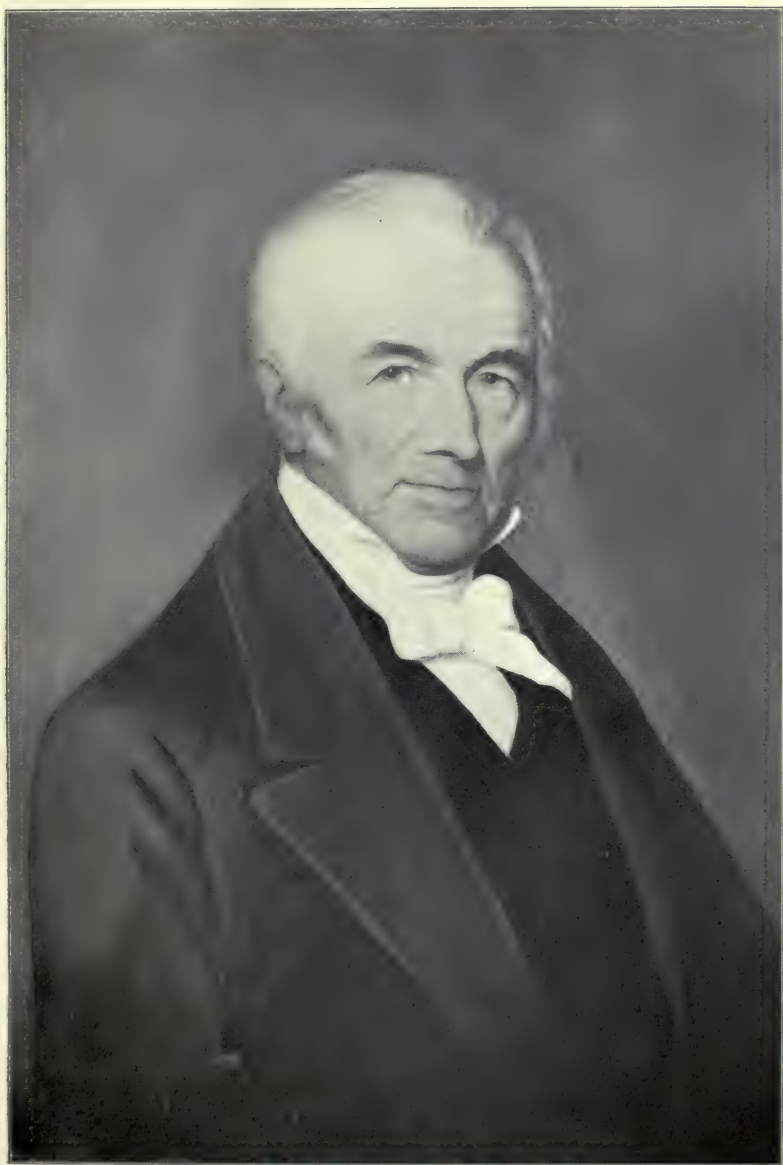
An annular eclipse of the sun occurred May 26, 1854, visible in New England. Professor Young then had a class in astronomy, engaged particularly in the study of eclipses. It was found that the data given in the British and the American nautical almanacs resulted in making the path of the eclipse pass about one mile from the observatory, the one on one side and the other on the other. It was a rare event for the central path of an eclipse to take in an observatory, and all the preparation for watching it that was possible was made by Professor Young in his garden observatory. But to his great disappointment, as well as to that of others, the day was cloudy and not a glimpse was obtained of the sun except for a moment through a rift in the clouds as the moon was passing off the sun's disk, and even then without a chance to note the time of last contact.

The department of chemistry also gained some share in the benefit of the new subscription. In 1849 Professor Hubbard represented to the Trustees that for thirteen years nothing had been spent for the increase of the chemical apparatus, and that it was impossible for the students or for himself to determine with the existing apparatus the composition of a single body or even the proper weight of any element, or to meet the reasonable expectations of the public in the analysis of minerals or the determination of the value of ores. Notwithstanding this, the interest in the study of chemistry had so increased that while a few years before he had been obliged to pay for assistance in the laboratory, students had now become so eager to assist that they begged the privilege of assisting and put down their names as volunteers several courses in advance. His request for the sum of \$150 for new equipment was immediately granted.

From the year 1845 there was a slow but on the whole steady increase in the number of students. With their increase and the increase in the equipment of the College it was thought best to make an increase in the rate of tuition, which since 1825 had been \$27 a year with an additional charge for incidentals then

amounting to \$4.50. In 1848 the tuition was set at \$31.50 without incidentals, but three years later was raised to \$36 a year and again in 1854 to \$42 a year. In 1848 there was also made a change in the entrance requirements in Greek from the four Gospels and Jacob's Greek Reader to five books of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and four books of Homer's *Iliad* (reduced to three in 1854 and to two in 1869, when four books of the *Anabasis* were substituted for five), though the Gospels and Greek Reader were accepted as an equivalent.

During this period there were several changes in the Board of Trust and in the Faculty. Within four years the Board suffered the loss of three members by death. The first was that of Mills Olcott, who died July 11, 1845. As treasurer from 1815 to 1821, and as trustee from that date he had rendered an invaluable service to the College by his warm interest in its welfare; his sound judgment and his liberality attested in many gifts and services. John Kelley, a lawyer of Exeter was chosen to his place. Judge Hubbard of the Board died in December, 1847, and was succeeded by Judge Richard Fletcher of Boston. A little over a year later, January 11, 1849, came the death of Charles Marsh, at the age of 84, whose term of service on the Board covering a period of forty years was longer than that of any other trustee in the history of the College except that of Nathan Lord, who held that office for forty-two years. During that long period he had been untiring in his devotion to the College, rarely missing a meeting of the Board of Trustees, and from his nearness to the College as well as from the soundness of his judgment he was frequently consulted on matters that called for action between meetings of the Board, and for many years had a large part in determining and carrying out the policy of the Board. The activity of his earlier years had not continued in his extreme age, but his sympathetic interest in the principles that were dominant in the management of the College, his thorough acquaintance with its history and the important part which he had borne in saving it in its great crisis gave him to the end of his life a unique position on the Board. He was the last survivor of the famous "Octagon," and as if to note the close of the era of conflict and the restoration of general good feeling the Trustees conferred in that year the honorary degree of A.M. upon Salma Hale, who had been an ardent supporter and one of the leading Trustees of the former University. His successor on the Board



Charles Marsh

was Anthony Colby, who had been Governor of the State and *ex-officio* Trustee in 1846-1847.

The Phillips professorship of theology had been vacant since 1830, and though unsuccessful attempts had been made to fill it, as has been recited, yet in the decrease of students and the insufficiency of the funds it was allowed to continue vacant. But in 1847 the President reported that the fund of the professorship was now complete and that it was desirable to make an appointment to it. He had for some years carried on the work of that department as far as his other duties permitted, finding it "a source of great pleasure and benefit," but felt that the department, to take its proper place in the College, should have a head of its own. He had, however, no candidate to suggest and it was not till 1849 that the chair was filled by the choice of Rev. Daniel J. Noyes, pastor of the South Congregational Church of Concord, N. H. The immediate duty assigned him was to lecture to the students weekly on systematic theology, and to instruct the classes in ethical and theological branches. After a thorough review by a committee of the Board of the ancient constitution of the department it was resolved that the founder imposed no restrictions upon the character of the doctrine which might be required of the incumbent, but, nevertheless, his chart of doctrine was defined in a resolution, "that the Board have made the appointment of a Professor of Theology in the belief that his religious sentiments are in accordance with the compend of Christian doctrine set forth by the Westminster Assembly of Divines in their Shorter Catechism, and that any material departure from that platform is deemed by the Board a sufficient ground of removal from office."

In the same year theological differences led to the retirement of Professor Crosby, but the matter was so conducted as to leave, on the whole, harmonious relations. For some time he had grown weary of the drudgery of teaching the mere elements of language and had come to feel that it was his duty to devote himself to what he regarded as higher studies, like morals and religion, which had a more immediate relation to the welfare of society. While wishing to give up teaching he still wished to retain a connection with the College, and suggested that he retain his title without duties and without pay and that an associate professor be appointed who should perform the duties of the office and receive the salary attached to it. This proposition did not meet with favor, especially as the Trustees were disturbed

by two publications of Professor Crosby's, one a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter of the Celebrated John Foster on the Duration of Future Punishment," issued anonymously, but known to be from the pen of Professor Crosby, and containing, as was thought, an attack upon the American Tract Society in the form of an earnest appeal in regard to the character of its publications; the other a small book setting forth views upon the Second Advent not acceptable to the orthodox ministers of the State. After considerable correspondence Professor Crosby presented his definite resignation and the Trustees, in recognition of his ability as a scholar and his desire to retain a formal connection with the College, gave him the title of *Professor emeritus*. On his recommendation and that of the Faculty John N. Putnam, a graduate of 1843 and a brilliant student, then just graduating from Andover Theological Seminary, who had been giving the instruction in Greek since the February before, was chosen his successor.¹ At the same meeting of the Board Dr. Roby tendered his resignation as professor of the theory and practice of physic and was succeeded by Dr. Edward E. Phelps of Windsor, Vt. Two years later the College suffered a severe loss in the death of Professor Chase, which occurred on January 7, 1851. He was followed in office by John S. Woodman of the class of 1842.²

¹ Alpheus Crosby, the son of Dr. Asa and Abigail (Russell) Crosby, was born at Sandwich, N. H., October 13, 1810. After graduating from Dartmouth in 1827 he became preceptor of Moor's School for one year, then tutor in the College for three years. After two years spent in the study of theology at Andover he was recalled as professor in 1833. He resided in Hanover for some years after his resignation in the stone house, which he built in 1845, on the road over Cory Hill, but in 1857 he became the Principal of the State Normal School at Salem, Mass., and resigned that position in 1865. He died there April 17, 1874. He was an earnest scholar of wide interests, and published a Greek grammar, and an edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, besides several other smaller works. He was an effective teacher, but he had the habit of giving a prolonged "o-o-oh" between sentences, which with a high falsetto voice gave him a peculiar manner. Dr. Barstow of the class of 1846 is responsible for the following incident. Professor Crosby was hearing a recitation at the south end of Dartmouth. The students from another recitation, which had been let out before the close of the hour, gathered outside his room and began to sing, much to the unrest of his students. Going to the door he addressed the singers, saying: "To the bird in the cage the sweet carolings of the released songsters are scarcely agreeable. Now if you can withhold your songs it will be better for my class." His appeal was sufficient.

² Professor Stephen Chase was but little over thirty-seven at the time of his death, having been born at Chester, N. H., August 12, 1813. He was a diligent student and his death was hastened by his close application to his work. An algebra, which he published in 1849, was for many years a trial to Dartmouth students from its condensed statements and the over confidence of the author in the mathematical insight of the ordinary pupil. As a teacher he was exacting and seemed stern, going among the students by the nickname of "Bruin." The class of 1847 in its sophomore year attempted to propitiate him by presenting his portrait to the College, regarding it as a "sop to Cerberus," and not without favorable results. His impatience with dullness once led to a severe rebuke, which he acknowledged was just. Losing his patience in class with a student he sent him to the blackboard and told him to put down a figure 2, "Put another 2 under it," said he, "draw a line below and under that put the figure 4. Now, if you were a teacher and had a student who couldn't understand that, what would you do?" "I would try to explain it to him, sir," was the reply, which brought an immediate apology. This story appears in quite a different form in *The Dartmouth* for July, 1870.

Among the many plans that were suggested for raising the College from its depression was the establishing of a scheme of technical education with courses, which according to a resolution of the Trustees in 1844, should be "more particularly adapted to qualify students for commercial, manufacturing, mechanical and agricultural pursuits." In furtherance of this idea it was determined to get three additional endowments for professorships, "one devoted to trade and commerce, another to manufactures and mechanics, and a third to agriculture," and the Trustees declared their readiness to establish courses of study in any or all of these branches as soon as the necessary funds could be obtained. This ambitious scheme naturally failed of accomplishment, but the importance which scientific education assumed in the minds of the Trustees is indicated by the large expenditures made for the departments having that direction. So large a part of the new funds, in addition to the endowment of the Appleton professorship, was spent in the equipment of these departments that the older and literary departments felt somewhat slighted, especially in view of the small appropriation that was made for the library, which, before the gift by Dr. Shattuck for its use, was represented by Professor Sanborn as totally inadequate, not having in Latin "even an English version, much less a critical edition of several of the authors taught in the college course."

But the most important step in the direction of scientific education, amounting, indeed, to a new departure in the history of the College, was yet to come. In March, 1851, Abiel Chandler of Walpole, N. H., died, leaving a will which on April 1 was proved at Keene.¹ In it he gave fifty thousand dollars to

The Trustees of Dartmouth College, an institution established at Hanover, in the County of Grafton and State of New Hampshire for ever—but in trust,

¹ Abiel Chandler, the son of Daniel and Sarah (Merrill) Chandler, was born at Concord, N. H., February 26, 1777. In his childhood his father removed to Fryeburg, Me., where he labored on the farm till he was twenty-one. Then by the aid of a brother he fitted for college at the Phillips Exeter Academy and was graduated from Harvard College in 1806. After teaching eleven years at Salem and Newburyport, Mass., and spending one year in Baltimore he began business in Boston, establishing the house of Chandler and Howard, later Chandler, Howard and Co., in which he continued till 1845, when he retired from business and made his home in Walpole, N. H., where he died March 21, 1851. His wife, a daughter of Epes Sargent of Boston, died in 1837 without children. After many personal bequests and that to the College, Mr. Chandler made the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane his residuary legatee to the amount, as it proved, of about \$25,000. He was not a man of marked characteristics, but of honest, straightforward energy in business, and integrity and clearness of purpose. It is said that his gift to the College grew out of an incident of his life at Fryeburg. At the age of twenty-one, being a laborer, comparatively uneducated and ignorant, he fell in with some students from Dartmouth. He was impressed by their superiority in having something that he did not, and being humbled without being ashamed he determined to secure an education for himself. [Commemorative Discourse by Nathan Lord, July 29, 1852.]

to carefully and prudently invest or fund the principal sum, and to faithfully apply and appropriate the income and interest thereof for the establishment and support of a permanent department or school of instruction in said College, in the practical and useful arts of life, comprised chiefly in the branches of mechanics and civil engineering, the invention and manufacture of machinery, carpentry, masonry, architecture, and drawing, the investigation of the properties and uses of the materials employed in the arts, the modern languages, and English literature, together with book-keeping and such other branches of knowledge as may best qualify young persons for the duties and employments of active life; but, first and above all, I would enjoin in connection with the above branches, the careful inculcation of the principles of pure morality, piety and religion, without introducing topics of controversial theology, that the benefits of said department or school may be equally enjoyed by all religious denominations without distinction. No other or higher preparatory studies are to be required in order to enter said department or school, than are pursued in the common schools of New England.

In order to secure on the part of the Trustees permanent conformity with his wishes in the investment of the fund and in the management of the school, he established by his will a perpetual board of two visitors, having life tenure and in case of the death or resignation of either the other having power to fill the vacancy, whose duty it should be to visit the school and examine the condition of the funds at least once a year. The will further declared that "the board of visitors shall have full power to determine, interpret, and explain my wishes in respect to this foundation, to redress grievances . . . and to see that my true intentions in regard to this foundation be faithfully executed. And in order that said board of visitors may not be limited in their powers by the foregoing recital, I further confer upon said board of visitors all the visitatorial powers and privileges, which, by the law of the land, belong and are entrusted to any visitor of any eleemosynary corporation." The executors of the will and also the first visitors were Mr. Chandler's personal friends, John J. Dixwell a merchant, and Francis B. Hayes a lawyer, of Boston.

This legacy, with its restrictions, was not regarded by the Trustees with uniform satisfaction. Doubts were expressed as to the propriety and the legality of acceptance. Some hesitated in view of additional responsibilities in a new field; some were alarmed at giving what they considered an undue importance to a scientific education at the expense of the old standards, and some feared the revolutionary effect of the new features thrust into the existing constitution. President Lord was himself among the doubters, but thought it best on the whole to

accept the trust on grounds that were set forth later in a letter concerning the Chandler School, in which he said : ¹

It is clear to all considerate observers that the tendency of society everywhere is rapidly increasing in the direction [of education in the practical and useful arts of life]. Agriculture, manufactures, trade, engineering, military necessities, the fine arts, and industrial pursuits in general, with the commerce ensuing to a more extended and busy civilization, necessarily engage the many, while merely professional pursuits are confined to a comparatively few, and are likely to decline in the general estimation. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the remote consequences of this remarkable drift, it certainly is undeniable. It is a law no more to be overcome than that of gravity.

At the annual meeting of the Board in 1851, on the report of Judges Joel and Edmund Parker, to whom the matter had been referred, that no legal obstacle intervened, the legacy was accepted. The same gentlemen in connection with the President were appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the establishment of the new school. Their report, made a year later and adopted July 27, 1852, presented the "Statutes of the Chandler School" and a "Scheme of Studies." By the first the Trustees constituted and organized a school of instruction in connection with the College and as a department of it and denominated it "The Chandler School of Science and the Arts." It was to consist of two departments, the junior and the senior, the former extending over one year, the latter over two. In the junior, instruction was to be given in the English language, arithmetic, algebra, bookkeeping, physical geography, linear drawing, physiology, botany, graphics and the use of instruments, while the senior department comprised mechanics, civil engineering and the other branches prescribed in Mr. Chandler's will. Students were to be admitted to the junior department only on "a rigorous and satisfactory examination in reading, spelling, penmanship, English grammar and parsing, arithmetic and geography." The junior year was divided into four terms of ten weeks each, an arrangement that lasted but one year, and the tuition was set at \$20 a year, but was raised to \$30 after one year. The calendar of the senior year was the same as that of the College, and the tuition was \$30 from the beginning. At the completion of the course the degree of B.S. was given, but students might be admitted to partial courses and receive a certificate if they had completed two terms of satisfactory work. Several changes were introduced in 1857. General history was

¹*Granite Monthly*, June, 1880, p. 339.

added to the entrance requirements, and plane geometry and algebra were recommended, though they were not made a requirement till 1868, the course of study was extended to four years, the fourth class, or "Quarters" as they were afterward usually known, corresponding to freshmen and the first class to seniors, and in the last year students were allowed to choose between a civil engineering course, a commercial course and a general course, the difference being mainly the substitution of German and commercial subjects in the last two for civil engineering. Tuition was raised to \$36 for the fourth and third classes and to \$42 for the two upper classes. The School was opened to the public in the fall of 1852 and made a very auspicious beginning with seventeen students, two in the senior and fifteen in the junior class.

The mode of administering the School was the subject of much perplexity and discussion from the first. The difference in preparation and in the courses of study of its students necessitated their entire separation in recitation from the college classes, and, therefore, it was provided that special instruction should be given them by the college Faculty under the direction of the President. The President and others favored theoretically a board of instruction distinct from the college Faculty, but the inadequacy of the fund rendered that plan as yet impracticable, and forced them to rely at the outset upon instruction given by members of the college Faculty, who were to receive a moderate compensation in addition to their stated salaries. Out of this arrangement, natural and unavoidable as it was, friction and jealousy soon appeared. Not all the members of the Faculty were called upon to teach in the new courses, and some to but a small amount. Complaints arose of inequality. Those who taught most secured a considerable addition to their salaries, which those who taught less, forgetful of the added labor, or willing to perform it if opportunity offered, regarded as a favor denied to them.

Most of the teaching fell to the mathematical and the comparatively new departments in science, which thus seemed to gain an advantage over the older departments of the humanities in the larger returns which they secured. The School, moreover, was receiving a return disproportionate to its payments, for the amount paid for instruction was very small, but a dollar an hour, compared with about four dollars an hour, which a professor in the College received for his work on the basis of the

average number of recitations a year. In addition to this, till 1860, the School contributed nothing toward the expenses of examining committees, minister's salary, the library and other incidentals, so that the President was justified in saying that the School "was drawing insensibly, as it ought not, upon the resources of the College."¹ In that year it first paid its part of these expenses, its proportion being fixed at one fifth of the whole. In 1865 the compensation of the college professors teaching there was raised to two dollars an hour, but even then the School was receiving its instruction at a disproportionate rate, and this fact had much to do in producing complaints and trouble later on.

It was this feature of internal jealousies and excessive drain upon the resources of the College that, in 1859, led the President, foreseeing the dangers that were likely to come unless the relations of the College and the School were put upon a fixed and satisfactory basis, to present to the Trustees a plan for settling those relations, for the time at least harmoniously and to the advantage of all parties, by giving to all instruction in the College and the School an equivalent value, and at the same time equalizing and raising the salaries. He did not think that the time was ripe for the separate organization which he believed was theoretically best, and, therefore, on the basis of a statement prepared by the Faculty at the request of the Trustees showing the work done in the different departments, he proposed that the aggregate schedule of recitations in both College and School should be divided equitably among all the college professors, that they should each receive for all services the same salary, and that the Chandler fund should contribute an equitable proportion to the salary account. The joint funds of the College and School were sufficient, when applied in this way, at once to raise the salaries of all the professors from \$1,100 to \$1,300.

This plan, if adopted, would have then given to the College and the School that unity of interest that was secured only after an interval of more than thirty years by their union in 1893. It would have secured a unity of administration and have prevented the wasteful duplication of instruction, the divergence of interest and the alienations and controversies that marked the intervening years, and would have made both departments mutually helpful from that time. It did not require one faculty in name, for it allowed, if desired, the continued publication in

¹ Special Report, 1859.

the catalogue of a separate Chandler faculty, but it made the interests of all instruction so completely one that the fact of a common interest would have outweighed the form of diversity. To be sure the classes could not have been brought together in recitations, as they afterward were, and there would have been other indications of separation, but the interests of the Faculty would have become so united that they could not have been divided. But for some reason that does not now appear, probably personal to some extent, the plan did not commend itself to the majority of the Faculty, or to a majority of the Board, and the old system with its tendency to jealousies and division was continued. The failure to adopt this proposition of the President was so unsatisfactory to Judge Joel Parker that he resigned his position on the Board of Trust, assuring the President of his entire sympathy but being unwilling to engage in unavailing controversies in support of his views.

It had already been found necessary to have some one of the professors in charge of the details of administration in the School, and in 1854 James W. Patterson, then a tutor, was chosen Chandler professor of mathematics and given general oversight of the Chandler students. Two years later he was put into the regular chair of mathematics in place of Professor Woodman, who as professor of civil engineering was substituted in charge of the Chandler School with the title of "Rector," which, however, appears only on the records of the Trustees and does not seem ever to have been commonly used. Neither Professor Patterson nor Professor Woodman confined his teaching to the Chandler students, but in accordance with the view of all parties, that a separate faculty should be formed as soon as practicable, a beginning of such a faculty was made in 1862 by the appointment of John E. Sinclair, a Chandler graduate of the class of 1858, as associate professor of mathematics in the Chandler School. In previous years young graduates had been employed to teach special subjects and were enrolled in the Chandler faculty but not in the general faculty, but now Professor Sinclair, though teaching only in the Chandler School, appeared in the general list. Professor Woodman continued at the head of the School till 1870 when, on his resignation, his place was taken by Professor Edward R. Ruggles whose service extended till the union of the School with the College in 1893. The progress of the School will be discussed in another place.

The early years of the School were recognized by both Trustees

and Faculty as experimental. In the lack of precedents it was believed that it could not be developed according to any pre-arranged plan, but that the experience of successive years must indicate the course to be pursued, and that it was not at all impossible that some experiments might prove unsuccessful and changes in plans be necessary. Unfortunately these early years coincided with many changes in both Board and Faculty, so that many of those who had to deal with the development of the policy of the School had not the benefit of acquaintance with it from the beginning. In the years between 1856 and 1862 six of the ten permanent members of the Board besides the President retired from office. Judge Edmund Parker died in 1856 and was succeeded a year later by Amos Tuck of Exeter, N. H. In that year the resignations of John Kelly and Judge Richard Fletcher opened the way for the election of George W. Nesmith of Franklin, N. H., and Lyndon A. Marsh of Woodstock, Vt., a son of Charles Marsh. Samuel Fletcher, who died in 1858, was succeeded by Judge Ira A. Eastman of Manchester, N. H., while the vacancy caused by the resignation of Judge Joel Parker in 1860 was not filled till 1864, when, after two unsuccessful attempts at an election, Edward S. Tobey of Boston was chosen. The Rev. Dr. Silas Aiken died in 1862 and was followed by Rev. Pliny B. Day of Hollis, N. H.

The changes in the Faculty during the years between 1849 and 1859 were even more remarkable. The resignation of Professor Crosby and the succession of Professor Putnam in Greek, and the appointment of Professor Noyes in divinity, all in 1849, as well as the death of Professor Chase in 1851, have been mentioned. The vacancy in the chair of mathematics was filled by the election of John S. Woodman, a lawyer of Dover, N. H., and in the next year, owing to the increase of the work of the department in connection with the Chandler School, a tutor was appointed, James W. Patterson, who two years later, as has been said, was made assistant professor, and again in 1856 was advanced to a full professorship, while Professor Woodman became professor of civil engineering. In 1858 the College sustained a great loss in the death of Professor Young.¹

¹ Ira Young was born in Lebanon, N. H., May 23, 1801, the son of Samuel and Rebecca (Harding) Young, and was graduated from Dartmouth in 1828. After teaching in academies he entered the Faculty of the College as tutor in 1830 and three years later became professor of mathematics and natural philosophy and later of astronomy. He was eminent in his chosen field, an effective organizer and administrator and it was the knowledge of this that led Dr. Shattuck to make his gift to the College on the condition that the planning, construction and equipment of the observatory should be in the hands of Professor Young. He had not popular

In the next year his department was divided, the astronomy being given to Professor Patterson, and Rev. Henry Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury being made professor of natural philosophy, while John R. Varney, of the class of 1843, was chosen to the chair of mathematics. The long service of Professor Haddock came to an end in 1850 when he received leave of absence to become *chârgé d'affaires* of the United States at Lisbon, but though he hoped to return to his chair, yet his absence becoming prolonged the Trustees were forced to deny permission for longer absence and he resigned his professorship in 1854.¹ Clement Long, a graduate of 1828 and then professor in Western Reserve College, succeeded him in the chair of intellectual philosophy and political economy, but his untimely death in 1861 closed a career that, though short, left upon the College a profound impression of his intellectual and moral strength. Professor Sanborn resigned the chair of Latin in 1859 to accept the presidency of Washington University at St. Louis, and was immediately followed by Charles A. Aiken of the class of 1846.

In the same year Mr. Jean B. Torricelli, who for several years had given instruction in modern languages on the basis of the payment of \$400 by the College and private payments on the part of the students, withdrew and the chair of modern languages, which had been contemplated for twenty years, was finally established, and its first incumbent was Rev. William A. Packard, a graduate of Bowdoin College in 1851. He held it, however,

qualities and to the students as a body was not an inspiring teacher, but rather of that class whose real power and effectiveness increase in the retrospect. That he was not wanting in shrewd humor is evidenced by the story that one day in a lecture in electricity he put a coin upon an electrified plate and said that any student could have it who would pick it off. A student who had heard of the situation picked it off with the aid of a silk glove. The professor was much surprised, and grieved at the loss of the coin said: "That is well done, but if you will give me the coin again I will show you a trick worth two of that," and on receiving the coin slipped it into his pocket with the remark that it could not be extracted from there.

¹ Charles Bricket Haddock, the son of William and Abigail Eastman (Webster) Haddock, was born in Franklin, N. H., June 20, 1796. Graduating from Dartmouth in 1816 he studied divinity at Andover, but left the Seminary to enter the Faculty at Hanover in 1819 and continued his connection till 1854. In that year he returned from Portugal and lived at West Lebanon, N. H., till his death January 15, 1861. He was a man of courtly manners, a graceful and effective speaker both in the pulpit and in popular addresses, and a winning and persuasive teacher. He was much in demand as a speaker on public occasions and was interested in civic affairs. He represented the town four times in the Legislature and had much to do in arousing an interest in the movement to construct the line of the railroads from Concord to Burlington. But he was not a man of business instincts and was constantly harassed by debts, which sometimes called into play his extraordinary gifts of persuasion. There is a story that a man, to whom he owed a considerable sum and whom he had frequently disappointed in the matter of payment, determined to secure the payment of the debt or to call the law to his aid. Going to Professor Haddock's with this determination and making a peremptory demand for the money, he was met with such affability on the part of the Professor that he consented to talk the matter over, and before he left the house he had loaned a further sum to relieve the wants of his persuasive debtor.

but four years, when he was transferred to the chair of Greek, which was made vacant by the death of Professor Putman who, while suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, went to Europe in 1863 in hope of restoration, but to the universal grief died at sea as he was returning. As the result of these changes, by 1859 there were only two members of the Faculty, besides the President, whose connection with it extended over more than ten years.

As may well be imagined these frequent changes in the boards of control and administration led to a diversity of view, and were inimical to a progressive policy even in a matter of such importance as the development of the Chandler School. This diversity of view, resulting from a natural diversity of judgment and at times from a lack of close acquaintance with the College, was intensified by the existence of personal feeling that came to the surface in the Faculty in connection with the conduct of the Chandler School and with appointments, and that passing over to the Trustees was aggravated by the feeling of opposition to the President on political grounds.

On the occurrence of a vacancy in the chair of astronomy occasioned by the death of Professor Ira Young, its duties were temporarily devolved upon Professor Patterson of the mathematical department, and when, a year later, the question of a permanent appointment was informally discussed in the Faculty, President Lord favored that of Charles A. Young, a son of the deceased Professor Young and then a professor in Western Reserve College, whom he regarded as a young man of extraordinary promise, but the majority of the Faculty, in view of Mr. Young's extreme youth for such an important position and of some peculiarities of manner that had been somewhat disagreeable to his teachers during his college course, favored Professor Patterson for the place. The matter was delayed and Professor Patterson was requested to continue to perform the duties of the astronomical professorship. This he naturally hesitated to do without the assurance that he should later be appointed to the chair. Members of the Faculty assured him of their influence to that end and, though the President told him of his preference for Mr. Young or for any man better than either, he undertook the work and Mr. Charles H. Boyd was appointed tutor in mathematics. Before the next meeting of the Board Professor Young, having heard of the feeling of the Faculty, refused to be a candidate for the position. The Faculty

then renewed its recommendation of Mr. Patterson, and suggested Mr. Varney for the chair of mathematics, but the President saying that in his judgment Mr. Patterson was better fitted for mathematics and Mr. Varney for astronomy urged the retention of Mr. Patterson in the former and the appointment of Mr. Varney to the latter position. The Board adopted the recommendations of the Faculty; the justification of time was with the President.

The question of appointments was under discussion at the same time as that of the organization of the Chandler School, and the disagreement in one matter intensified the disagreement in the other, so that when the conduct of the School was considered by the Board the division in the Faculty reappeared there. During the discussion concerning the Chandler School the President read to the Faculty the paper which he had prepared to present to the Board upon the subject. After discussion and adjournment he read at another meeting an additional statement, whereupon the Faculty adopted a series of votes which the President transmitted to the Board. What followed is best shown by a statement made by the President to the Board at an adjourned meeting and indicating the attitude of Mr. Tuck, one of the newer members of the Board, and the situation that had developed there.

Upon this [the reading of the President's statement and the presentation of the votes of the Faculty] it was represented by a member of the Board that the Faculty had not been properly consulted by the President; that they felt themselves to have had no sufficient opportunity for giving their opinions on the subject in question; that they disapproved of the President's proposed plan, and had recommended it in one of their votes only in connection with other votes which in their view entirely nullified their recommendation, and were passed by the Faculty for that purpose.

The member of the Board who made this representation professed to have received it from a private member of the Faculty, who claims to speak the mind of all but one or two members of the Faculty who had been present at their discussion of the subject.

It has so happened that on other occasions the Board have been called by the same member to act upon representations of matters affecting deeply the interests of the College which he professed to have received from private members of the Faculty.

A consequence has been that misunderstandings, jealousies, and controversies have ensued which have resulted in great embarrassments, and that difficulties have been created seriously harmful to the interests of the College.

The President will feel greatly embarrassed in carrying out the law imposing upon him his peculiar official duties, and will be wholly discouraged from a faithful performance of them if his communications to the Board are to be

judged of not upon their own merits, or the merits of any subject proposed by him, upon the scrutiny of the Board, but in subjection to private communications between individual members of the Faculty and individual members of the Board, which are necessarily partial and superficial, and possibly one-sided, prejudiced, and though unintentionally yet really and almost necessarily fitted to produce confusions, and admit of being instrumental of subserving dangerous finesse and injurious combinations.

The President respectfully suggests that he has supposed himself to have sustained perfectly friendly and confidential relations both to the Board and the Faculty till recent occurrences of the kind above mentioned have, at least, seemed to him to have produced distrust and jealousy. As he is perfectly unconscious of any disposition or act really fitted to disturb such relations, he begs that all his official acts may not be interpreted by the Board or any member of it in view merely of partial, private and possibly wrong representations of private persons.

During the years in which these changes were taking place events had occurred that deserve a passing mention. In the general lack of diversion and variety holidays and public occasions were heartily observed. The Fourth of July was always an occasion of celebration in Hanover or the surrounding towns. In 1851 a serious accident occurred in connection with a celebration on that day. Several men, firing an old iron cannon that was placed on the west side of the green, were injured by a premature discharge. One of them, a man from Lyme, named Kimball, was killed. All of them were under the influence of liquor and attempted to fire the gun too rapidly. A charge which was put in before the gun had been thoroughly swabbed out after a discharge exploded as it was being rammed home. The ramrod passed through Kimball's neck, and continuing its course by the north end of Reed Hall was shivered against the large elm that now stands nearly in front of Bartlett Hall. The man who was handling the ramrod with Kimball was also seriously injured, while John Coté, who was "thumbing the vent," was badly burned about the body. It was, however, a temperance lesson that lasted him all his life.

In October of 1852 the College was greatly stirred by the death of Daniel Webster. The news of his death reached Hanover on the evening of Sunday, the 24th, and made a profound impression. On the next morning the college buildings were draped in black, flags were put at half mast, all college exercises were suspended and a meeting of the Faculty, students and citizens was held in the chapel to commemorate the event. Over the President's chair was a large portrait of Webster bordered with crape. The aged Professor Shurtleff was made chairman. After

he had offered a prayer and the Handel Society had sung a dirge, Professor Brown offered a series of appropriate resolutions, which he supported by a short address and was followed by William H. Duncan of Hanover and the Hon. Jonathan Kittridge of Canaan, both ardent admirers of Mr. Webster. Professor Shurtleff, who had known Mr. Webster in College, added the note of personal reminiscence.¹

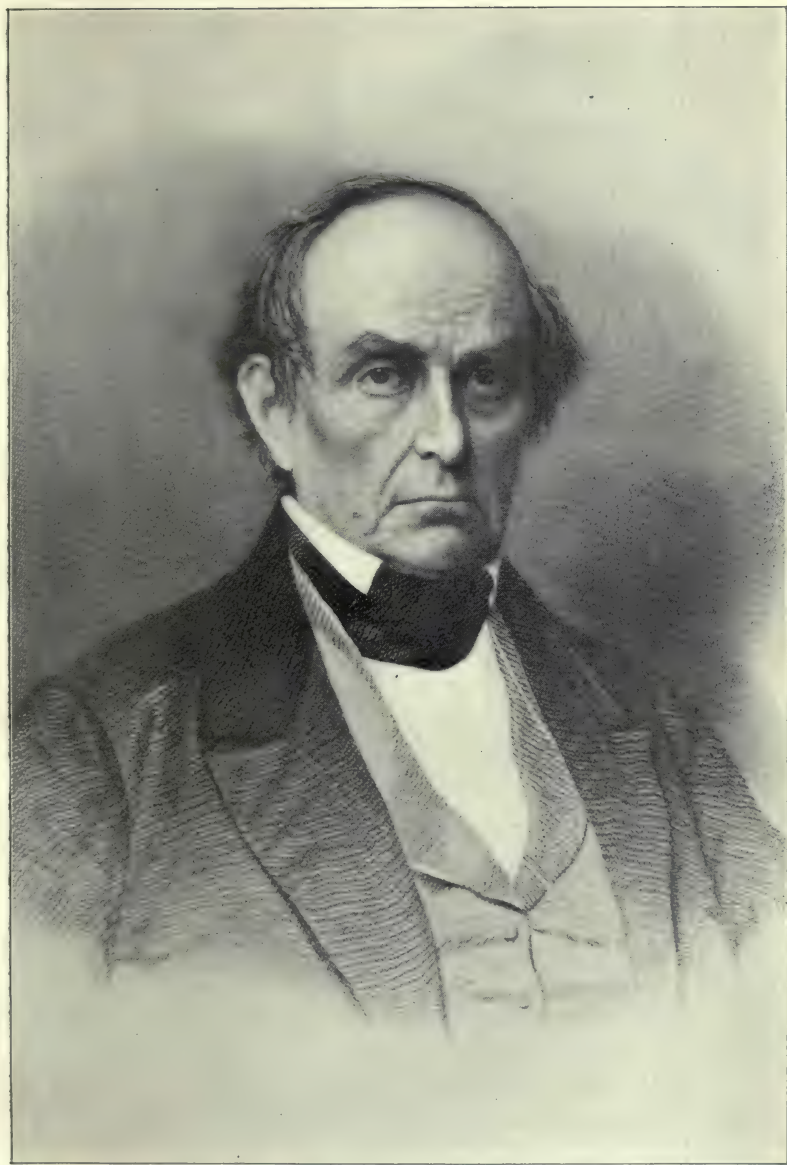
"When I came to enter this Institution in 1797," said he, "I put up with others from the same academy at what is now called the Olcott House [now Dr. Leeds's, then Ford's tavern], which was then a tavern. We were conducted to a chamber, where we might brush our clothes and make ready for examination. A young man, a stranger to us all, was soon ushered into the room. Similarity of object rendered the ordinary forms of introduction needless. We learned that his name was Webster, also where he had studied, and how much Latin and Greek he had had, which I think was just to the limit prescribed by law at that period, and which was very much below the present requisition.

"Mr. Webster, while in college, was remarkable for his steady habits, his intense application to study, and his punctual attendance upon the prescribed exercises. I know not that he was absent from a recitation, or from morning and evening prayers in chapel, or from public worship on the Sabbath; and I doubt if ever a smile was seen upon his face during any religious exercise. He was always in his place and with a decorum suited to it. He had no collision with any one, nor appeared to enter the concerns of others, but emphatically *minded his own business.*"

One of the resolutions called for the appointment of some one to deliver before the graduates and students a eulogy upon Mr. Webster. For this service the thoughts of all turned irresistibly toward Rufus Choate, the friend and associate of Webster, and the only one among the graduates who approached him in forensic and deliberative eloquence. He accepted the invitation that was given and the delivery of the eulogy made memorable the Commencement of the next year.

Long before the day of the eulogy arrived every room in the village was engaged, and when it came the village was filled to overflowing; the attendance of graduates in particular surpassed all previous records, and one reporter declared that if accommodations could have been found ten thousand people would have come. The eulogy was delivered on Wednesday, July 26, and was set for three o'clock in the afternoon, but the unprecedented crowd caused delay in forming the procession and it did not reach the church till four. In anticipation of the crowds it had been proposed to erect a mammoth tent on the Common,

¹ *Journal of Commerce*, Boston, November 5, 1852.



D. Webster

but the project was not carried out, and the church proved entirely inadequate to hold those who desired admission, for after it was filled to its utmost capacity more were excluded than found entrance. At one time it seemed as if the throng would force its way into the church and take possession of it before the procession arrived, but the measures taken by the marshal of the day, William H. Duncan, proved sufficient to prevent it.

The occasion was vividly described by a local paper.¹

The procession was formed in the front of the college buildings; what a mass of squeezed, compressed, and closely wedged and moving humanity was there, stretching away from the door of the chapel, round the common two thirds of the way to the church, while the compacted crowd in front of the church, taking the best position for ingress by rush when the doors should be opened, looked in the distance like a swarm of bees clinging to the sides of the hive. Guard chains were stretched from the church door to the Common fence, and a strong police force stationed to check the crowding masses. The body of the house was filled with Alumni and students—in every seat, in every aisle, on the platform, in the porch, and on the stairs,—while every inch of the galleries was densely packed with ladies—and crowds of others through the long service stood on platforms raised about the windows, or hung about the doors, while multitudes were unable to approach even within hearing distance. Entering the house, the eye was struck with the interwreathed black and white drapery hung around the galleries, while a large and life-like picture of Webster suspended from the wall in the rear of the pulpit, and draped in mourning, at once brought over the house the solemnity of a funeral. The Germania band played a solemn dirge; the Rev. Dr. Fisher of Cincinnati offered a devout and befitting prayer, and the orator arose to speak.

Under the portrait, which was draped with crape, were in large gilt letters Mr. Webster's last words: "*I Still Live.*" The audience was notable from its character as well as its size. On the platform, that stretched across the end of the church, were the dignitaries of the College and men of eminence from all parts of the country, lawyers, judges, senators and representatives of all positions in public life, friends and associates of both Mr. Webster and Mr. Choate, who had come to hear America's greatest living orator pay his tribute of respect and affection, at the hearth of a common mother, to America's greatest orator among the dead. It was a little after four when Mr. Choate began to speak and for almost two hours and a quarter he held the dense and eager assembly in almost breathless silence. As fitted the occasion he employed little of his customary action

¹ *Dartmouth Advertiser*, September, 1853.

and vehemence, and though he had his manuscript upon a desk beside him he omitted much that he had written, and before the close of his address he was obliged by the darkness brought on by a gathering storm to abandon his notes altogether. The tradition of the wonderful effect of the address, not diminished by its later publication, continues at the College to the present.

The presence of so many strangers overtaxed the resources of the place and severe criticisms were made upon the entertainment provided. The innkeepers, in particular, were accused of charging extortionate prices and of providing accommodations that lacked in neatness and comfort. On the next day in connection with the ordinary diversions of Commencement day, which are elsewhere spoken of, there was said to be "an unusual amount of fighting, drinking and general rowdyism in and about certain underground liquor dens, one of which was connected with the principal hotel in the village,"¹ where at the very time the Commencement dinner was spread two bars were in active operation.

It was natural that the Commencement of the next year should seem quiet in comparison, but it had one element of distinction in the appearance, for the last time to the present day, of a full-blood Indian having a part on the Commencement stage. Joseph P. Folsom, a member of the Choctaw tribe, "interested the audience more than any other speaker, not that his oration was of a higher order than those of his associates, but his color, his figure, his theme and his earnest plea for his race, all excited sympathy."²

In that year was formed the present Association of the Alumni with Judge Joel Parker as president, Professor Sanborn as secretary, and with four vice-presidents and seven curators. It was voted to have an address before the alumni at the next Commencement, and Salmon P. Chase was chosen to deliver it. When the time came, however, he was unable to attend and Professor Brown appeared in his place with a very scholarly address of a semi-historical character, which was afterward printed by order of the Association. It was also voted that the Association should be represented by an address at Commencement every third year, and Rufus Choate was selected as the orator for 1858. Interest was also given to the Commencement by an address before the literary societies by Wendell Phillips. Some opposition had arisen to his coming, and he took for his

¹ *Granite State Whig*, August 5, 1853.

Granite State Whig, August, 4, 1854.

theme "The Right of Individual Judgment and Speech," which was set forth with all his customary brilliancy, but in a way that was regarded by some as of questionable taste. The attendance of alumni was unusually large, but the attempts at hospitality by the College ended unhappily. "The alumni dined," said a visitor, "or endeavored to dine together at the American House [where the tavern now stands] at a late hour. The accommodations and attendance were so miserably insufficient as to render the edibles of little avail, welcome as they would have been to such as had been engaged, fasting, from eight in the morning to four or five in the afternoon."¹ But lack of edibles did not limit the flow of eloquence and the after dinner speaking continued till dark.

To the Commencement of 1854 a slightly unusual character was given by the establishment of class-day, which was celebrated without the variety of exercises that have marked its later observance. The class gathered at the chapel and after a prayer by Professor Brown marched to the old pine. There, lying upon the grass, they listened to an oration and a poem by members of the class, then returning to the chapel joined in a class song, after which there was an informal meeting open to all.² This scanty programme was enlarged in 1856 by an address to the President at his house, and by chronicles and prophecies, and in later years by many addresses of various kinds. The innovation was not regarded with entire favor, but it quickly won its way and became, at least in the eyes of the students, one of the most important events of the week, and claimed Tuesday afternoon as its own till Commencement day was brought back to Wednesday, in 1893, when class-day was likewise placed a day earlier, on Monday.

Not long before Commencement the College and town were greatly aroused over politics, the sentiment running strongly in favor of Fremont and Dayton, and a large Republican club was organized in which senior Edward F. Noyes (afterward governor of Ohio) was the leading debater. He was bright, forceful and ready, and made many political speeches in the neighboring towns. A debate in the chapel between him and the Democratic postmaster, Rev. Daniel F. Richardson, made no end of fun for the students. Under the direction of the club a beautiful and symmetrical flagstaff, 120 feet high, was erected near the center of the Common. It consisted of two masts with

¹ *Vermont Chronicle*, July 31, 1855.

Account of Rev. Dr. C. Caverno of 1854.

a large wheel at the crosstree, on which stood a log cabin of painted canvas. The pole was made by two students, Hunawill and Vose, shipwrights from Maine. It was raised whole, but with some difficulty and danger. When it was about half way up, the rope began to show signs of giving way, and a student named Wellington undertook to climb to the top of the shears by one of the guys and fasten another. He started with the heavy rope tied about his body, but just as he reached the top he fainted from heat and overexertion and fell headforemost into the hole dug for the pole, breaking one arm and narrowly escaping breaking his neck. His injuries, though serious, did not prove fatal. This pole stood until 1869 and was often used by the students for other purposes than those for which it was intended, as the crosstree was a convenient place for the display of objects to which they wished to call attention. An object could be raised to the crosstree and the ropes so fixed that the only way of displacing the object was by climbing the pole. More than once effigies of persons displeasing to the students thus dangled in mid-air and were brought down only with great difficulty and delay, the process always affording great amusement to the College.¹

Two more Commencements of the period were made noteworthy by the public addresses then given. Rufus Choate was expected to give the address before the alumni in 1858, but was prevented from so doing by failing health. The Phi Beta Kappa Society assumed the responsibility for the day and secured Oliver Wendell Holmes as its orator. Recognizing the disappointment that might be felt at the absence of Mr. Choate he began his address, which was upon the relation of poetry and science, with an apology so winning and so witty as to forbid the feeling of loss on the part of the audience.²

If a party of travellers, expecting to witness an eruption of Vesuvius, should be met by a deputation of magistrates and informed that, owing to unforeseen circumstances, the eruption would not take place, but that instead of it they

¹ On one occasion the effigy of a New Hampshire judge, who had made himself obnoxious to the students was thus suspended from the pole. An investigation followed in which a student was asked if he had any part in raising to the crosstree the man who had there fixed the effigy, and he promptly replied, "I did not," and was dismissed. After graduation he met Professor Aiken and, recalling the circumstance, asked him if he remembered his reply. "Yes," said Professor Aiken, "but I always felt that you were not telling the truth." "I did," he replied, "for I was the man who was pulled up." Another man, noted for his untidy person and slovenly dress, on being called before the Faculty, admitted that he was disguised. On being questioned as to the nature of his disguise he hesitated and stammeringly said, "Well—I—I had on a clean shirt." [History of the class of 1863 by John Scales, pp. 21-24.]

² *Vermont Chronicle*, August 3, 1858.

would burn several Roman candles and a pin-wheel, the reception of the gentleman making such an announcement might be respectful, but would hardly be enthusiastic.

If a company of tourists had gathered from many distant regions in the village of Niagara, intending to inspect its illustrious waterfall, and should receive a polite note, regretting that the cataract had met with an accident, and would be unable to perform, but happy to announce that Engine Company Number 5 would gratify them in place, by playing through a two-inch hose with their unrivalled machine, the engine company might, perhaps, expect to be received with temperate expressions of delight, calm, if not cool, as contrasted with the reception which the body in question is in the habit of anticipating.

Yet it would not be fair to reproach the magistrates or the fire company because they could not make the show of Vesuvius or Niagara. If the travellers had rather see the Roman candles or the two-inch stream than nothing at all, it is a very proper and good-natured thing on the part of those worthy folk to gratify them. The more kindly among the disappointed visitors would abstain from regrets and especially from comparisons, and say with hearty good will, "Fire your pieces, most excellent Signors," or "Play away, Number Five."

If there is any possible moral application to be got from these supposed incidents, I shall leave it to your ingenuity to discover it. If any burst of volcanic flame for which you were looking has failed to meet your expecting eyes, and in place of its corruscating column of liquid fires, its wreaths of burning vapor shot far up into the arching heavens, rising and spreading as it soars until it wears the semblance of that mighty pine tree to which Pliny the Younger compared the smoky column of Vesuvius; if in the place of that you must accept a small display of pyrotechnics; if any great cataract you had hoped to look upon has failed to burst upon your waiting vision, and in place of its outspread glories, first, the broad, calm, gentle flow coming from deep reservoirs high up among the mountains, then the swifter rush of the stream, and then the flashes and the fierce eddies of the rapids, and at last the long continuous overflow with all the music of its almost interminable descent, and the rainbow painted on its mists; if in the place of that you must be content with a small show of artificial hydraulics, know how to be courteous and generous, and even thankful for what must in the very face of it be as pure and simple an act of self-immolation as was ever exhibited by the most unwilling candidate for public office.

An object of interest at this Commencement was the series of six sculptured slabs from Nineveh, of which an account is elsewhere given. They were then for the first time displayed to the public, having been placed in a room in Reed Hall arranged for the purpose. At the same time there was put on exhibition a marble bust of President Lord by the sculptor, Ball, which was presented to the College by the graduating class. The Commencement of 1860 was also marked by a large concourse of the alumni, who came to pay honor to the memory of Rufus

Choate, who had died the year before. As seven years before he had spoken in commemoration of Daniel Webster, so now it seemed fitting that he, perhaps the second name in honor on the college roll, should receive a like tribute. But, unhappily, there was no one with corresponding gifts of eloquence to pronounce his eulogy. Judge Ira Perley was, however, chosen for the task, and the address which he gave was discriminating and able, but his voice was so weak and his delivery so lacking in vigor that many were unable to hear him, and the effect was disappointing in the extreme, in sorrowful contrast to Choate's own tribute to Webster.

During this period several fires occurred in the village. In August of 1854 the wooden toll bridge over the river, which had become the object of bitter controversy, was destroyed by a fire that was supposed to be of incendiary origin. The loss of the bridge occasioned great inconvenience, for the community was forced to depend upon a ferry, which was quite difficult of access, as the only means of crossing the river. A fierce agitation for a new free bridge at once arose, but it was crowned with success only after four years. The account of it is elsewhere found. On the evening of December 8, 1855, the house of Joseph Pinneo, formerly the residence of Dr. Nathan Smith, and afterward used by the A. K. E. Society, standing nearly in front of the present Nathan Smith Laboratory, was burned to the ground. The medical building was several times on fire, but was saved by the engine company. Mr. Pinneo, who was a nurseryman, lost a large quantity of young fruit trees which were stored in his cellar.

On the 28th of September of the next year, soon after the opening of the college term, a building known as the Burke house and owned by President Lord, standing in front of the present passageway between Culver and South Fayerweather Halls, and occupied largely by the students, was burned. The fire occurred early in the evening and no one was injured, though the building was entirely destroyed. On the 29th of January, 1859, occurred the largest fire in Hanover for many years. About eleven o'clock at night a row of three barns in the rear of the Tontine, owned by Mr. J. G. Currier and occupied as a livery stable, was wholly consumed. So rapid was the fire that several horses were burned with the building.

About 1856 a decided interest in boating arose in the College and several boat clubs were formed, which together made up the "Dartmouth Flotilla." The clubs were composed of members

of different classes, as the Camilla Club of 1858, the Nina Club of 1859, the Naiad Queen Club of 1860, the Phi Beta Club of 1861 and the Scylla Club of 1862. Most of these clubs had four-oared boats, but there were one or two boats of six or eight oars. The crews were uniformed and there was much rivalry between them. The interest did not extend much beyond 1862, and in fact almost at the outset the Flotilla had a crushing blow. In 1857 it had secured with much difficulty, and by the united effort of all the clubs, the construction of a heavy raft, which was anchored just below the bridge, and supported a commodious boathouse. In August there was an unusually heavy rainfall of nearly two inches in as many days, which caused a freshet and, breaking the chain by which the raft was held, carried it down the stream with the house and seven boats upon it. They were swept over the dam below and destroyed. The loss was bewailed in the next issue of the college paper in the following unique manner:¹

Sic transit gloria mundi, was our exclamation as we heard of the recent disaster to our Flotilla. That last rain was a "damper." A moderate freshet consequent upon a smart shower carried off the new floating boathouse with seven boats moored in and around it. Such was their *attachment* to it that they followed it to destruction, in the shape of a mill-dam two miles and a half below. There only remains a *floating debt* and it is very much to be regretted that this had not gone with the rest. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* has always been a sentiment of human nature, and is particularly the feeling here at present, as no one can tell what started the establishment adrift. It must have been a *moving* spectacle as it disappeared. The news that it had started down stream spread like wild fire and all possible efforts were made to recover it, but even the sheriff could not have arrested it. From the boat-house proudly floated the flag presented by the "nuns" [the name applied to the members of Professor Hubbard's young ladies' school]. When we heard of the loss of *that* we may truly say, "Our *color* left us."

After mentioning the different boats that were lost the writer refers to one in particular, named "Billie" and noted for its extreme slowness, which, he says, "after going over two dams was picked up twelve miles below unharmed. Whether the dam 'got the worst of it,' or whether the 'Billie' was unable to attain the speed necessary to 'break things,' we cannot say."

The rains which caused the freshet of 1857 were not the only unusual meteorological condition of that year, for January had not only had the coldest day, but it was the coldest month during the twenty-three years covered by the records. On the 24th the

¹ *Dartmouth Phoenix*, September, 1857.

thermometer was -39° , and that was the fourth day in a succession of days when the average temperature had been -25.8° at 7.00 A. M., -1° at noon and -12.7° at 9.00 in the evening. These temperatures were at the observatory, where the records are usually several degrees higher than in the village, and still higher than in neighboring low places, as the railroad station. On that coldest night one prudent man, who lived near the station, observing his thermometer in the evening at -39° and rapidly descending brought the instrument into the house lest the mercury in freezing should *swell and burst the bulb*. At Littleton on that night a gentleman exposed a teaspoonful of free mercury, which in the morning was frozen as hard as lead. A like degree of cold did not occur in Hanover again for about fifty years.

In the summer of 1856 a radical change was made in the morning exercises which were put from that time forth after breakfast. The interior of the chapel in Dartmouth Hall was also rearranged so as to prevent the old and inveterate vice of rushing out the freshmen at the close of services. Till then the stage and platform had been at the eastern end of the room, opposite the entrance, and the organ and choir in the gallery over the entrance. The seniors of course sat in front next the platform and the freshmen in the rear next the doors. These opened from each aisle into a narrow entry, where steps descended on either side to the exit, which was given by one central door. It would be impossible to devise anything better adapted for a rush, with the freshmen crowded into the narrow passages by the other classes pushing behind them and the Faculty safely penned in the rear. It was a happy thought that inverted this arrangement and gave the officers of the College as well as the freshmen the advantage of position. The stage was changed to the west end of the room between the aisles, the choir was put opposite, and the freshmen, being put in the rear and in the other aisle from the sophomores, could go out at their leisure without disturbance. At the same time the single door of exit in the center was closed, the entry having been thrown into the main room, and two doors were opened at the sides, one at each aisle. This change virtually put an end to the disgraceful rushes, in which serious injuries were sometimes inflicted, of which a sad example, in 1851, was the breaking of a freshman's leg.

The relief from the early morning exercises suggested relief from other exercises that were beginning to seem oppressive,

and the desirability of giving up evening prayers was earnestly discussed. The matter came up in the Board in the October meeting of 1860, but was laid over. In July of the next year the Faculty recommended that they be abandoned, and in the following September voted to omit them "for the remainder of the term as an experiment," and to change the order of the morning chapel by having the bell toll five minutes earlier than before, and by introducing singing and by informing the students "that there must be no tardiness." The experiment was a success and evening prayers on week days were never resumed. The injunction against tardiness met with success as no one was allowed to enter the chapel after the bell had "run down." It was customary for the bellman, when the end of the ringing came, to turn the bell to its highest point and then to run for chapel, and the bell was so long in coming to rest that he had time to go down two flights of stairs and enter the chapel before the last stroke, and no one entered after him.

It was not, however, so easy to bring the students to time in some other things, as public speaking, in which it had always been difficult to secure punctuality. Professor Brown, who had charge of the exercise, could not even by tearful entreaty bring men upon the stage at their assigned dates, and the Faculty was at its wits' end in trying to bring about a reformation. One expedient after another was resorted to. In 1859 it was voted that students who had failed in public speaking should not be allowed to take their examinations. This measure having failed of its purpose, it was decided two years later that if a student failed to speak at the regular time he should be required to speak in two weeks, and if he then failed he should "cease to be a member of College." So drastic a measure could not be carried out, or mercy triumphed, for in a few months the penalty was changed to a "partial course." But even this could not be enforced and the Faculty confessed their inability to meet the situation by soon after referring the whole subject to Professors Brown and Noyes, who could think of nothing more effective than to refuse to advance to senior standing juniors who had failed to appear at the proper time, leaving the seniors to be dealt with by Professor Brown, as best he could. The exercise suffered from the same difficulty till it came to an end in 1897.

The appointment of Commencement speakers by lot had never commended itself to the entire Faculty, and several attempts were made at different times to reintroduce the merit roll as the

basis of appointment. A futile attempt by a majority of the Faculty in 1848 to restore the Latin salutatory occasioned almost an explosion and an appeal to the Board, but without the effect of dislodging the system. The subject in general came up again in 1857 upon a memorial of the Association of Dartmouth Alumni in Boston and vicinity, recommending the establishment of a system that would recognize the award of honors and of prizes to be supported not only by donations which were to be solicited, but also by existing funds and by taking the matter of scholarship into account in the assignment of aid from the ministerial and state endowments.

In reply to this memorial the Trustees, in a pamphlet of fifty-four pages from the pen of the President, set forth that the terms of gift in the case of the Second College grant, the funds from the township of Wheelock, the ministerial funds and the Chandler fund, precluded their use for "best" as distinguished from "indigent" students, and that apart from that fact the appeal to ambition or emulation, which was "ambition set on fire," was a principle of education both vicious and destructive, and not in accord with the true purpose of a Christian college. They, therefore, in renewed allegiance to the principle to which they had so long adhered, supported the President in his opposition to all forms of rivalry, and no change was made till the accession of President Smith, when prizes and scholarship honors resumed their place in the administration of the College.

The year of 1861 was marked by the death of three men whose connection with the college had been long and important. In January Professor Haddock died at his home in West Lebanon. Though he had had no immediate relation to the College since his resignation, yet his warm interest in it and his near neighborhood, combined with his winning personality, gave him an importance that survived the formal separation. Professor Shurtleff died on the 4th of February at the age of 88, having been *professor emeritus* for twenty-three years. He was the last of those who had taken part in the great controversy on the college side. A few supporters of the University, President Allen and Mr. Hale, still remained, but court and counsel, and all interested for the College had gone, and with the death of Professor Shurtleff, about whom the controversy had begun and who had stood manfully by his post during the whole of it, memory gave way to tradition. Soon after the opening of the academic year, the

college met a serious loss in the death of Professor Long, who died on the 14th of October, lamented by all who knew him.

The financial condition of the College during these years was very straitened. Wants were constantly increasing without a corresponding increase of revenue. In 1858 it was determined once more to resort to a subscription, and one for \$100,000, to become binding when \$30,000 should be subscribed, was set on foot. But the times were not propitious, the great financial panic of the year before not having spent itself, and the alumni were not responsive. Some were, perhaps, offended at the failure of their memorial in regard to honors and prizes, and some in the political unrest did not separate their feeling toward the College from their disapproval of the ethical and pro-slavery views of its President. The subscription fell flat and an attempt to renew it in 1859 was even less successful, the resignation of Judge Joel Parker in that year, brought about by disagreements in the Board, having an adverse influence. A little less than \$1,600 was actually received from it. The only immediate resource was to raise the tuition, which was much lower than in other colleges. In 1855 it had been set at \$42 without incidentals and in 1860 it was again raised to \$51 a year. The relief thus obtained was not sufficient, and on the death of Professor Long economy forbade the appointment of a successor, and the duties of his chair were divided between Professor Noyes and Professor Patterson without additional compensation. The repeated request for an increase of salaries by the professors was steadily met with an acknowledgment of the justice of the request, but with a confession of the impossibility of granting it in the existing state of the treasury and a promise of increase at the earliest practicable moment. The frequency of the request and the denial might almost have justified a stereotyped form.

The spring of 1861 brought to the College, as to the country, the stern fact of war. Of course there was excitement, but there was no thought of a prolonged struggle and the call by President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers for three months, "or the war" as the phrase went, indicated the general belief that the campaign would be little more than a summer's march to Richmond. In this belief the college shared, but the division of the country was brought home to it by the fact that on the first news of the firing on Sumter the half dozen students in college from south of Mason and Dixon's line immediately packed their trunks and departed, most of them to enter the southern army.

Except for them there was little break in the college ranks. Two men left before Commencement, Charles Lee Douglas of the class of 1862 of the Chandler School, who enlisted May 8, 1861, in the First New Hampshire Regiment, and who thus has the honor, so far as known, of being the first undergraduate to enter the Union army, and three days later Francis William Perkins of the senior class, who enlisted in the Second New Hampshire Regiment. But though no other students entered the service at that time yet their interest was shown in the formation in the early summer by forty-one members of the sophomore class of a military company, known as the Dartmouth Zouaves.¹ The company had a captain and two lieutenants, who held office for a week, the captain then falling back into the ranks and the others advancing from the lower to the higher grade, a second lieutenant being elected by the company to take the vacant place. Each captain on entering on his week of duty appointed a new sergeant and corporals. A treasurer of the company held office for a term.

A drill was held each day, and sometimes morning and evening, when "the rail fence was usually lined with 'roosters,' from the other classes who looked on with approving interest." Lieutenant C. B. Stoughton from Norwich University across the river was engaged to drill the company, and to supply additional knowledge of tactics \$5 were invested in "Scott's Military Tactics," which passed from man to man and was carefully studied. The drills continued till Commencement and were resumed in the fall, but as Lieutenant Stoughton had gone to the war the company drilled, though somewhat irregularly, under its own officers for the next year. In the fall of 1862, however, it secured Captain Partridge from Norwich to continue the drill, and this he did greatly to the satisfaction of the company throughout the fall, the last drill being held on October 30.

With the opening of the fall term it was evident that a much more active interest in the war had awakened. The renewed call for volunteers was arousing a sense of personal duty in relation to the country, and before the close of the year, nineteen, in addition to six from the class that left the College in July, had exchanged the class room for the camp. During the following winter and spring a few only left College for the war, but when in May of 1862 came the rebel movement on Harper's Ferry and the threatened danger to Washington and President Lincoln's

¹ Biographical Sketches of the Class of 1863, by John Scales, pp. 32-38.

call for 40,000 troops for three months, the college spirit took fire.

In the junior class at that time was a young man named Sanford S. Burr from Foxboro, Mass., nervous, impetuous and persistent. He was a good horseman and kept a horse at college and attracted much attention by his equestrian skill. Forming a plan of raising a company of cavalry to be composed exclusively of college students, he threw himself into the attempt with all his might, "talked war night and day and finally got a hundred students pledged to join his company for three months." He then applied to the Governor of New Hampshire to accept the company when it was ready to be mustered in, but the Governor saw no way of using the company, and similar replies came from the Governors of Maine and Massachusetts to whom Burr next applied. Finally an application to the Governor of Rhode Island was favorably considered and Burr received a telegram that the company would be accepted if it could be organized at once. The students were so excited by the news that for a few days the Faculty feared that the larger part of all the classes would join the company or even make two companies.

It was a critical time for the College. It certainly would have been a serious detriment to it, as well as to the students themselves, to have any considerable number of them break in upon their course of study for even a brief period of three months. President Lord gave the same advice that John Adams gave to a young law student in his office at the opening of the Revolution, that it was wiser to continue at his books. In this advice the members of the Faculty concurred, but beyond these counsels no attempt was made to influence the students.¹ The counsels of the Faculty were supplemented in many cases by letters from home discouraging the martial ardor of the students, so that when the actual enlistment came but thirty-five from the College put down their names, and Burr was obliged to fill up the company to the requisite number of eighty-five by students from other institutions.² The company left Hanover on the evening of

¹ An interesting account of the organization and service of this company is given in a little book, "The College Cavaliers," by S. B. Pettengill, a member of the company, published by H. McAllister and Co. in Chicago in 1883 from which these facts are mainly taken. A short account is also given in Scales's "Biographical Sketches of the Class of 1863." The same writer gives a sketch of the company in Ayling's "Registry of New Hampshire for Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Rebellion," p. 1089.

² Dartmouth furnished 35, Norwich University 23, Bowdoin and Union 4 each, and Amherst and Williams 1 each, while the college relation of 17, if any existed, is unknown. The company when mustered into service contained 3 officers and 82 enlisted men.

June 18 and was escorted as far as the Junction by a large number of the students. The prayer of Dr. Lord at chapel the next morning was, without his knowledge, taken down stenographically by a member of the class of 1863 and afterward printed and sent to each member of the company. As a characteristic prayer a part of it is given:

We would, O Lord, especially commend to Thee those of our number who have just now gone out from us upon untried scenes of difficulty and danger, needing, as they so much do, the direction of Thy Providence and Thy Spirit, and the many helps which Thou only canst afford them. We ask that they may go in the fear and love of Thee; that they may be kept from all evil accidents, from the pestilence that walketh in darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday; that they may feel their utter insufficiency without the strength and blessing of their Heavenly Father, and seek Thy favor constantly in fervent and effectual prayer. We ask that Thou wilt deliver them from the temptations by which they will be surrounded, and enable them to profit by all the discipline of Thy hand. We ask that whatever disappointments and reverses may await them may ensue to the attainment of a higher wisdom, and a deeper sense of their dependence on the God of Heaven. The Lord preserve them if it please Thee, in the enjoyment of life, and health, and reason, and grant that by repentance of sin, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and a sober, righteous and godly life, they may make it evident that they are called and blessed of Thee. Fit them to do and suffer all Thy will, and grant, most merciful Father, that if any of them should, in a distant region, be called to sickness or death, the Spirit of the living God may be with them, and prepare them for a better life, through the infinite merits of the Redeemer.

Now, will God grant that all who here remain may feel more and more the responsibility of their calling, and the importance of a right use of the faculties and privileges Thou hast given them. Under a prevailing sense of Thee, according to Thy Gospel, and by a wise and faithful application of all their powers to the duties before them, may they be qualified for the effectual service of God and their country, and become eminent benefactors of mankind.

The company reached Providence the next day and immediately took the oath of enlistment and with another company, enlisted in Providence, was formed into the seventh squadron of Rhode Island Cavalry, being known as Company B, and Burr was elected its captain. In the intervals of its drill during its ten days' stay in Providence the company was the object of many social attentions from the students of Brown University and the residents of the city, culminating in a grand dinner arranged by ex-governor Hoppin, at which Governor Sprague, President Sears and Professor Angell of the University and others made eloquent and patriotic speeches. On the 30th of June the company reached Washington, having received a very hospitable reception at Philadelphia on the way, where "elegant handker-

chiefs and fans were forced upon the acceptance of the students." It was mustered into service on the 3d of July, the muster rolls bearing date of June 24, and a bounty of \$15 was given to each enlisted man. Nearly a month was spent in drilling and guard duty in and near the city of Washington, which made a very unfavorable impression upon the students. "Cattle, hogs, goats and dogs of the lowest degree roamed the streets and thronged about the camp. Few of the streets were graded and army wagons were often stalled in the principal avenues."

About the first of August the squadron was despatched to Harper's Ferry, where for three weeks it was the only cavalry force attached to the command of General White, and it remained there till shortly before the surrender of the place, when with the rest of the cavalry on the night of September 14 it forced its way through General Jackson's lines. On the march it fell in with and captured a supply train of eighty-five wagons belonging to General Longstreet, and took it to Greencastle, Pa., which was reached on the morning of the 15th, the day before the beginning of the battle of Antietam. Although the term of enlistment of the "College Cavaliers" had expired they agreed to remain in the service till the enemy was driven out of Maryland, and being ordered to Jones's Cross Roads they were there held in reserve during the battle of the next two days. On the withdrawal of Lee to Virginia within a few days they returned to Providence, which they reached on the 26th of September, and of the original company seventy-six were there mustered out of service on the 2d of October. Of the remaining nine one, A. W. Coombs, a Norwich cadet, had died of typhoid fever in August, one was never accounted for, and seven, including two Dartmouth students, John H. Blodgett and Charles A. Manson, who had been taken prisoners and carried to Libby Prison, and five who had been sick in the hospitals at Washington or Harper's Ferry, were discharged on other dates.¹

Some of the company immediately re-enlisted but most returned to college where the fall term had already begun. On reaching Hanover the students were much surprised to find that they would be required to pass the regular examination which had been held during their absence at the close of the college year. To this they demurred, and their captain, Burr, went at once to Providence to see if they would be received at Brown University without such examination. A favorable reply was

¹ The roster of the company with the above facts is given in Ayling's Register, pp. 1091-1093.

given but before his return to Hanover, the Faculty, perhaps, having heard of his mission, informed the students that the examination would be waived, and they all resumed their places.

No other movement compared with this in the number of men who entered the army from the College at one time, but the impulse continued so strongly during the year that between Commencement and the end of the following December forty-five men, including graduates of that year and medical students, enlisted. Between that time and the next July few men left college for the army, but in the entire year of 1863 about twenty entered the service. After that enlistments of undergraduates were few, as most of those who were in college had settled the relative claims of student life and the army in favor of the former, and many who would otherwise have entered college, of whom some did enter after the close of the war, were serving as soldiers.

The enrollment of the College at the beginning and the end of the war, as given in the catalogues of 1860-1861 and 1864-1865, shows how great a drain was made upon it by the enlistment of undergraduates and of those who would have entered. Between these two years the number of academic students had fallen from 275 to 146, of Chandler students from 42 to 37, and of medical students from 51 to 47, and the total enrollment from 358 to 230. The response of the College to the call of patriotism in the service of its graduates and students is displayed in a "Roll of Honor," which contains the names of all who had part in the war. In it classes are represented from 1822 to 1884, including names of those who were long past the age of military service when the war broke out and yet responded to the call, and of those who were scarcely more than boys when they enlisted and who came to college after the war was over, bringing with them records of meritorious service, often attested by scars and disabling wounds. It would be invidious to single out individuals or classes of men for special mention when merit was conspicuous in every branch of the service, and it is enough to give the general statement of the "Roll of Honor," that "from the College and the Medical school Dartmouth contributed 652 of her Alumni and undergraduates—a larger percentage than any other college in the North."

Of this number two hundred and four were commissioned as surgeons or assistant surgeons, thirty as second lieutenants, forty-seven as first lieutenants, sixty-seven as captains, sixteen as majors, twenty-one as lieutenant colonels, twenty-four as

colonels, and four as brigadier generals, and some of these received additional honors "for meritorious conduct" in special engagements or for the war, three having the brevet rank of captain, one of major, three of lieutenant colonel, three of colonel, nine of brigadier general and three of major general.

The outbreak of the war and the inevitable intensity of feeling that followed called the attention of the supporters of the College to the openly expressed pro-slavery sentiments of President Lord. In his early years he had been a hearty opponent of slavery, an abolitionist of a pronounced type, but about 1847 his views on that subject underwent a radical change, to which, it is said, he was brought in large degree by a pamphlet, published anonymously, but written by B. F. French of Lowell, maintaining the divine origin of slavery. In 1854 Dr. Lord's views were brought prominently before the public in a published pamphlet of thirty-two pages, entitled "A Letter of Inquiry to Ministers of the Gospel of all Denominations on Slavery by a Northern Presbyterian," urging them to consider slavery "as a question of Divine right, rather than of prudence, policy or economy, a question of the moral sense and judgments, rather than of the sensibilities and sympathies—of the *divinities* rather than the *humanities*."

This first letter was published anonymously and drew out severe criticism. It was followed in the next year by a second letter with the same title over Dr. Lord's own signature, and in 1859 by a letter on the same subject to J. M. Conrad. In all these he defended slavery, "not as it existed in this country or as it ever existed anywhere on the whole," but *per se* apart from its abuses as an institution of God according to natural and revealed religion, that like war or pestilence was designed by God as a penalty for sin, and he called it a divine institution, not because it was blessed but because he believed that it was divinely ordered. These letters naturally excited the most ardent discussion and opposition, and gave to President Lord prominence all over the country as the chief speculative champion of slavery at the North. The popularity thus acquired at the South drew a considerable number of students to the College from that section, but the advantages derived from that circumstance were far from commensurate with the disaffection aroused in its northern constituency.

At the College these views had little effect for they were little in evidence; like the President's views on millenarianism they were never obtruded upon the students and as far as they were known

were regarded as "peculiarities," which had as little to do with the President's official and personal relation to the students as physical peculiarities would have had. Away from the College it was different; there the opinions and not the man were considered, for men judge of strangers by their opinions, but of acquaintances by their character. In the increasing tension of public feeling and the more definite alignment of the anti-slavery and pro-slavery parties, these letters on slavery, which though addressed to ministers were generally read, called attention to Dr. Lord personally and to the College over which he presided as not in sympathy with the feeling dominant at the North, and the opposition to his opinions became opposition to him and to the College and grew steadily more intense.

At the outbreak of the war opinions, before regarded as purely speculative, came necessarily to have a practical bearing in men's minds and a crisis could not long be delayed. It was finally precipitated by a communication from his pen appearing in the columns of the *Boston Courier* for November 22, 1862. This was circulated without the consent of the author as a campaign document by the Democrats of Connecticut at the next election, but with inaccuracies and omissions, so that Dr. Lord afterward republished it in a pamphlet entitled, "A True Picture of Abolition," which, following the reasoning of the "Letters," laid the blame for the existing war upon abolition as an attempt to subvert the moral government of God. The popular feeling at last found expression in a series of resolutions unanimously passed by the Merrimack County Conference of Congregational Churches at its session held June 23 and 24, 1863, at Webster and directed against Dr. Lord.¹

1. *Resolved*, That the people of New Hampshire have the strongest desire for the prosperity of Dartmouth College, and that they rejoice in the wide influence this noble institution has exerted in the cause of Education and Religion.

2. *Resolved*, That we cherish a sincere regard for its venerable President; for the rare qualifications he possesses for the high office he has so long and so ably filled; but that we deeply regret that its welfare is greatly imperilled by the existence of a popular prejudice against it, arising from the publication and use of some of his peculiar views touching public affairs,—tending to embarrass our government in its present fearful struggle, and to encourage and strengthen the resistance of its enemies in arms.

3. *Resolved*, That in our opinion it is the duty of the Trustees of the College

¹ Eleven members were present at the meeting of which Rev. Henry E. Parker of Concord, afterward professor in the College, was the moderator. [Records of the Conference.]

to seriously inquire whether its interests do not demand a change in the Presidency; and to act according to their judgment in the premises.

The annual meeting of the Trustees came upon Wednesday, July 21, and was attended by seven members ¹ besides the President. Its opening session indicated the influence of the political situation. Messrs. Tuck, Eastman and Delano were appointed a committee to recommend candidates for the degree of Doctor of Laws, but in place of their report Mr. Marsh offered a motion that the degree be conferred upon Abraham Lincoln and upon no one else. A long discussion followed, turning upon the political aspects of the motion, and when the vote was taken it stood four in the affirmative and four in the negative, the President voting in the negative and thus making a tie. Mr. Tuck protested against his right to vote on the ground that, as moderator, he had no vote except to resolve a tie. An adjournment was taken to Friday morning, the day after Commencement, when Mr. Tuck presented the resolutions of the Merrimack County Conference with a motion that a committee be appointed to report what action ought to be taken thereon. The motion being carried, Mr. Tuck, Dr. Bouton, who was a member of the Conference which passed the resolutions, and Judge Eastman were appointed a committee, which brought in the following majority report:

The Committee have taken into most respectful consideration the action of the Conference, and the sentiment pervading the Churches, of which the resolutions of the Conference are the expression. We do not forget, but thankfully avow the debt of gratitude which has rested upon the College, throughout its history, to the Churches of New England, and to the pious teachings and generous patronage of those included within their embrace. We are fully aware of the obligations of science and literature, in all past time, to the clerical profession; that the countenance and support of the Clergy and the Churches have ever been the chief reliance of this College, and that we can hope for little prosperity or usefulness to the Institution in future, without meriting the confidence bestowed upon it in the past. We deplore the present condition of the College in respect to the sentiments entertained towards it, as expressed in said resolutions, and we profess our readiness to do any act which our intimate knowledge of its affairs and circumstances enable us to judge practicable and beneficial. Neither the Trustees nor the Faculty coincide with the president of the College in the views which he has published, touching slavery and the war; and it has been their hope that the College would not be adjudged a partisan institution, by reason of such publications. It has been our purpose that no act of ours should contribute to such an impression upon the public mind, inviting, as we do, all classes of our fellow citizens to contribute to its support, and to partake of its privileges.

¹ Messrs. Barstow, Marsh, NeSmith, Bouton, Delano, Eastman and Tuck.

It would be impracticable, if it were wise to embody in this report all the reasons which induce us to propose no action by which the removal of the President from the head of the Institution should be undertaken by the Trustees; and we bespeak with confidence the favorable judgment that we act discreetly, from the members of the Conference who have expressed in their resolutions their generous appreciation of the eminent ability and qualifications of the President for the position which he occupies.

Yet the Committee do not fail to see that the present crisis in the country is no ordinary conflict between opposing parties, but is a struggle between the Government on one side, and its enemies on the other, and that in it are involved vital issues, not only respecting science and learning, virtue and religion, but also respecting all the social and civil blessings growing out of free institutions.

The Committee recommend that the Resolutions of the Merrimack County Conference, this report and the accompanying resolutions, be published in pamphlet form, and that the Treasurer be directed to cause the same to be circulated among the members of said Conference, and other persons, according to his discretion.

HANOVER, N. H., July 24, 1863.

AMOS TUCK,
N. BOUTON.

The following resolutions accompanied the report:

The Trustees of Dartmouth College, impressed with the magnitude of the crisis now existing in public affairs, and with the vital consequences which the issue of current events will bring to the nation and the world; and, considering that it is the duty of literary institutions and the men who control them to stand in no doubtful position when the Government of the country struggles for existence; inscribe upon their records, and promulgate the following Resolutions:

First. We recognize and acknowledge with grateful pride, the heroic sacrifices and valiant deeds of many of the sons of Dartmouth, in their endeavors to defend and sustain the Government against the present wicked and remorseless rebellion; and we announce to the living, now on the battlefield, to the sick and maimed in the hospitals and among their friends, and to the relatives of such of them as have fallen in defense of their country, that Dartmouth College rejoices to do them honor, and will inscribe their names and their brave deeds upon her enduring records.

Second. We commend the cause of our beloved country to all the Alumni of this Institution; and we invoke from them, and pledge our own most efficient and cordial support, and that of Dartmouth College, to the Government, which is the only power by which the rebellion can be subdued. We hail with joy, and with grateful acknowledgments to the God of our fathers, the cheering hope that the dark cloud which has heretofore obscured the vision and depressed the hearts of patriots and statesmen, in all attempts to scan the future, may in time disappear entirely from our horizon; and that American slavery, with all its sin and shame, and the alienations, jealousies, and hostilities between the people of different sections, of which it has been the fruitful source, may find its merited doom in the consequence of the war which it has evoked.

Third. The Trustees bespeak for the College in the future the same cordial

support and patronage of the Clergy and Churches of New England, as well as other friends of sound learning, which they have given to it in time past, reminding them of the obligations which the cause of education, science, and religion seem to lay upon them, to stand by this venerable Institution, in evil report and good report, in view of its past history and great service to the Church and the State, entertaining an abiding faith that it will triumph over all obstacles, and go down to posterity with its powers of usefulness unimpaired.

On a motion by Dr. Barstow that the report be adopted, five ¹ voted in the affirmative and two in the negative. On the adoption of the preamble and second resolution the vote was the same as on the adoption of the report. For the first and third resolutions the vote was unanimous. Immediately on the passage of the vote the President withdrew for a short time, and on his return presented the following letter:

Dartmouth College, July 24, 1863.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE:

In making this communication to the Hon. and Rev. Board of Trustees I take the liberty respectfully to protest against their right to impose any religious, ethical, or political test upon any member of their own body or any member of the College Faculty, beyond what is recognized by the Charter of the Institution, or express statutes or stipulations conformed to that instrument, however urged or suggested, directly or indirectly, by individuals or public bodies assuming to be as Visitors of the college, or advisers of the Trustees.

The action of the Trustess, on certain resolutions of the Merrimack County Conference of Churches, virtually imposes such a test, inasmuch as it implicitly represents and censures me as having become injurious to the College, not on account of any official malfeasance or delinquency, for, on the contrary, its commendations of my personal and official character and conduct during my long term of service, far exceed my merits; but, for my opinions and publications on questions of Biblical ethics and interpretations, which are supposed by the Trustees to bear unfavorably upon one branch of the policy pursued by the present administration of the government of the country.

For my opinions and expressions of opinion on such subject, I hold myself responsible only to God, and the constitutional tribunals of my country; inasmuch as they are not touched by the charter of the College, or any express statutes or stipulations. And, while my unswerving loyalty to the government of my fathers, proved and tested, by more than seventy years of devotion to its true and fundamental principles, cannot be permanently discredited by excited passions of the hour, I do not feel obliged when its exercise is called in question, to surrender my moral and constitutional right and Christian liberty, in this respect, nor to submit to any censure, nor consent to any conditions such as are implied in the aforesaid action of the Board; which action is made more impressive upon me, in view of the private communications of some of its members.

¹ Messrs. Barstow, Bouton, Marsh, Nesmith and Tuck. Messrs. Eastman and Delano voted in the negative.

But not choosing to place myself in any unkind relations to a body having the responsible guardianship of the College, a body from which I have received so many tokens of confidence and regard, and believing it to be inconsistent with Christian charity and propriety to carry on my administration, while holding and expressing opinions injurious, as they imagine, to the interests of the College, and offensive to that party which they here professedly represent, I hereby resign my office as President.

I also resign my office as Trustee.

In taking leave of the College with which I have been connected, as Trustee, or as President more than forty years, very happily to myself, and, as the Trustees have often given me to understand, not without benefit to the College, I beg to assure them that I shall ever entertain a grateful sense of the favorable consideration shown to me by themselves and their predecessors in office, and I shall never cease to desire the peace and prosperity of the College, and that it may be kept true to the principles of its foundation.

I am, very respectfully,

Your Obedt. Serv.,

N. LORD.

Dr. Lord then withdrew and a motion by Mr. Tuck to accept his resignation was laid on the table to be considered at an adjourned meeting, which was set for August 17. It was accepted at that date and his successor was chosen, and at a meeting about a month later, on September 21, a resolution was adopted, "that in accepting the resignation of President Lord, we place on record a grateful sense of his services during the long period of his administration; and his kind and courteous treatment of the Board in all their intercourse." A presidency of thirty-five years of unusual success, and a trusteeship of forty-two years might seem to have called for a more ready, if not more generous, acknowledgment, but the situation was a trying one. Under the circumstances the action of the Trustees leading to Dr. Lord's resignation was perhaps as natural as that of Dr. Lord was inevitable. When honest men hold irreconcilable opinions there can be only entire and magnanimous freedom of judgment and expression, or separation. It may have been too much to expect the former.

It was a time of tremendous feeling when the perspective of calmer moments was impossible. The chord of patriotism was at its utmost tension under the passion of war. The opinion, however honestly held, that slavery was right, seemed to many no less than treason, and he who held it, even if not a personal traitor, seemed to give comfort to the enemy and to be not a proper person to hold a position of responsibility. It is always difficult to distinguish between opinions and character. Dr. Lord's pro-slavery views were in evidence away from the College,

and in the general unrest many felt that it was injurious to the College not to have its head in sympathy with the prevailing opinion of the section in which it was placed. Sometimes there crept into criticisms a bitterness greater than the cause of truth would warrant, as when a distinguished clergyman from his pulpit pronounced a curse upon him, though in the same breath paying tribute to the singular purity of his life and character, but in times of excitement it is hard to make distinctions. The Trustees, having personally no sympathy with Dr. Lord's views and feeling their responsibility for the College before the public, took the action that seemed to clear themselves and the College from taint of error. The result they foresaw and expected, and to secure it were willing to establish a test of opinion which they knew would never be admitted by one to whom liberty of thought and speech was dearer than office.

The general feeling was well indicated by a newspaper correspondent, who after expressing his satisfaction for political reasons at the resignation of the President said,¹ "Dr. Lord, notwithstanding his peculiarities, retires from the position he has so long filled, full of honors, and with the entire respect of men of every shade of opinion."

The resignation of Dr. Lord was unhesitatingly made though it left him without means of support. The little patrimony which he had on coming to the College had been exhausted in supplementing a small salary, which had never been above \$1,600, including the stipend from Moor's School, and in the education of a large family, of which eight were sons, who were carried

¹ *Granite State Whig*, August 1, 1863. This was not the view of Mr. Tuck. As has been implied, he was opposed to President Lord from the time of his entering the Board, and his judgment, at variance with that of Dr. Lord's other associates, is given in his *Autobiographical Memoir*, pp. 38, 39. Writing of his student days he says:

"Dr. Nathan Lord was president of the College. He was a man of fine address, elegant manners and captivating rhetoric. At that time he had not developed his approval of American slavery, nor his pessimistic views of human destiny, but on the contrary was anti-slavery in sentiment, and in full accord with orthodox congregationalists of the most hopeful character. Judging him less by what I then observed than by what I subsequently saw when associated with him, as I afterwards was for ten years or more [1857-1863], in the Board of Trustees of the College, I am obliged to say he was a man of show rather than of utility to the College. Had he not been associated with men of greater executive ability than himself, and had in charge pupils thoroughly in earnest, as a general thing, to acquire thorough knowledge and effectual training, he would have made an early and manifest failure. He beguiled his associates in the Board of Trust for many years with delusive hopes of great things that would soon be accomplished; and, after nearly forty years of connection with the college, left it without accomplishing anything. At the darkest period of the Civil War he resigned his office, because of personal disloyalty to the government, aggravated by the action of the Trustees in putting upon their records resolutions declaratory of the loyalty of the College and of the Board of Trust. As a figure-head he was satisfactory to those who expected nothing from a college president in forming the character of pupils and impressing them with high aspiration. The best act of his official life was the resignation of his position."

through college without any lessening of its regular charges. On his retirement from the College a group of friends purchased an annuity of \$1,200 for him, and he remained in Hanover in the quiet enjoyment of the respect and affection of his neighbors and associates until his death September 9, 1870. Three days later his funeral, held in the College church, was attended by many of the alumni who, together with a large company of friends, including six sons and two daughters, and with an escort of the student body of the College, followed him to the grave. At the Commencement of 1872 a eulogy upon him was given before the alumni by Dr. A. B. Crosby of the class of 1853.

An administration of such great length as that of President Lord is judged by two different standards—the material and the moral. The former regards the fact and form of growth, the latter the principle and method of administration. By one standard the period may be prosperous, by the other unworthy, or it may succeed in both or fail in both. In the thirty-five years of Dr. Lord's presidency 2,675 graduates received their degrees at his hand, nearly three fifths of the whole number in the ninety-four years of the existence of the College, and, except for the extraordinary increase about 1840 and the decline immediately following, the number of students showed a consistent increase. The 125 academic students of 1828 increased to 275 in 1860, a number that was exceeded only three times till 1894. The lowest point of depression was 196 in 1846, considerably above the figure of 1828, and from that it pretty steadily rose till 1860.

The effect of the Civil War, manifest in 1861, continued till 1865, when the lowest point was reached with 146. For special reasons connected with demands of public service the Medical and Chandler courses were less affected. The general Faculty increased during these thirty-five years from ten to seventeen members. At the beginning of the period the buildings of the College were Dartmouth Hall, in a very bad state of repair, the chapel, which had become unsuitable for use, the building used by Moor's School, in a "ruinous" state, and the Medical building. By the end of it, Dartmouth Hall had been remodelled, and its cupola rebuilt, the chapel had been removed, the ruinous building of Moor's School had been replaced by a new brick "Academy," Wentworth, Thornton and Reed Halls and the Observatory had been built, the grounds had been laid out and adorned with walks and hedges, and the equipment of the physical, astronomical and chemical departments had been wholly or practically

made anew. The College was still in debt to its own funds to the amount of \$34,000, but it had received during the period over \$60,000, from the two subscriptions besides other gifts, so that the assets of \$85,752.30 in 1830 had risen to \$201,176.33 in 1863. This was apart from the gift of Mr. Chandler which had added \$50,000 to the fund, and by 1862 forty to the enrollment of the College.

In the moral conduct of his administration Dr. Lord believed that the highest form of college was a Christian college and the greatest function of such a college was to train Christian men. In all his teaching, in all his disciplinary action and in all his intercourse with the students he kept this purpose steadily in view. The service of morning and evening prayers in the chapel which he conducted when in town, the Monday morning biblical exercise with the senior class, which he took during his entire presidency, the instruction in the department of ethics of which he had the entire charge for eleven years, and occasionally the pulpit were all used to exalt the worth and enforce the claims of Christian character, and the impression of this teaching was carried away by individuals and also remained with the College. He had an extraordinary gift in prayer by which those who were not given to praying were affected, as when a student said: "I like to hear Dr. Lord pray, I like to hear him say: 'The Lord bless these young men, every one of them,' for then I feel safe for the day."

A strict disciplinarian, believing that authority and enforcement of law were essential to all government, Dr. Lord was a terror to evil-doers, for, as one of them said, "he always seemed to know, when any young man was brought before him, what and all that was in him." All feared him, yet hastened to him when in difficulty.

"It is difficult to describe," wrote an alumnus, "except to one who personally knew him, the fine friendly relations, coupled with the most perfect respect for himself and his office, which he maintained with the college students. He took a strong personal interest in the affairs and ambition of each student, and inspired in the most natural way almost a filial feeling of regard toward himself. His discipline or advice was always persuasive, because it was both kindly and impressively given. His intercourse with the students was free and genial and his manifest interest in them went far to break down the barriers of official relations. His courtesy was unflinching, and his politeness no mantle worn only among his peers, but was a part of his nature. To high and low, to rich and poor, he was always the same courtly gentleman, one to whom the forms of politeness had a meaning because they recognized the essential elements of humanity, and because the meanest frame was the shrine of an immortal soul that had the semblance of divinity."

Students are proverbially keen judges of character, at least they are quick to detect flaws and shams and unrealities of any kind. They recognize instinctively the difference between the genuine and the artificial, and their judgments are expressed in stories that relate to the exhibition of qualities rather than in formal statements about the qualities themselves. Such stories are sure to gather about the president of a college who deeply affects its inner life, and in the case of Dr. Lord they were numberless. Every gathering of the graduates of his time is enlivened by their recital. These represent him as dignified yet kindly, and equally courageous in the expression of unpopular opinions and in breaking up a student rush, when he enforced his command, "Desist, young gentlemen, desist," with vigorous raps of his cane, keen in his reading of both character and actions and with an almost intuitive perception of the truth of a matter, apt in the expression of his decisions and possessed of a pervasive humor that relieved the asperity of reproof and gave force to encouragement.

A student of 1846,¹ writing more than sixty years after his graduation about a line in the poster brought out by the freshman rebellion of 1832, gives an impression of Dr. Lord current among the students of his day:

"The President with eye of green," he wrote, "was Dr. Lord for he wore the same *green specs* in my day, and on to the end, worn (it was evident to every student) not so much as a protection from the sun's glare, but as they furnished a *secure fence*, behind which the dear old Shepherd could glare *at his sheep*, without detection and watch every possible thing that happened to be going on in his vicinity, whether in chapel or recitation room or even in the solemn personal interviews with luckless students in the dreaded 'Prexy's Study.' I have seen him in chapel open the Bible, *repeat* a psalm (apparently reading it) and his restless eyes meanwhile *over the edge of his glasses*, searching every face in every seat and every corner. No wonder that he was credited with *semi-omniscience*."

Another student of the time ² adds another view:

"He was," he wrote, "dignity itself, and no student was brave enough to face him with anything but respect. With culprits he could be terrible in severity, and yet he was in general approachable and genial, and always kind hearted. He could unbend without losing his dignity or his power to recover control of himself and his students."

His humor was not superficial but ingrained, softening what might otherwise have been severity to others and helping him

¹ Dr. J. W. Barstow of New York City.

² Hon. J. W. Patterson of 1848.

over difficult positions for himself. He could not conceal it. "Things ludicrous are apt to set me off beyond propriety," he once said in explaining his laughter to one who had told him that unless he gave way to a pressing movement he would be crushed. It constantly appeared even in his formal reports to the Board. In one of them he urged the importance of having the very best quality of instruction, saying: "Few persons now, of any calling, are drawn to places where commodities are cheap, except to auctions; and they are cheated there." Yet it was under entire control, never appearing when solemnity or sorrow or good taste forbade its presence, but so manifest as an essential part of his nature that the students felt, as one of them expressed it, that "he had a good time with himself." It entered into his relations with the students particularly, and was no small factor in his influence over them. So keen was his appreciation of it that the exhibition of it in others sometimes softened a rebuke or disarmed it altogether, and his sentence on an offender, who met his questions with humorous recognition of his error, was delivered in the words of the ancient judge to the offending satirist: *solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis*. Sometimes, however, his humor served to sharpen a rebuke, and it was a two-edged sword which was equally effective for offence or defence. It was always courteous even when most pungent. Once in a minister's meeting there was a warm discussion in which, as often, Dr. Lord supported the unpopular view, and one of the ministers rose and walking directly up to Dr. Lord shook his finger in his face and said: "Dr. Lord, that isn't so." "Well," was the laughing reply, "I am glad that one thing is settled."

Equally marked was his courtesy, which like his charity never failed. He respected open opposition and cherished no resentment at the frank statement of disagreement, so that one long associated with him said: "It is more delightful to differ from Dr. Lord than to agree with most men." He once read before the General Association of New Hampshire, at its request, an essay on "Millenarianism," which was not at all in accord with the prevailing belief. Out of courtesy, but by a meager vote, it was requested for printing. When in voting the negative was called, one member responded with a decided "no." At the close of the session Dr. Lord stepped down the aisle to the pew occupied by the objector and offering his hand in the most gracious manner thanked him for his frankness and his honesty. His courtesy was effective because it was genuine; its outward and essential

form had its source in a love of men that could not be expressed in any other way.

Some could not understand how this feeling and its expression could exist in one side by side with the views which he entertained on slavery, because they could not understand how his loyalty to what he believed to be the truth, no matter where it might lead him, never lessened his sense of duty to the individual and his obligation to do every thing possible for his welfare and his happiness. His pro-slavery views did not, therefore, chill his practical philanthropy or prevent his lending a helping hand to the negro. Because he believed that slavery was a divine institution he did not fail to help the black man when in need. Fugitive slaves passing through Hanover found his charity as ready and his aid as prompt as that of any.

In 1848 a colored man, named Gibbs, after being refused at three other New England Colleges, came to Dartmouth. Dr. Lord received him kindly, and he was admitted on examination and duly graduated in 1852. After preparing for the ministry he was called to a Presbyterian church in Troy, N. Y., and begged Dr. Lord as a special favor to preach his ordination sermon, giving as a reason that *his* college was the only one which would endure his presence. Few members of the Presbytery were willing to attend the ordination; one of them, a flaming anti-slavery champion attended but slipped into a back seat and took no part. Owing to the dearth of brother ministers Dr. Lord was obliged to make the installing prayer as well as to preach.¹

Dr. Lord was a Puritan in character but not in conduct, in the intensity and assurance of his beliefs but not in his method of enforcing them, for he approached men by persuasion and not by coercion. His appeal was always first to the conscience, then to reason, rather than to reason first and conscience afterward, and as conscience was in his view only the individual witness to the truth of God, whose final expression was the Bible, he made the Bible the basis of every appeal to conscience and enforced it under a literal interpretation as a rule of life. From its teachings, as he believed them, he never swerved, no matter where they led him, and for thirty-five years with all the power he could command and at every opportunity he set them before the students of the College as the thing of pre-eminent value, and he made it evident to them in all his relations with them, both social and official, that these teachings were the guide of his life. Not all

¹ *N. H. Journal*, November 4, 1887.

of them were convinced, but his teaching and his personality had their effect, and during his long presidency was developed that spirit that has given to the College its marked individuality, a spirit of resolute purpose, of persistent energy, of strong determination and self-dependence that has made its graduates effective workers wherever they have found their place.

CHAPTER XIII.

1863-1877.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT SMITH.

THE successor of President Lord, chosen at the adjourned meeting of the Trustees on August 17, was Rev. Asa Dodge Smith, D.D., a graduate of the College in the class 1830, who for twenty-nine years had been pastor of a church in New York City, which, though it changed its place of worship, had retained its organization and for many years had been known as the Fourteenth Street Presbyterian Church. Dr. Barstow, the President of the Board *pro tempore*, took to him the message of his election, and after due consideration the position was accepted. He was cordially received by the alumni, and in New York a large gathering of them at the Fifth Avenue Hotel passed resolutions expressive of their approval and support.

He was inaugurated on the 18th of November, 1863. A severe storm that had been raging for two days had not expended itself and the weather was unhappily disagreeable. The procession formed, however, as usual at the chapel in Dartmouth Hall, and, headed by the Lebanon cornet band, proceeded to the church, where the exercises were held. An organ voluntary and music by the band were followed by an introductory address by the Governor of the State, Hon. Joseph A. Gilmore; then came reading of the Scriptures by Professor D. J. Noyes, a prayer by Rev. Dr. Z. S. Barstow, music by the Handel and Haydn Society of the College, the inaugural address by President Smith, a prayer by ex-President Lord, and the benediction by Rev. S. P. Leeds, the pastor of the College church. In the evening there was an illumination of the college buildings and private houses in the village.

The accession of President Smith was the signal for great changes in the policy and internal economy of the College. The objections to college honors were laid aside and with them, much to the satisfaction of the Faculty, the lot as the basis of the appointment of the speakers on Commencement day. By 1865 the merit roll was substituted for it and the valedictory and salutatory and various grades of honors were recognized



Asa D. Smith



in the official programme. Prizes were at once instituted and at the Commencement of 1865 there was a revival of the old prize speaking contest between members of the junior and sophomore classes appointed by the Faculty on nomination of the classes, and there were also prizes offered to the junior class for excellence in English composition, both series of prizes being given by Mr. Le Grand Lockwood of New York.

In accord with the change of ideas Professor Sanborn, as the head of the rhetorical department, proposed in a modified form the revival of the old Quarter days. In this he had in mind a desirable impulse to the literary and forensic exercises of the students, and also a renewed life for the old literary societies, which, except for their libraries and their names as rallying cries on the football field, had become practically extinct. His proposition, with slight modifications, was accepted by the Trustees and carried into effect. No attempt was made to revive the sophomore Quarter day, and in place of the senior day there was substituted, on the Thursday evening of the week before the close of the fall term in November, an exhibition of the literary societies. The exercises were to be carried on by the undergraduate members, each society electing its own representatives, and were to consist of a debate between two persons, one Social and one Frater, two orations or an oration and a poem by persons chosen in like manner, and music by the Handel Society. A junior exhibition was set for the spring, to take place just before the close of the spring term, in which the speakers were to be appointed by the Faculty on the basis of the merit roll. These were fifteen or sixteen in number, divided into groups according to rank, a Greek and a Latin oration being assigned to two members of the first group.

The plan was very acceptable to the students who entered into it heartily, and both exhibitions took place for the first time in the college year 1865-1866. Neither of them, however, aroused a lasting interest and they soon languished, the last exhibition of the societies occurring in 1870 and the junior exhibition continuing a few years longer till it, too, expired in the spring of 1877. The exhibitions of the societies were accompanied by an attempt to revive the societies as organizations for essay and debate. Their literary meetings were resumed in June of 1867, with a programme of oration and debate, but a few meetings exhausted their resources for such exercises, and

the last meetings of the Socials and the Fraters for this purpose were held in October, 1868.

Though they were short-lived the exhibitions helped on a genuine revival of literary interest, which, stimulated at first by the enthusiasm of Professor Sanborn, whose vigorous and discursive mind gave a new zest to rhetoric and literature, was evidenced in the re-establishment by the senior class in the spring of 1867 of the college monthly, *The Dartmouth*, interrupted since 1841, in the form of an octavo pamphlet of about forty pages. Like its predecessor it consisted of essays and poems with short editorials and the briefest references to college events. It was not intended as a rival of the *Aegis*, which served as a directory of college clubs and organizations and a chronicle of college events, but being published monthly, while the *Aegis* was published but once a term, it soon took the place of the *Aegis* as the purveyor of college news. That publication, which began as the *Phoenix* in 1855 in the form of a folio, changed to the *Aegis* in 1858, and became an octavo in 1867. Its appearance as an annual dates from 1871, when its issue in the fall of the year contained, as it announced, the "anomaly of more pages and less talk." It still renders a distinct service as a record of college organizations, but to this it has added much by way of personal raillery that has no more than a restricted and passing interest, and that sometimes has overstepped the bounds of propriety and good comradeship.

The interest in literary matters was further shown by the establishment of a bright little weekly in the winter of 1873 by Frederick A. Thayer of the senior class. It was a handsome sheet of ten pages, 9 by 11½ inches, and was conducted with far more than ordinary ability and enterprise; it successfully aspired to be more than a college paper, but recognized the important relation of the college so far as to issue daily editions at Commencement. The graduation of Mr. Thayer removed its guiding spirit and though it continued with some intermission through the fall its last issue was on December 4, 1873. Its influence upon the College was not lost, however, for it was seen that some frequent vehicle of college news was needed, and at the beginning of the college year in September, 1875, *The Dartmouth* was changed from a monthly magazine into a weekly paper of sixteen pages, giving up its character of a purely literary publication for that of a more distinctive college newspaper.

The rhetorical department was also strengthened by the

employment in the fall of 1865 of an instructor in elocution. Mark Bailey of the class of 1849, then an instructor in that subject in Yale College, was secured for the period of six weeks, and in that time gave instruction to the three upper classes in the principles of expression. He continued to come to Hanover each fall for eleven years, till 1876, and aroused a general interest and exerted a strong and helpful influence upon the College in the matter of public speaking.

The interest in this subject was manifested by a celebration of Washington's birthday in 1867, promoted entirely by the students. Twelve speakers were chosen by the classes, and the exercises were held in the chapel, which was decorated for the occasion. The event was so successful that it was repeated the next year, but though similar observances were occasionally made in later years, they cannot be said to have become a custom. In 1875 the routine of the winter was broken by an exercise of a different character. The fad of the winter throughout New England was spelling matches, and in April the students arranged one between the classes, three members being chosen from each, the seniors and sophomores against the juniors and freshmen. Two juniors carried off the prizes, Charles W. Whitcomb securing the first, a Webster's unabridged dictionary, and Charles B. Hibbard the second, a set of Rollins' Ancient History.

In attempting to stimulate the literary side of the College it was clearly seen that a freer use of the library was indispensable, and in 1864 the Trustees directed that it should be open one hour a day, and authorized the employment of a student as assistant librarian, who was to receive his room rent and \$60 as compensation. On the resignation during the year of Professor Hubbard the care of the library was given to Professor Aiken, but after a little more than a year, on his resignation at Commencement in 1866, it passed to Professor Sanborn. But it was still of little use to the students. They were not allowed to enter the room and inspect the books, and as there was but a very imperfect catalogue they had no means of making selections. If a student knew what book he wanted and thought it was in the library, he might ascertain by inquiring, at the proper hour, at the window in the door of the library room, but it often happened that through the deficiencies of the catalogue or the ignorance of the assistant, books could not be found that were in the library, and as the room was not heated in the winter, all things conspired to prevent the library from being of much

service, and the students continued to rely for their reading upon the libraries of the two literary societies. In 1867 a gift of \$5,000 was made as a fund for the use of the library by Miss Mary C. Bryant of Boston in memory of her grandfather, Professor John Smith, but it made little difference what additions were made as long as the books continued to be practically inaccessible, as was the case for several years to come.

A move of much greater value to the students was the opening of a reading room. This was done in the spring of 1865 as the result of a vote of the Trustees, passed in the preceding August, authorizing the Faculty to provide a reading room, and contributing \$40 toward it. The business was put into the charge of the students, who subscribed an additional sum for the supply of papers and periodicals. A front room on the first floor of Dartmouth Hall at the right of the north entrance was assigned to it, where it remained for three years, when it was moved to the southeast corner of the first floor of Thornton Hall, from which it was again removed in 1874 to the southeast corner of the second floor of Reed Hall. Its wanderings were not yet over, for five years later, the space which it occupied being needed for library purposes, it was transferred to the room on the first floor which had been formerly occupied, first, by the Hall cabinet and afterward as a recitation room. It was moved from there only on the building of Wilson Hall in 1885. In 1900 a room in the new College Hall was given to the newspapers which were transferred thither, but the periodicals were still kept in the library.

The Trustees continued their appropriation of \$40 for six years, but it soon became evident that it would be difficult to support the reading room even partially on a subscription basis, and in the fall of 1869 it was brought under the direction of the literary societies. The Trustees authorized at that time the collection on the term bills of the academic students of a tax of one dollar and a half a term, of which one dollar was to go to the societies, and fifty cents to the support of the reading room. The care of the room was given to the executive committees of the two societies. Members of the other departments were admitted to the use of the reading room on the payment of fifty cents a term. All the important daily and many of the weekly papers of this section and the prominent English and American periodicals found a place upon its tables, and it was opened week days and evenings. A persistent urgency soon arose to have it opened

on Sunday, but a favorable answer was not returned to it till 1892, when the Trustees, at the request of the Faculty, gave permission.

Among the changes which tended to give greater coherence to the college year was the dropping out of the short term in the winter. In 1867 the short term disappeared and the spring term, as it was called, began on the 11th of January and continued fourteen weeks to the 18th of April. The students who taught still had the benefit of a six weeks' vacation immediately following Thanksgiving, but they were called upon to make up the work of their six weeks' absence from the beginning of the spring term. Four years later, in 1871, another change was made that bore still harder on the teachers. The college year was divided into two terms of twenty weeks each, separated by a vacation of three weeks in the last of January and the first of February (increased, however, to four weeks the next year), and the work to be made up by the teachers was correspondingly enlarged. Students were otherwise dissuaded from leaving their college work to engage in winter teaching, and in 1872 excuses were given only to those who signed a paper that they were dependent on their own exertions. Under these conditions the number of teachers rapidly diminished, though for twenty years some were always absent in the winter engaged in teaching. In 1872 Commencement, which in 1863 had been changed from the last Thursday to the last Thursday but one in July, was brought back to the last Thursday in June, and the summer vacation was extended to nine weeks, thus giving a larger opportunity for summer occupation. The division of the year into two terms continued only five years, and in 1876 the three-term arrangement was again adopted.

The university idea (cherished in vain by President Lord in 1840) was now revived and seemed in a fair way to be realized in fact. The idea was indicated by a change of nomenclature in the catalogue. In 1838 the distinction had been for the first time drawn between the "medical" and the "academical" faculties, the students being designated as "medical students" and "undergraduates." In 1865 the Chandler School, which in the records of the Trustees was regarded as a department in the College, but in the catalogue spoken of as the "Chandler Scientific School," was by authority styled the "Chandler Scientific Department," and in that year the catalogue was made up strictly on the university plan, separated as to Faculty and

students into three departments, the Medical, the Academical and the Chandler Scientific, to which was added in the next year the announcement of the Agricultural, and in 1869 that of the Thayer School.

The general Faculty was naturally enlarged by the addition of the men in the new departments, but besides these there were additions and many changes in the existing Faculties. As has been said, Professor Varney resigned the chair of mathematics at Commencement of 1863. An attempt was made at once to fill it by the election of Professor Young, whom President Lord had before urged for the chair of physics and astronomy, but he declined, and the Faculty was authorized to make temporary provision for instruction in that department, which was done by the appointment as tutor of George S. Morris. In the next year the chair was filled by the election of Elihu T. Quimby of the class of 1851, then principal of the Appleton Academy at New Ipswich, N. H.

The fatal illness and death of Professor Putnam in 1863 made a vacancy in the chair of Greek, which was filled by the transfer to it of Professor Packard from modern languages. The vacancy thus made was in turn supplied by the appointment in 1864 of Edward R. Ruggles, a graduate of 1859 and then in Germany, as instructor in modern languages. Very fortunately for the College, Professor E. D. Sanborn was brought back from St. Louis in the fall of 1863 as professor of oratory and belles lettres, to take the place of Professor Brown, who was put into the chair of intellectual philosophy and political economy, vacant since the death of Professor Long, although Professor Brown had been giving instruction in that department. Three years later a change was brought about in the department of Latin by the resignation of Professor Aiken to accept a similar position at Princeton College, and his place was taken by the Rev. Henry E. Parker of the class of 1841, then a minister of the South Congregational Church in Concord, N. H. In that year also Professor Hubbard, who had ably filled the chair of chemistry for thirty years, resigned, though he retained his connection with the Medical School and continued to lecture for three years more, and removing from Hanover lived first in New Haven and then in New York City, where he died on March 9, 1900.

Some embarrassment arose in connection with the chairs of astronomy and meteorology and natural philosophy, occupied by Professors Patterson and Fairbanks. In the fall of 1862

Professor Patterson was elected as a representative to Congress. In the following August he requested that he might be permitted to hold his place as professor in the College during his congressional term of two years and that the Faculty be authorized to supply such instruction as he should be unable to give. To this request the Trustees did not accede, but while regarding the absence of a college officer for a considerable time as a detriment to the Institution they consented to Professor Patterson's retaining his connection with the College on condition that his salary from the College should cease when he entered on his congressional duties, and should be again enjoyed only on his resuming his college work at the end of two years, and with this condition the Faculty was authorized to provide for his work during his absence.

At their annual meeting in July of the next year the Trustees voted to abolish the professorship of astronomy and meteorology as a separate department and to unite it with the Appleton professorship of natural philosophy. Not to seem to have deprived Professor Patterson of an opportunity to return to the College, should he wish to do so, the Trustees elected him as professor of mathematics, and Professor Fairbanks they elected to the united chairs of natural philosophy and astronomy. Both of the professors declined the new appointments, and in their inability to do otherwise the Trustees reconsidered their action and asked the two to go on as before, but to protect the College against the risk of renewed occurrences of like nature the Trustees, at their adjourned meeting in August, 1864, voted that "hereafter the acceptance of any civil office by any member of the Faculty, except the office of Justice of the Peace or any Town office, shall operate *ipso facto* as a resignation of his position as a member of the Faculty."

Mr. Patterson was elected to a second term in Congress in the fall of 1864, and the condition then arose contemplated in the preceding vote. The Trustees were confronted with a difficult situation. The chair of mathematics had been filled, the funds were not available for the support of the two professorships which they had wished to unite the year before and Professor Fairbanks had signified his unwillingness to take the load of the double chair. They skillfully met the situation in a series of votes in which may readily be detected the diplomatic touch of President Smith:

Whereas the department of Natural Science in its various branches, is deservedly growing in public favor, and the more because of the rapid development of the natural resources of the country; and *whereas* it is the purpose of the Board that the College shall lack nothing essential to the broadest culture; therefore.

Resolved 1. That we hereby institute a new Professorship to be called the Professorship of *Natural History*, the incumbent whereof shall give instruction by lectures and otherwise in whatever pertains to such chair, aided by such cabinets and other apparatus as may be needful. And it is particularly referred to the Faculty to consider whether the subject of *mining*, which is assuming such prominence in our country, and is becoming a matter of importance in our own vicinity,¹ may not properly be embraced in the programme of this Professorship.

Resolved 2. That while it is the design of the Board to place this new professorship on the same footing as the others, and to give the incumbent, when funds shall be secured for that purpose,—as it is hoped they soon will be—a full salary; they are compelled now, from the straitened state of their finances to appropriate for the compensation of the Professor only the sum of five hundred dollars.

And *whereas* the Board still deems it desirable, in accordance with the vote passed at their last meeting, to unite the Professorships of Astronomy and Meteorology with that of Natural Philosophy, thus restoring the arrangement, which under former Professors has proved so convenient and successful; and *whereas* Professor Patterson who has officiated with marked ability in our board of instruction for eleven years past, by accepting the office of Representative in Congress to which he was elected March last, has, according to a rule adopted by the Board at their meeting in August 1864, virtually resigned his place in the College Faculty; and *whereas* Professor Fairbanks, who for more than five years diligently and faithfully served the Board in the professorship of Natural Philosophy, has, on grounds which seem reasonable, especially on considerations of health, heretofore declined undertaking the duties of both chairs, therefore

Resolved 1. That the two professorships above named be and they hereby are united.

Resolved. 2. That Professor Fairbanks be transferred to the new professorship of Natural History—the change to take place at the commencement of the next spring term.

Resolved 3. That we elect, at the present meeting, an incumbent of the united professorships, to be styled the “Appleton Professor of Natural Philosophy and Professor of Astronomy,” his salary to be \$1,300 per annum, and his services to commence at the beginning of the spring term.

Professor Charles A. Young was the immediate and unanimous choice of the Trustees for the place, and this time their invitation, accompanied by a suitable offer of help toward the expenses of removal, was accepted, and he began his duties at the College in February, 1866. At Commencement of the next

¹ About this time the copper mines at Vershire were actively worked, the iron mines at Franconia were again being exploited, and even a lead mine in the eastern part of Hanover was reported as discovered on the farm of Horace Stickney.

year Professor Brown gave up his connection with the Faculty to become the president of Hamilton College. No one was immediately appointed in his place, President Smith being requested to give instruction in intellectual philosophy and Professor Noyes to perform the remaining duties of the chair. This arrangement continued for two years, when Professor Noyes was transferred to the chair of intellectual philosophy and political economy, from that of theology, which continued vacant till 1886. Professor Fairbanks held his position in the chair of natural history three years, when he resigned, but he came back to the service of the College in 1870 as a member of the Board of Trustees. Dr. Thomas R. Crosby was made instructor in his stead, but on his death in 1872 the chair was abolished.

By the fall of 1868 the increase in the number of students called for an increase in the teaching staff, and as the funds did not admit of the appointment of permanent officers two tutors and in the next year three tutors, were engaged. All three remained permanently on the Faculty, and one of them, John C. Proctor, a man of rare personal and intellectual gifts, became professor of Greek on the resignation of Professor Packard, who in 1870 succeeded Professor Aiken in the chair of Latin in Princeton College. The second tutor, Charles F. Emerson, became the associate and the successor of Professor Young, as Appleton professor of natural philosophy, and later the Dean of the Academic Faculty; the third tutor, the present writer, later occupied the chair of Latin.

Lectureships were also established in addition to the permanent positions. Judge Joel Parker showed that his former disaffection had passed away by consenting to return to the College with the title of professor of law for a course of lectures on law to the seniors. This he did for six years beginning in 1868, and continuing his lectures till the year before his death. His bequest to the College will be described in another place. From 1868 to 1873 Dr. John Lord, the famous lecturer, gave an annual course of lectures on historical subjects, for two years before the whole college and later to the senior class. The expense of Dr. Lord's lectures was borne by Hon. George W. Burleigh, a Trustee from 1870 to 1878.

Many changes also took place in the Medical Faculty during President Smith's administration. The roll at the end was very different from that at the beginning. Dixie Crosby had died in 1873. Drs. Edward E. Phelps and Albert Smith still

remained, but with the title of *professor emeritus*. The new names were those of Dr. John Ordronaux in the chair of medical jurisprudence, Dr. Carleton P. Frost in the science and practice of medicine, Dr. Edward S. Dunster in obstetrics, Dr. Henry M. Field in materia medica and therapeutics, while Dr. Lyman B. How from being demonstrator had risen to the professorship of anatomy. In the Faculty of the Chandler School a complete change was made. Professor Woodman, who had become a kind of Dean of the School, had given way to Professor E. R. Ruggles with the title of professor of modern languages and English literature. Arthur S. Hardy had become professor of civil engineering, though he was transferred to the chair of mathematics in the Academic Faculty in 1878, and Frank A. Sherman had become Chandler Professor of Mathematics.

The financial difficulties that had pressed so heavily upon the closing years of the administration of President Lord were equally felt by President Smith at his coming. He found a slender treasury, a meager endowment, buildings in need of repair, an underpaid Faculty clamoring for an increase of salary, and a student body steadily diminishing under the strain of the war and of popular feeling. It was truly a discouraging outlook when the first class that he admitted to college had but twenty-nine members in the academic course, the smallest number since 1817, and only seven in the Chandler course, but he entered courageously into the task of raising money. His acceptance of the presidency and the general satisfaction with his election so cheered the Trustees that before he reached Hanover they determined again to set on foot a subscription for \$100,000, doubtless with the belief that a new President would be able to tap new sources of supply. In this they were not disappointed, as he secured large contributions among his personal friends in New York toward the endowment of the presidential chair.

The subscription, conducted under the direction of Rev. J. G. Davis of Amherst, N. H., with the help of the President, proved as successful as could reasonably have been expected, yielding within three years nearly \$30,000. During the same period, as has been said, the belated legacy of Mr. Reed was received to the amount of about \$17,000 and turned into the general fund. In 1866 it was proposed to raise within the State a fund of \$25,000 for the endowment of a chair to be called the New Hampshire Professorship. Not quite \$7,000 were raised at that time and the fund was not completed till 1894, the major

part of it being secured under President Bartlett, by whom it was designated as the New Hampshire professorship of chemistry.

The President turned his attention in particular to the attempt to secure the endowment of scholarships for the aid of needy students. In this he was very successful, and in addition to many annual gifts for this purpose he secured during his administration permanent additions to the scholarship funds of the College of over \$70,000.

No effort was left untried by personal relations and by letters of appeal to regain for the College the interest of the clergy, and the influence of the President in this way, as well as the increased aid which the College was enabled to offer to needy students as the result of his efforts, had their effect upon the constituency of the College, so that the class which entered in the fall of 1865 was twice as large as that of the year before, and the gain continued till 1870, when the College with 305 academic students was larger than it had been since the great advance of 1840. A gift at this time gave more encouragement by its timeliness than by its immediate value. In 1865 John D. Willard of the class of 1819, a tutor in 1822-1823, and afterward a judge in the Court of Common Pleas of New York, left to the College \$10,000 to establish a chair of rhetoric and oratory, but the fund was to accumulate till it reached \$35,000. Of more direct service was the residuary bequest of Judge Richard Fletcher of the class of 1806, and a Trustee of the College from 1846 to 1857, of which a more particular account is given in another place.

The increased income derived from these funds and the larger receipts from tuition, that followed on the increase in the number of students, and the raising of the tuition from \$51 to \$60 in 1867, and again to \$70 in 1872 and to \$90 in 1876, were greatly to the advantage of the College, since they made it possible to do many things that were imperatively called for, but they were still insufficient under enlarged expenses to prevent an annual deficit. The largest single item of increased expense was the rapid advance of salaries. In 1865 the salary of a professor was advanced from \$1,100 to \$1,300, and of the President from \$1,800 with which he entered on office to \$2,000. At the same time the compensation to members of the Academic Faculty teaching in the Chandler School was raised from one dollar to two dollars an hour. In the next year \$200 were added to both presidential and professorial salaries, and in 1869 another increase carried

the professors' salaries to \$2,000 and the President's to \$3,000, at which figure they remained for twenty years.

One of the first outward signs of reviving prosperity was the erection of a gymnasium in 1866. Dr. Smith, who regarded such a building as of immediate consequence to the College, had suggested the construction of one to Mr. George H. Bissell of the class of 1845, a lawyer of New York City, who had been the first to recognize the commercial value of petroleum and to make it an article of trade. Mr. Bissell, who had left college as a poor boy, in responding to the suggestion, recalled his condition at graduation and saying that it afforded him "unqualified pleasure to be enabled to gratify a wish then cherished to aid in some degree his *alma mater*," offered \$15,000 for a gymnasium. This sum proving inadequate, Mr. Bissell, on the receipt of plans and specifications, expressed a willingness to enlarge his gift, and ultimately met the expense of construction to the amount of \$23,850. His first wish was to have the building made of granite, but he afterward decided upon brick with granite trimmings. The architect of the plan finally adopted was Joseph R. Richards of the firm of Richards and Park, of Boston, and the contract for its construction was given to Ivory Bean, also of Boston, for the sum of \$21,700. A few extra expenses brought the total to \$22,006.44, exclusive of the fence about the lot and the equipment of the building. The building was 90 feet long and 47 feet wide and two stories high and had a porch in front. The ground floor was occupied with six bowling alleys, an indication of the changed sentiment of the times, besides a dressing room, and the second story was the gymnastic hall, the elevated running track being an addition of a much later date.

Work was begun upon the foundations by the middle of May, the corner stone was laid with appropriate ceremonies at Commencement and the contractor finished his work by November 1, the specified date, to the entire satisfaction of the Trustees. The building was equipped and opened to the students in March of 1867, when Mr. F. G. Welch, a gymnastic teacher from Yale, was secured to direct the gymnastic drill, which at the beginning was required of all the classes four days a week. The novelty of the exercise carried it for a time; it was popular and well attended, but before long it grew wearisome, an outcry was raised against what the students regarded as an excessive requirement, so that in two years the time was reduced from four to

two days a week. The bowling alleys, however, proved inviting for many years, and were well patronized whenever the building was open. Mr. Welch was followed as instructor in gymnastics in succession by Charles F. Emerson, afterward professor and Dean, for one year, Dwinel F. Thompson for three years, and Solon R. Towne for three years. Under him the required exercise was given up for the seniors and juniors, but retained for the two lower classes twice a week. He was succeeded by Thomas W. D. Worthen, afterward professor of mathematics, who for five years was a regular salaried instructor in gymnastics, and after that for thirteen years, till 1892, continued to conduct the exercises of the two lower classes gratuitously rather than see them abandoned, as would have been the case, through lack of other provision, if he had not taken them.

The establishment of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts and its location at Hanover in connection with Dartmouth College were the result of two influences which happened to coincide at that time. In 1862 the Congress of the United States granted land to the several states and territories which should provide colleges "for the benefit of agriculture and the Mechanic arts." New Hampshire accepted her share of the grant by an act, approved July 9, 1863,¹ authorizing the Governor and Council to appoint a committee of one from each county to prepare a scheme for such a college and make report at the next session of the Legislature.

Among those interested in the subject of agricultural education was Gen. David Culver, a resident of Lyme and then a member of the Council, who had been a successful business man in New York City. He made to the committee, which was headed by H. D. Walker of Portsmouth, a written proposition that he would give to the State his farm in Lyme, containing about 400 acres, well suited from its situation and variety of soil for an experimental farm, and valued by him at \$20,000, together with \$30,000 in money, on the condition that the State would locate in Lyme an Agricultural College and apply for its endowment the proceeds of the congressional land grant.

At the June session of 1864 the committee reported favorably upon the proposition of General Culver, and their report was referred to another select committee of one from each county, which on July 7 reported a bill to establish an Agricultural College. After much discussion the bill was, on the 15th, referred

¹ Statutes of N. H., 1861-1866, ch. 2732, p. 2711.

to the next session of the Legislature, and the Clerk of the House was directed to invite, by published notice, propositions for the location of the College from towns, cities, institutions of learning and individuals which might take an interest in it. At the session of June, 1865, the subject was again postponed a year, the delay arising partly, perhaps, from the death of General Culver, which occurred on June 14 of that year, and partly from the uncertainty as to the location. President Smith had been exerting all his influence to bring the college to Hanover and had endeavored to enlist General Culver himself to favor this view and to transfer his gifts to Dartmouth for an Agricultural Department, but without success. On the death of General Culver it was found that he had left a will, somewhat involved but repeating the offer which he had made to the State the year previous.

The original will, dated August 17, 1849, besides a few minor bequests, gave to Dartmouth College for a "Department of Agriculture" his farm, subject to a life estate of his wife, and \$10,000 as a perpetual fund to accumulate till the farm came into the possession of the College. Three codicils modified the will. The first, dated November 10, 1855, gave to Dartmouth an additional \$20,000 for the perpetual fund and added stipulations regarding the application of the fund. The second codicil, dated September 4, 1858, added as a gift to Dartmouth two farms and all the lands, water privileges and meadows which he possessed. To each of his legal heirs he gave one dollar, and to his wife in addition to previous bequests, and to the town of Lyme, \$1,000 each. Six years later, on the 3d of March, 1864, he added a third codicil revoking all former bequests inconsistent with its provisions, and making to the State of New Hampshire the same offer which he had previously made to the committee, namely of this home farm in Lyme and other lands, for an Agricultural College, and \$30,000 for the erection of buildings, provided the State should accept his gift within two years.

The will, which was allowed by the Probate Court, August 17, 1865, was contested by the heirs-at-law on the ground that the testator was of unsound mind, and pending an appeal to the Supreme Judicial Court of the County, a compromise was made and in accordance with it the will was declared invalid. By the compromise all the heirs-at-law, except Mrs. Culver, joined in a deed of trust (assented to shortly after by the executors of Mrs. Culver, who died before the execution of the trust) to David

P. Wheeler of Orford, N. H., by which all their interest in all the property of Mr. Culver was transferred to him in trust, to convert it as speedily as possible into money, to pay all the expenses of the trust and of Mr. Culver's executors, and to pay one-half the remaining avails of the estate to Dartmouth College and the other half to Joseph H. Peters of Bradford, Vt., for distribution among the heirs according to their lawful claims. At the final settlement under this agreement on May 1, 1874, the total value of the estate was \$66,156.43. The expenses of administration and of the trust had been \$14,164.32, and the College received as its portion in the distribution \$21,697.43.

Mrs. Culver, who survived her husband about a year, dying July 21, 1866, entered fully into his plans. She waived the provisions of his will in her favor, accepting instead the legal provision of dower and homestead in the real estate and of the right to one half of the personal estate, but she informed the executors of the will that she should relinquish all her claims if the State should accept her husband's bequest within the specified two years; and she further made a will by which she gave all her interest in the real estate to the State of New Hampshire in support of Mr. Culver's plan for an Agricultural College, subject only to the condition of the State's acceptance of his bequest. Failing such acceptance the property was to go to Dartmouth College.

When the Legislature of the State met in June, 1866, the subject of an Agricultural College was brought very clearly before it by the message of Governor Smyth. Recalling the fact that the provisions of the congressional act must be fulfilled, if at all, before July 2, 1867, he urged immediate action. The utmost that could be hoped from the land grant, he said, would not exceed \$100,000, a sum altogether too small for the support of a college, which, if established, would require constant appropriations from the State. The terms of the grant, which expressly called for a college, forbade its association with an academy, as had been suggested, and he, therefore, strongly recommended that the provisions of the congressional act be met and an Agricultural College be established in connection with Dartmouth, the only existing college in the State. If the will of Mr. Culver, then in litigation, should be sustained and if the State should not accept his bequest, the whole amount of it would revert to Dartmouth, which, with its existing plant, laboratories and cabinets, would be able to put at the disposal of the State for

the support of an Agricultural Department more than double what it would otherwise secure. Notwithstanding the Governor's recommendation and the uncertainty of the litigation over the will, a resolution was introduced by the representative from Lyme to accept the bequest and to establish an Agricultural College in that town, but it got no farther than the committee.

Anticipating that the question of the establishing of an Agricultural College would come before the Legislature, and desiring, if it should be established, to have it incorporated with Dartmouth, President Smith took early action, and in a letter, afterward sanctioned by the Trustees, instructed the college treasurer, Mr. Blaisdell, who represented the college district in the Legislature that session, to use his utmost endeavors to bring about the connection, and authorized him to make on their behalf the following propositions:

1. We offer to the State, so far as it may be necessary to the purposes of the Fund, and under such regulations as may be deemed proper, the use of all means and appliances of education already established here—Buildings, Libraries, Apparatus, Professorships—to the value, if the cost of providing them anew were estimated, of more than four hundred thousand dollars.

2. If the avails of the Fund should be given us, we would undertake to make whatever additional provision for agricultural education should be thought needful, and to devote one half the avails of the Fund to the gratuitous instruction of pupils selected under the authority of the State. If the Fund should amount to \$100,000, it would provide, at the present charge for tuition, for some sixty pupils annually.

3. We would guarantee the State against all expense on account of the Agricultural College.

4. We would assent to the placing of the Fund and the Agricultural course under the care of those State officials who are *ex officio* members of our Board of Trustees; they to sustain the same relation to this Department, that they now do to the funds given by the State.

Mr. Blaisdell was further commissioned to say that a committee of the Board was authorized to make alterations that did not essentially modify the proposition, and in case such modifications were demanded to call at once a meeting of the Board. The committee was also authorized to press matters, as might seem expedient, upon the Legislature and the people and to offer such additional inducements, in the way of money or of lands and tenements as public-spirited individuals might put at the disposal of the Trustees.

The bill, resulting from these influences, as it was finally passed and approved on July 7, 1866,¹ established the "New Hampshire

¹ Pamphlet Laws of New Hampshire, 1866, ch. 4216, p. 3235.

College of Agriculture and the Mecahnic Arts" whose leading object was to be, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts," in conformity to the act of Congress. The general government of the College was vested in nine trustees, five of whom were to be appointed by the Governor and Council, one from each councillor district, and four by the Trustees of Dartmouth College, the terms of all being so arranged that three of them retired annually. The trustees, thus appointed, were authorized to locate the College at Hanover in connection with Dartmouth College, and to make all necessary contracts with that College in relation to the terms of connection, "subject to be terminated upon a notice of one year, given at any time after fourteen years, and to its furnishing to the College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts the free use of an experimental farm, of all requisite buildings, of the libraries, laboratories, apparatus and museums of said Dartmouth College, and for supplying such instruction in addition to that furnished by its professors and teachers, as the best interests of its students may require; and also to any legacy said Dartmouth College may receive from the estate of the late David Culver. The said Trustees are also authorized and directed to furnish, so far as may be practicable, free tuitions to indigent students of the College, and to make provision for free lectures in different parts of the State upon subjects pertaining to agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The act differed in essential particulars from the proposition made by the Trustees. That involved the idea of the fund being given to Dartmouth College for a department under the existing Trustees, the fund being controlled by the State only through the State officers who were *ex officio* members of the Board, in the same way that they controlled the funds which had come to the College by earlier grants of land by the State. The entire responsibility for the management and instruction of the Department was to rest with the Trustees, except that they agreed to provide without expense to the State any instruction in agricultural education that was needful. The act, on the contrary, provided merely for what might be called a physical connection with Dartmouth. The Agricultural College, though afterward called the Agricultural Department of Dartmouth College, was to be under the control of its own Trustees, of which only a minority was to be appointed by the Trustees

of Dartmouth College. The appointment of officers and the determination of courses of instruction belonged to this new Board, while it devolved upon the Trustees of Dartmouth College to furnish by contract with it "the free use of an experimental farm, of all requisite buildings, of the libraries, laboratories, apparatus and museums," as the best interests of the new students might require.

It is not strange that the old Trustees at their annual meeting ten days after the passage of the act hesitated as to what course they would pursue. To refuse to appoint the four members of the new Board, whose appointment rested with them, would be to destroy all possible union of the Agricultural College with Dartmouth and lead to its establishment elsewhere. To appoint them did not conclude the relation, since the form of the connection would be determined by contracts between the two Boards, and they would not be forced to accept a contract which they thought adverse to the interests of the College. They, therefore, appointed of their own number, as members of the new Board, President Smith, Governor Frederick Smyth of Manchester, Anthony Colby of New London and Ira A. Eastman of Manchester. The last named did not accept the appointment and Edward Spalding was put in his place. At a later meeting in Concord, September 6, President Smith and Messrs. Nesmith, Bouton and Day were appointed a committee to confer with the other Board, when organized, in the matter of contracts. The five appointees of Governor Smyth were Joseph B. Walker of Concord, John D. Lyman of Farmington, William P. Wheeler of Keene, John B. Clarke of Manchester and Chester C. Hutchins of Bath, and the Agricultural Board met at Concord September 28, 1866, and organized by the choice of Dr. Smith as President, Mr. Walker as Secretary and Governor Smyth as Treasurer.

The question of contracts between the two institutions was immediately taken up, and in the variety of interests that appeared the long discussions tended to diminish rather than to increase the likelihood of a satisfactory conclusion. On the 29th of May following, President Smith wrote a long letter to Mr. Walker and, after giving the reasons for his hesitation, said:¹

I incline to the opinion that even if we could agree upon terms, which seems doubtful, it would not be best either for Dartmouth College or the State that the proposed connection should be effected. A change can easily

¹ Letter in the Library of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

be made by the Legislature in an Act authorizing the selection of some other location, and the appointment of the whole Board by the Governor and Council. . . .

I write thus early, because if the Agricultural College is not connected with Dartmouth—and I now think it probable it will not be—the Legislature may wish to accept General Culver's donation and so locate the Institution at Lyme. This must be done, if at all, within two years from his death; which term will expire not far from the middle of next month. I call your attention to the fact, that you may be thinking of the matter, and so no opportunity be lost to the State by our declining the proposed connection.

On the next day he wrote Dr. Bouton not less clearly but more succinctly.¹

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, HANOVER, N. H., May 30, 1867.

REV. DR. BOUTON:

MY DEAR SIR:—Yours of yesterday has just reached me. . . .

I am not likely to overlook any important aspect of the subject. I have spent too many anxious days, I might almost say nights, upon it, for that. And you will see the inclination of my mind from the letter I enclose. It is—as the matter is shaped in the act, and in all the present bearing of it—to remit the whole thing to the State. My apprehension is, that it will be an incubus upon us, which we may best avoid. And now is the time to guard ourselves. The connection is not yet formed—it is for us to say whether it shall be. Of course, it cannot be forced upon us, nor would any one desire that. In addition to what is said in my letter to Mr. Walker, or in expansion of it, I would say,

1. The Agricultural College is, at the best, a *very doubtful experiment* If it fails, Dartmouth, if it undertakes it, will be blamed.

2. The machinery ordained by the act is *very complicated and cumbrous*—almost sure to work ill on that account.

3. The provisions about an *experimental farm* and the “free use” etc. with the best construction as can be put upon them, are likely to give us trouble.

4. The whole thing if it goes on well must inevitably throw a great deal of additional work and labor on me—care and labor which are needed for the other great matters of the College. This has been the fact already. Nor do I see any way to avoid this in the future. If any one thinks he does, all I have to say is *he does not know*. I do not shrink from labor, you understand, but the College proper calls for all I can bestow.

5. It will be very difficult to settle upon terms of connection that will be admissible. I see no probability of any arrangement that will be any pecuniary benefit to Dartmouth.

6. I am afraid of the *politicians* and of political complications. *Already a great wrong has been done*, in giving the Democratic party but one out of the five Trustees appointed by the Governor and Council. This alienated Judge Eastman and has offended others. We shall be liable to such things, year after year.

7. As the act stands, once form the Connection and a Department of the College *is in the power of the State*. The State has a majority, and can rule.

¹ Letter in the Library of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

I have doubt about putting even a Department in such relations. "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes." I remember the old battle which Webster fought for us. I remember the Trojan horse.

8. The limitation of time is very objectionable—putting a College on wheels.

But I cannot enlarge. I will call the Committee, as you suggest, to meet at my room at the Eagle Hotel on Monday the 3d inst. . . . The Committee should meet by themselves, so as to settle their own views first.

Yours very truly,

ASA D. SMITH.

P. S. We must remember that we as a Committee, are charged with the interests of Dartmouth College. If we do not look out for them, nobody else will! The State will look out for itself—not for us.

But, notwithstanding these questionings, an agreement was reached in later conferences, on June 4, 1867, a contract was signed by the Agricultural Trustees and the Committee of the Dartmouth Board which had been given power to act. This contract made a union of the Agricultural College with Dartmouth College through the Chandler Scientific Department, and provided that students coming through the Agricultural College and having the preparation required by the Chandler Department should receive instruction in the classes of that Department, that they should pay the regular tuition and be entitled to all the privileges of its students. The Faculty of the Chandler Department was constituted the Faculty of the Agricultural College, to which the latter was to add one full professor, who was to be "a member of the Faculty of the Chandler Scientific Department, under the same conditions, and with the same privileges as the other members."

The Department was to furnish "adequate instruction in the mechanic arts" and also "a special course of agricultural instruction, falling in the last two years of the Chandler Scientific Department, analogous to what are called the engineering course, the commercial course and the general course" of that Department, and the studies of the course were to be acceptable to the Trustees of the Agricultural College. Dartmouth further agreed that if it should receive under the will of General Culver a farm in Lyme, it would on the written request of the Trustees of the Agricultural College furnish such reasonable part of the farm with its buildings as should be necessary for an experimental farm, and if no farm were received under the will, that it would co-operate with the other Trustees in any reasonable

way to secure such a farm. The contract was terminable on one year's notice by either party at any time after fourteen years from July 7, 1866, or on notice of one year by either party given in July, 1874.

This arrangement, brought about by mutual concessions, was fairly satisfactory to both parties. It was a great advantage for both to utilize the existing organization of the Chandler Department and to avoid the waste of duplication of equipment and instructors. The Agricultural Trustees secured the benefit, in financial phrase, of a "going concern," and yet contributed to its prosperity and had a certain voice in its control. The Dartmouth Trustees, putting aside the fears expressed in President Smith's letter, accepted the oversight of the other Board in certain particulars, and yet had themselves the right of initiative and gained for the Chandler Department at least one additional professor and some additional financial support. But the contract did not become operative, for as it involved the interests of the Chandler Department it was subject to revision by the Visitors. On being presented to them it did not receive their approval and was consequently abandoned, leaving the whole subject open for discussion between the two Boards. In the catalogue of 1866-1867 announcement had been made of an expected organization of the new "Department of Instruction" in readiness for the next academic year, but the veto of the Visitors postponed the opening, and the next catalogue announced that the necessary arrangements could not be made, and deferred the expected beginning for another year. During the following winter negotiations proceeded so successfully that a new contract was signed April 7, 1868.¹

This contained no reference to the Chandler Department, but it was looked at askance by the Chandler men, and at the meeting of the Trustees in April, 1868, for the consideration of the new contract between the two institutions, a letter of vigorous protest against any union of the Chandler School and the Agricultural College was received from Professor Woodman, then senior Professor in the Chandler School, and in July, after the contract had been signed, a communication from the Visitors expressed regret that they had not been consulted in connection with it, and the fear that the new institution might prove "a rival school." Their letter was spread upon the records but produced no effect, the Trustees considering the

¹ For the contract see Appendix F.

subject as outside the province of the Visitors, as it had no relation to the Chandler School. To make their position clear the Trustees at an adjourned meeting in August declared in their record:

That the reason why the Agricultural College was established as a separate Department, was, in the first place, that a plan for its union with the Scientific Department, which there was reason to suppose would be satisfactory to all, had been vetoed by the Visitors; and, in the second place, an elaborate communication was afterward received from the senior Professor of the Scientific Department expressing his decided conviction that it would be unwise to have any union of the Agricultural Department with the Scientific.

In these circumstances the Trustees of the Agricultural College unanimously voted to establish that Institution as a distinct department and so presented the matter to the Board. The Board are convinced besides, that there can be no antagonism between the two departments, each having its own proper sphere and peculiarities, and meeting educational wants specifically different.

To outline for the future their relation to the Visitors the Board further voted:

Whereas, in the present enlargement of the College, with the increase of the number of its Departments, and the complicated relations between them, it is more important than at any former time, that each be kept in the distinctness appropriate to it, thus the better insuring a harmonious whole, therefore

Resolved 1. That it is expedient that the two Boards connected with the Chandler Scientific Department,—the Trustees of Dartmouth College and the Visitors of the Scientific Department—should hereafter, according to the prevalent usage in such cases, hold separate sessions and keep separate minutes thereof.

Resolved 2. That whenever any meeting of the Trustees is held, due notice thereof shall be given to the Visitors.

Resolved 3. That whenever at any such meeting, any business pertaining to the Scientific Department shall be transacted, a copy of the record thereof shall be immediately furnished to the Board of Visitors, thus giving them an opportunity to exercise the revisionary powers which, in the nature of their office, and by the will of the founder of the Department, pertain to them.

A beginning of a Faculty for the new Department was made in the spring of 1868 by the appointment of Ezekiel W. Dimond, a graduate of Middlebury College, as professor of general and agricultural chemistry, and in the next year by that of Dr. Thomas R. Crosby as professor of animal and vegetable physiology. Teaching in other subjects was done by members of the other Faculties on the same terms as in the Chandler Department. The requirements for admission included the subjects

pursued in the common schools and called for an examination in arithmetic, English grammar and geography, to which history was added in the next year. The course of study covered three years, junior, middle and senior, the subjects of the first year, algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, physical geography, botany, chemistry and physics being required of all students, but in the middle and senior years a choice was allowed between a course in agriculture and one in the mechanic arts, each continuing through the two years; military tactics are mentioned in the catalogue as "through the whole course," but owing to the lack of an instructor gymnastic exercises were for some years substituted for them. The year, divided into two terms, ended about the last of April, giving to the students an opportunity of returning to the work of the farm for the summer. Tuition was \$15 a term.

Provision for housing the expected students was made in the summer of 1868 by the purchase of the hotel property at the corner of Main and South Streets for \$3,500, and nearly \$2,000 was spent in the attempt to make it convenient and attractive. It was christened "South Hall" and was regarded as the peculiar dormitory of the Agricultural Department. Other students occasionally roomed there, but it was never popular even with the agricultural students, who withdrew from it when they could find quarters elsewhere, and on the opening of Conant Hall in September, 1874, deserted it entirely. Subsequently it was used as a tenement and falling to decay was burned, without regret on the part of any one, on the night of July 11, 1888.

By the terms of the contract the College was to provide recitation and lecture rooms for the students of the new Department, but the Trustees of the Agricultural College soon felt that it would be better for it to have a building of its own, one that would be "recognized as its local habitation, containing a chemical laboratory and lecture room, an agricultural and mechanical museum, recitation rooms, library room, and other appropriate and serviceable apartments." The expression of their wish was cordially received by the Trustees of the College, who at a special meeting, held May 4, 1869, offered to employ in the erection of such a building \$15,000 of what they expected to receive from the estate of David Culver and \$10,000 which were expected from the estate of Mrs. Culver, provided the Trustees of the Agricultural College would contribute \$15,000

to a building to cost not over \$40,000, and to be called, in honor of the chief donor, "Culver Hall." It was to be occupied jointly by the two institutions under specified regulations, and the expense of running it was to be paid by each college in proportion to the use made of it. The \$15,000 needed to secure the building were appropriated by the Legislature on July 9, 1869, with a proviso, that if the connection between the two colleges should be at any time dissolved Dartmouth College should repay this sum to the State. The construction of this building was put in charge of a committee consisting of President Smith, Professor Hitchcock and Professor Dimond, but the main care of the details of the work was entrusted to Professor Dimond, who for several years acted as a kind of general agent of the institution.

Although the money from the estates of General and Mrs. Culver had not been received, the Trustees determined to anticipate its payment and to proceed with the building. Mr. Edward Dow of Concord was selected as architect and the plans decided upon called for a building of brick 100 feet long, 60 feet wide and four stories high, including a high basement with a granite ashlar and a story secured by a Mansard roof.

Ground was broken in the fall of 1869, but the work on the building was brought to a standstill by the great freshet of that year, which not only rendered the roads impassable to heavy loads of stone, but flooded the yard where several hundred thousand brick, which had been contracted for, were ready for burning, ruining the brick and carrying off the wood which was to be used as fuel. Operations were renewed in the spring and on the 23d of June the corner stone was laid with much ceremony. The Legislature, then in session, adjourned for the day and reached Hanover by a special train a little before noon. After a lunch, the day, which had been threatening, having become clear and hot, the exercises began. The introductory part was described in the current number of the *Aegis* in a way which incidentally shows that the habits of undergraduates have undergone little change. "A procession was formed," it says, "at two o'clock of the legislators and students, the former numerous, the latter scanty in numbers, most of the undergraduates preferring to lounge in the shade. The procession marched around the Common led by the Lebanon band, which furnished quite good music, its favorite air being the plaintive ballad, 'Put me in my little Bed,' the touching beauty of whose

strains was only equalled by their remarkable appropriateness to the occasion."

The corner stone was laid by Governor Onslow Stearns with addresses by President Smith and others, after which plans of the building were exhibited and explained. By June of the next year the work was completed and the building was dedicated just one year to the day from the laying of the corner stone.

The cost of the building did not exceed the \$40,000 assigned, but as a sufficient amount had not been received from the Culver estate to meet the expenses of construction as they were presented, the College was obliged to borrow \$10,000, which was repaid in 1874 on the settlement of the estate. Mrs. Culver's bequest, which was not fully paid till 1876, amounted to almost \$10,000, so that the total amount received by the College from General and Mrs. Culver was \$31,693.38.

The terms of the settlement of General Culver's estate prevented the use of his farm as an experimental farm, even if its distance from Hanover had not made such use impracticable, and it, therefore, became very important to secure a farm for the use of the College in its immediate neighborhood. Fortunately a tract of twenty-five acres well suited to the purpose and directly opposite Culver Hall was found to be available, and was secured in August, 1869, at a cost of \$3,625, through the gift of John Conant of Jaffrey, who offered to the College for the purchase of a farm \$12,000, provided the State would appropriate an equal sum to complete the purchase and erect the necessary buildings. The State accepted the offer and appropriated \$5,000 in 1871 and \$7,000 in 1872, but in the meantime, in September, 1870, a farm of 135 acres adjoining the parcel already secured was bought by Professor Dimond for \$7,000 and held by him for transfer to the Agricultural College whenever it had the means to make the purchase. This was made possible by Mr. Conant's gift and the appropriations from the State, and the farm was further enlarged by the purchase of an adjoining tract of about two hundred acres of woodland from A. P. Balch for \$6,234, so that the College came into possession of land of varied character of 360 acres in extent.

The management of the farm as well as the general interests of the Department were, subject to the general direction of President Smith, under the immediate charge of Professor Dimond, who threw himself heartily into the work of upbuilding the institution. Under his supervision a large barn 100 by 51

feet was built in 1875 from appropriations by the State, to which in 1882 was added an ell of equal size for a cattle barn. A house for the farm superintendent was also built in 1882 at a cost of \$6,000. In the same year with the barn there was erected, nearly opposite Culver Hall on a lot known as the Allen lot and bought in 1873 for \$3,500, a large double brick house, connected in both stories by a covered passageway, and called "Conant Hall," from its donor. It was designed for the triple purpose of a residence for the farm superintendent, a dormitory for the students in place of South Hall, and a boarding establishment, open to all students, which was to be supplied with the products of the farm and to furnish board at cost. It was designed by Mr. Dow, the architect of Culver Hall, and its cost, including equipment, was \$22,358. The rooms were large and well lighted and heated with steam, but there was a lack of conveniences so that the building was never a favorite dormitory, and as a boarding house it met with varied success according to the business ability and culinary skill of those who were secured to run it. After the removal of the Agricultural College the building was bought by the Dartmouth Trustees, and named "Hallgarten Hall," but though thoroughly remodelled it never won its way into the favor of the students.

While the Agricultural Department was in process of organization the university idea had a still further extension by the founding of the Thayer School of Civil Engineering, an essentially postgraduate department of the most exalted aims. It originated in the generosity of General Sylvanus Thayer, of Braintree, Mass., under the following circumstances.¹ General Thayer was a graduate of Dartmouth of the class of 1807 and retained an ardent affection for the College, upon which he was desirous of bestowing a lasting benefit. Under the advice of Francis B. Hayes, one of the Visitors of the Chandler fund, General Thayer executed a will which made that fund the

¹Sylvanus Thayer, son of Nathaniel and Dorcas (Faxon) Thayer of Braintree, Mass., was born June 19, 1785. After graduation from Dartmouth in 1807, he immediately entered the United States Military Academy at West Point and became second lieutenant of engineers in February, 1808. He advanced steadily in rank, gaining high repute as an officer in the War of 1812. After service for the Government in Europe from 1815 to 1817 he was appointed, June 28 of the latter year, Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, and his able management brought the School to the high position which it has since occupied, and secured for him the title of "The Father of the Military Academy." On leaving the Academy in June, 1833, he was entrusted with the construction of the fortifications in Boston Harbor and the neighboring coast, and was engaged in this work till 1857. He was retired from active service June 1, 1863, with the rank of brevet brigadier general, and returning to his native home at Braintree died there September 7, 1872, leaving the bulk of his estate, several hundred thousand dollars, to the Academy in that place, which now bears his name.

residuary legatee of his estate. He was afterward induced by others connected with the College, wishing an earlier realization of the benefit of his bounty, to substitute an immediate gift of a definite sum for the establishment of this new department as a distinct school of a higher grade. The nominal sum of \$70,000 having been thus devoted by him between 1867 and 1871, the School was organized in the latter year, by Professor Robert Fletcher, who had been chosen by General Thayer for that purpose, with a carefully arranged course of two years. General Thayer further specified in an exact statement, called "Programme A," the subjects required for admission, which he directed should be "regarded as an absolute minimum," but which might be increased by the Board of Overseers.

The care of the funds was given to the Trustees of the College, but the immediate government of the School to a Board of five Overseers, of whom the President of the College was to be a member *ex officio*, and the others, after the first appointment by himself, were to be elected by the Board. They were to fix the requirements for admission, draw out the course of study, appoint officers of instruction, and determine salaries and rate of tuition. The Trustees, however, were to have authority to remove officers, and make laws for the government of the students.

In the fall of 1870 one student was received to a preparatory course which, in view of the high requirements for admission, it was found necessary to establish. This was continued a second year and then abandoned, the mathematical course in the College having meantime been extended as an elective through junior year, for the benefit of those preparing for the Thayer School. At first the School was harbored in a room on the north side of the first floor in Wentworth; in 1872 it found a more commodious and more cheerful home in two rooms on the south side of the first floor in Thornton, where it expanded till it occupied the whole of that floor on the south side, leaving those quarters when it was able to secure ample accommodations in the experiment station vacated by the Agricultural College in 1892.¹ Under the able care of Professor Fletcher, with whom,

¹ The building was secured for the Thayer School by Professor Fletcher, who paid \$3,000 for it; of this sum \$1,850 came from funds subscribed for that purpose in New York and the balance from funds for which he was personally responsible. Two years later the College repaid Professor Fletcher the amount of his personal expenditure, adding enough to put the building into good condition for the work of the School, so that the total cost of the building to the College was about \$4,000.

as need required, a small faculty was associated, it increased slowly in numbers and gained an enviable reputation for the thoroughness and effectiveness of its training.

Coincidentally with the establishment of the Agricultural College and the Thayer School the Medical Department received a new impulse, partly from the general increased interest in medical education and partly from the greater attention that was given to the instruction of students in medicine throughout the year. The long standing custom, by which physicians in many places became preceptors of medical students for all their training except the lectures, became about this time largely localized. For many years Drs. Dixi and A. B. Crosby had several students under their personal instruction during the year, but after coming to Hanover Dr. Carlton P. Frost, who had long exercised the function of a medical preceptor, developed this work into that of a formal class, whose names appeared for the first time in the catalogue of 1873-1874 as of students attending during the recitation term.

Another member of the medical Faculty, Dr. L. B. How of Manchester, had for some years a similar class, which to a considerable extent came to Hanover during the lecture term. Gradually these classes, and especially the one at Hanover, took the place of the work under scattered physicians acting as preceptors, since the latter were seldom able to offer equal facilities, particularly for dissecting. The result was beneficial both to the students and the College. Although the recitation term was purely a private enterprise, which Dr. Frost and those whom he associated with him in instruction conducted as to methods, times and fees as they saw fit, yet the students were allowed the benefit of the laboratories, museums and anatomical rooms as fully as during the lecture term, and most of those who came for the recitation term attended during the lecture term.

The number of medical students, which had declined after the close of the war so that from 1866 to 1873 the average attendance was but forty-seven, suddenly rose in 1874 to seventy-eight and continued to gain for several years thereafter.

The year 1869 was made memorable in the history of the College by the celebration of its first centennial, which was rendered more impressive and joyful by the hopeful conditions under which it was observed. The reviving prosperity of the College, indicated by the enlarged attendance of the students,

the opening of the Agricultural Department and the assurance of the Thayer School, as well as by actual and prospective gifts of available funds, gave to the occasion a tone of cheer and expectation. The exercises naturally had to do with the past. The origin of the College, its great controversy and its later trials and successes, with its wide relations, were reviewed with pride and satisfaction, but in them all was the gratifying evidence that the close of one century and the beginning of another were marked by conditions that promised better things to come.

In anticipation of the celebration the alumni at their gathering at Commencement in 1868 appointed a committee to consider the "Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Dartmouth College," which reported that it was desirable to have a festival during Commencement week of 1869, ample and generous in its scope, "for the gratification of the alumni and the substantial advancement of the College in all the elements of a sound and well established prosperity." At their suggestion a committee of sixteen, with President Smith as chairman, was appointed to prepare and carry out a programme for the celebration, and with this committee the Faculty was authorized by the Trustees at their annual meeting heartily to co-operate.

The committee at a meeting at the house of President Smith November 24, 1868, arranged the programme for an elaborate celebration on Wednesday of Commencement week. The exercises of the other days were to go on as usual, but that day was to be especially devoted to the centennial exercises. To a sub-committee, consisting of President Smith, Professor Sanborn and William H. Duncan, was committed the duty of securing proper speakers for the occasion, while all local arrangements were put into the hands of Professor E. T. Quimby. General Gilman Marston was secured as marshal for the day, and General Samuel A. Duncan and General Joab N. Patterson as assistant marshals, their recent service in the war having made them able, it was believed, to control the expected crowds and to keep in order the procession of turbulent alumni. This was the ambitious programme for the day:¹

¹ Centennial Celebration at Dartmouth College, July 21, 1869, Hanover, N. H.; J. B. Parker, 1870, from which, with personal recollections, the account of the text is taken.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21.

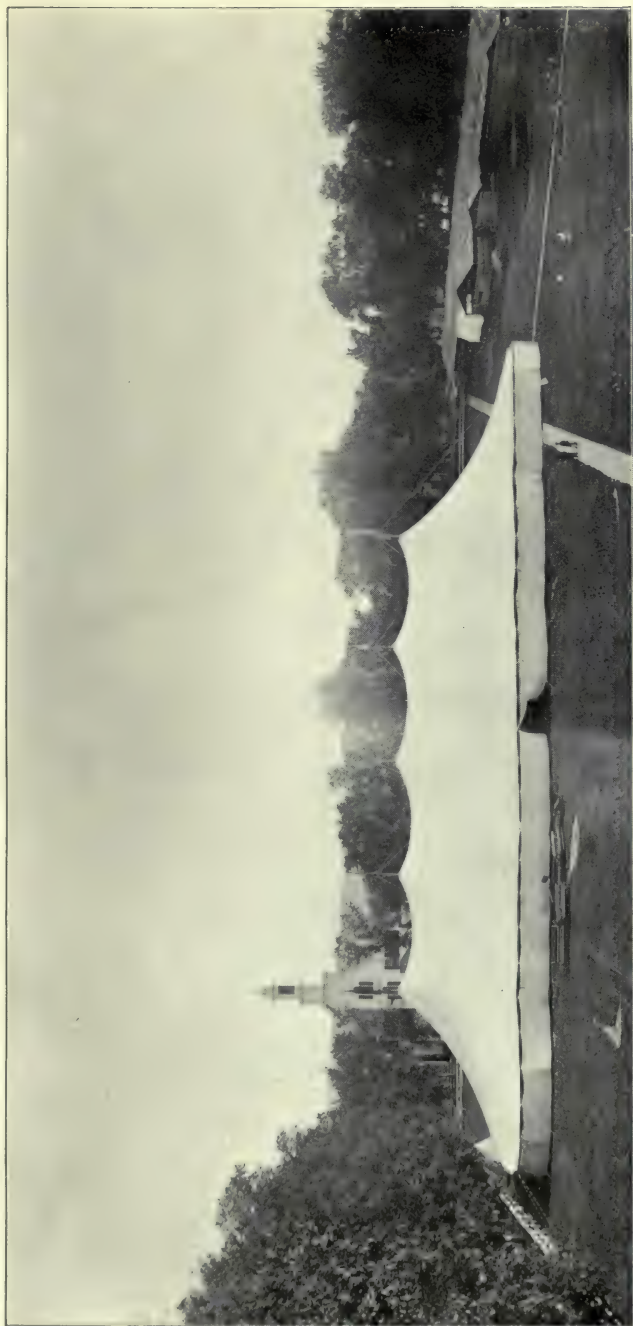
FORENOON, 10 O'CLOCK.

- (1) Address of Welcome by President Smith.
- (2) Address by Ex-President Lord.
- (3) Historical address by Rev. Samuel G. Brown, D.D., LL.D.

AFTERNOON, 2 O'CLOCK.

1. Introductory address by Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, President of the Alumni Association.
2. Addresses on various relations of the College, as follows:
 - (1) To Law, by Hon. Ira Perley, LL.D.
 - (2) To Statesmanship, by Hon. Daniel Clark, LL.D.
 - (3) To Literature, by Richard B. Kimball, Esq.
 - (4) To Science and the Arts, by Hon. James W. Patterson.
 - (5) To Medicine, by Dr. Jabez B. Upham.
 - (6) To Military Life, by Gen. George F. Shepley.
 - (7) To Education, by Samuel H. Taylor, LL.D.
 - (8) To Religion, by Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, D.D.
3. Gymnastic Exhibition at 5½ o'clock, by the students, under the direction of Mr. Emerson.
4. Promenade Concert in the Large Tent, at 7¼ o'clock, by the Germania Band.

Long before Commencement it was found that so many alumni and friends of the College expected to be present that the College church, the only auditorium, could not possibly contain those who would wish to hear the addresses, and that the hotel accommodations and the hospitality of the village could not supply their wants. To afford a sufficient auditorium a mammoth tent, two hundred and five feet long and eighty-five feet wide, capable of holding five thousand persons, was borrowed from Yale College and pitched upon the Common. It was erected under the direction of a freshman, A. S. Batchellor of Littleton, on the western side of the Common, midway between north and south, its length being east and west and its front toward the south. On the north side of the interior a stage about half the length of the tent was built for the College officers, the speakers and guests, and settees were provided for the audience. The interior was profusely trimmed with bunting, streamers and flags, and the front of the platform and the back of the stage were draped with flags, while an arch behind the stage displayed the inscription, *Centesimum annum, ab Academia condita, celebramus; Aevi melioris auspiciis felix hic dies sit.* To aid in the lighting of the tent for the promenade concert several locomotive headlights were borrowed from the Passumpsic



COMMENCEMENT TENT, 1869.



railroad, which were effective, but dazzling to all who came within their direct rays.

To secure accommodations requisition was made upon the neighboring towns, and lodgings were secured in Norwich, West Lebanon and White River Junction, special trains being run to and from the last place night and morning. Additional provision was made, for the younger alumni in particular, by tents which were furnished by the Adjutant General of the State. On the present site of Rollins Chapel two tents, twenty by thirty feet, were set up for the classes of 1867 and 1868, while in the open space in the rear of Dartmouth Hall one hundred army wall tents were pitched as bachelor quarters for whatever classes or individuals wished to occupy them. The problem of feeding the multitude could not be divided with the neighboring towns. Those who slept outside of Hanover could secure breakfast at their lodging places, but for their other meals and for the meals of many who stayed in the town provision had to be made in the village. For this purpose a temporary board structure, three hundred feet long and forty wide, with three wings on its western side, containing kitchens and a dining hall, was erected at the northeastern corner of the Common. It was under the charge of Asa T. Barron, the proprietor of several hotels, among them the one at White River Junction. Here meals were provided for all who needed at seventy-five cents a meal, or *a la carte*, and here, after the exercises of graduation on Thursday, was served the Commencement dinner, at which twelve hundred sat down, eight hundred of them being alumni of the College, and two hundred the alumni of other colleges.¹

The exercises of the earlier days of Commencement week were of the usual description, marked only by a suppressed excitement in view of the coming celebration. The great day, the 21st, at last opened, says Mr. Duncan in his account, "with a clear and beautiful sky, and a fresh breeze from the distant hills. The national banners which had been run up above the tent were all floating upon the air, waving and fluttering as if to salute all who came to honor the occasion. Every avenue to the place was filled with those who were coming in all kinds of vehicles, from the stately coach to the 'one horse shay'—

¹ There was, perhaps inevitably, considerable complaint in regard to the catering in general and the dinner in particular, so that when, after Commencement, Mr. Barron, invited several members of the Faculty to take a trip among the mountains as his guests, a local wit, Ira B. Allen, remarked that he did this "to take off the cuss of the dinner." Dr. W. T. Smith in *Hanover Forty Years Ago*, p. 5.

to say nothing of those who came on foot. By nine o'clock the town was filled to overflowing." The procession formed in the College yard in the following order:

The undergraduates in the order of their classes;
The Germania Band;
The President of the College;
The Governor of the State and his Aides;
The Honorable Board of Trustees;
The Faculty and Executive Officers of the College;
The Chief Justice of the United States;
The Judges of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and other States;
Senators and Representatives in Congress;
The Army and Navy;
Invited guests of the College and distinguished Strangers;
The Alumni in the order of the Classes, beginning with the Class of 1804,
and ending with the Class of 1868.

The procession passed from the college yard across the north end of the Common, down its west side to the south, whence it marched directly to the entrance of the tent. Ex-President Lord, who was expected to make one of the addresses of the day, was prevented by illness from so doing, but he was able to sit at his chamber window and review the procession as it passed. Many of his former students recognized him, and all as they passed went with uncovered heads. The exercises of the morning, except for the address of ex-President Lord, passed off as arranged, under the charge of Salmon P. Chase, chief justice of the United States, president of the alumni. Prayer was offered by Dr. Barstow of the Trustees, and after music by the band President Smith gave an address of welcome in his happiest vein. The historical address by President Brown of Hamilton College, son of President Brown of Dartmouth, was worthy the occasion, sketching in clear outline the origin and progress of the College and indicating the principles underlying its foundation and government. The morning closed with the singing by the audience, to the tune of America, of an ode written for the occasion by Dr. John Ordronaux of the class of 1850.

Assembling again at two in the afternoon the audience was prepared for a series of brilliant addresses on the various relations of the College, but there was one event not in the programme. Judge Chase began the exercises with a pleasing *ex tempore* address. Three of the assigned addresses were then given, when, to break the succession, a poem written for the

occasion by George Kent of the class of 1814 was read by Judge Barrett of Vermont. As he was reading there came the interruption for which there had been no provision. A shower, announced by heavy thunder, burst upon the tent as if the very windows of heaven had been opened and the audience made the appalling discovery that the tent was not waterproof. Judge Barrett, who was of sterner stuff than to yield to wind and rain, held his post and only read the louder. But it was of no use; at first in vapory thinness, then in sheets and streams the water poured through the canvas of the tent. A few had umbrellas, some held settees as a roof above their heads, others, including the chief justice and most of the dignitaries from the stage, sought beneath the platform a refuge from the flood, but they had forgotten the cracks between the boards, and as the water poured through them in concentrated fury the disappointed victims found that their last estate was wetter than their first.

The shower was as brief as it was fierce, and as it passed away, the audience took heart with the returning sun and though clothes were soaked, toilettes disarranged and finery ruined, it resumed its place with numbers almost undiminished. Judge Barrett who had left the stage with slouched hat and dripping garments came back and finished reading the poem. Senator Patterson delivered his address, which Mr. Duncan says "was by no means a *dry* one," and received the compliment of "the undivided attention of the audience which had been thrown into confusion by the storm, and which was not only wet, but soaked and thoroughly uncomfortable."

Further attention, however, was impossible and the remaining exercises were postponed till the following day after the alumni dinner. Later in the afternoon the gymnastic exercises of the students under Mr. Emerson took place successfully in the open space in front of the tent, in the presence of a great crowd. On the next day after the dinner the throng again gathered in the tent and the speaking was renewed, at first, however, of the less formal kind. Governor Stearns representing the State, expressed its assured good will for the College. He was followed by Gen. W. T. Sherman, son of the College by adoption, who had received from it the degree of LL.D., when present at Commencement in 1866, and who now, on rising to speak, was enthusiastically cheered.

The audience was a notable one, containing distinguished

men and women from all parts of the country and impressing all with its unusual character. Several speakers were called upon and every one, as he came forward, declared his embarrassment in speaking before such a company, till John Wentworth of the class of 1836 was introduced. Rising from his place in the audience and slowly mounting the stage, with his giant form, six feet ten inches in height and well proportioned, towering above all, he glared about him and said with great deliberation, "Perhaps you think that I'm embarrassed, but I ain't." The effect was electrical, the audience was convulsed and it was some moments before he could proceed, but then it was in a manner that justified his beginning. The informal speaking was followed by the addresses which had been postponed from the day before, and with a few words of congratulation and a prayer and the benediction President Smith brought the literary exercises of the centennial to a close, but the festivities came to an end only in the evening with the promenade concert in the tent.

The year of the centennial was made memorable by an event of a different kind. The month of October witnessed the severest freshet since 1849. During the month there was a rainfall of 9.245 inches besides half an inch of snow, but the greater part of it was concentrated within two days between the 3d and the 5th, when there was a fall of 6.07 inches of rain.¹ The damage was very great. Every bridge on the roads connecting the town with others was swept away except that over the river leading to Norwich, and that over Mink Brook on the road to Lebanon at the turn a mile this side of Etna. The mill on Blood Brook was damaged and the railroad bridge below the mill was started from its foundations. There were said to be fifty washouts on the Passumpsic railroad, and the interruption to railway communication was so complete that no mail from New York came to Hanover for a week. The last remnant of the old dam at White River Falls was carried away by the water. The appearance of the river, covered with pumpkins and other farm produce and driftwood, resembled the flood of 1771.

In anticipation of the centennial there had been considerable attention paid to the outward appearance of the College. At the election of President Smith a committee of the Trustees was directed to consider the condition of the college buildings,

¹ Observatory Records; *The Dartmouth*, October, 1869.

but the state of the finances allowed nothing beyond the most necessary repairs. For many years the Observatory hill had attracted Judge Parker, and recognizing the possibilities of its artistic development in 1867 he gave 7,500 young trees of many varieties imported from Europe to be set out upon it. In the same year a firm of landscape gardeners, Messrs. Lee and Follen of Boston, was secured through the generosity of Dr. Edward Spalding of Nashua, one of the Trustees, to prepare a plan for the improvement of the place, but nothing definite came of their suggestions. In the next year Judge Parker added to his previous gift 7,500 seedling trees from the nursery of André Leroy of Angers, France; and also gave \$1,000 for the purchase of land to extend the park on the south and east. The many kinds of trees that now beautify the park came from the generosity of Judge Parker, but the paths which somewhat uncertainly intersect it were made later by the students under the direction of President Bartlett.

In the year before the centennial the buildings and the grounds about them were made more presentable. The three brick buildings about the college yard received a coat of yellow wash, bringing the red of Wentworth and Thornton into harmony with Reed, which had been yellow from the beginning. The chapel in Dartmouth Hall was thoroughly refreshed with paint, though the outside of the building was not touched. The little organ in the chapel that had been so often tampered with in the attempt to produce discord in the singing as to be totally unreliable, was replaced by a pipe organ of considerable size, the gift of various friends, and though it lacked both sweetness and richness of tone it was yet a great improvement and added dignity to the service.

In the fall of 1868 and the spring of 1869 the College church, which, though not a college building, was the place of college worship, was greatly improved. Its uncarpeted floors and uncomfortable, cushionless seats had long been the object of student anathemas, among whom it went by the name of the "college barn," and now drew the attention of the ladies of the village, who by subscriptions and by various measures raised money for its renovation. A couple of entertainments consisting of charades, wax works and character representations, given in the hall of the Dartmouth hotel, were very successful in raising funds. The interior of the church was painted, the seats widened, "so that one could go to sleep upon them without danger of

falling off," and provided with cushions. Carpets relieved the bareness of the floors and furnaces took the place of stoves and did away with the long pipes that had festooned the chimneys and perfumed the air with creosote. By the gift of Mr. H. C. Lord of Cincinnati the foundations of the building were repaired and two porches were constructed on the sides of the tower, which enlarged the entrance and made access to the galleries much more convenient.

In the spring of 1867 the sweet-toned bell, that for nearly forty years had rung from the belfry of Dartmouth Hall the call to prayers and recitations and that had been the object of many a student's prank, showed a crack that was at first checked, but in a little while passed beyond control, and soon the bell became only a mass of jangling metal. It was replaced by a heavier bell from the foundry of Meneely and Co., Troy, N. Y., but this new one cracked within the year and was in turn replaced by one from the same maker in 1869.¹ An account of these bells will be found in another place.

Dr. Smith's administration was aided by an event that occurred in June, 1864, and that brought the village more fully under the action of the prohibitory law and removed the open saloon from the place. It will be remembered that this law went into operation in 1855 and did much to clean up the village, but the sentiment was naturally not wholly in its favor, and one of the former saloon keepers, Horace Frary, still continued the sale of liquor to some extent. After a time, in 1857, he became proprietor of the Dartmouth hotel and his sales became much more open and were not confined to his guests. The temperance people determined to bring the traffic to an end, and on the 14th of June a raid was directed against the hotel in which liquors were seized, whose value was estimated at \$3,000.² Frary had probably received an intimation of the coming raid and

¹ As this second bell stood on a dray in front of Dartmouth Hall, waiting to be raised, a group of students gathered about it just as President Smith was passing. The President stopped, and, reading the Latin inscription on the bell, straightened himself and said in rather grandiloquent phrase: "*Ora et labora*: A happy conjunction." After he had gone, one of the students hesitatingly said: "*Ora et labora*. I don't see how the Prex gets 'A happy conjunction' out of that."

² *Granite State Free Press*, June 18, 1864. The advertisement of the sheriff's sale describes the liquors seized as follows: "6 decanters containing one pint of either rum, gin or brandy, three bottles of wine, three pipes of gin one hundred gallons each, two pipes of whiskey, one containing seventy five gallons, the other sixty gallons, one hogshead of Santa Cruz Rum, containing one hundred gallons, two casks of whiskey, each containing thirty gallons, four casks of brandy, containing sixty gallons in all; two casks of wine containing 35 gallons; one cask containing 30 gallons of Proof Rum; one cask of pure spirit 35 gallons; one cask of Gin 35 gallons; five casks of Rum of 40 gallons each; seven casks 50 per cent alcohol, 40 gallons each; three casks of whiskey containing 40 gallons each; one Jug containing 2 gallons of rum."

the day before it came he sold all his liquor to Jonathan G. Currier, of whom he had bought the hotel, and Mr. Currier had put his name upon each cask and receptacle, and after the raid he claimed them as his property. The case came to court and was settled by a partial compromise; Mr. Frary paid a fine and the liquor was ordered to be removed to some place not less than fifty miles from Hanover. It was returned to New York to the parties from whom it was bought, and Mr. Frary permanently retired from the business of liquor selling, greatly to the benefit of the College and the community. As will be seen from the list of liquors seized, the drinking of those days, among the students as among others, was mainly of the stronger liquors and violent intoxication was relatively more frequent. The closing of Frary's bar did not close all sources of supply, but it made it more difficult to obtain liquor and to that extent aided sobriety in the College.

The main cause of discipline in the College, aside from intemperance, was the relation of the two lower classes, which particularly in the fall term led to collisions and disturbances of various kinds, such as breaking of windows, injury of recitation rooms, and greasing of the seats of a class in chapel. President Smith made a vigorous attempt to bring about a better relation, and in the fall of 1865 the Faculty required the sophomore class, as a condition of continuing in college, to give an individual pledge to abstain from all insult and abuse of every kind of the freshman class, including injuries to persons, rooms or property. All but one, who was absent, gave the required pledge, but so difficult of interpretation is such a pledge that on the next day four sophomores engaged in conduct which the Faculty described as "grossly disturbing the recitation of the Freshman class in a manner not only annoying to the class, inasmuch as the exercise was seriously interrupted by it, but insulting to the Professor in charge, the whole being in circumstances specially indicative of hostility to college order, and being particularly aggravated, as having occurred immediately after a pledge had been given by them to avoid such conduct." The sophomores, however, made written and oral statements utterly "disavowing the wrong intentions imputed to them," on the strength of which and of a petition from the class their sentence of suspension was held in abeyance, on condition of there being no further disturbances by the class and that the class "cease from the loud and annoying cry for the football."

The "cry for the football" resulted from the practice of requiring the freshmen to furnish footballs, and at noon and after supper the whole college, or the upper classes, joined in the cry "Football, Freshie," and at other times, when no ball was desired and when no playing would have been allowed, the cry was raised as a means of annoyance, not infrequently a group of sophomores gathering under the windows of a room where a recitation of the freshmen was being held and by their cries for football making the exercise almost impossible. The balls were of rubber and easily punctured, and it was a common thing in the evening game, after the ball had been kicked for a time, for one of the sophomores to cut the ball and having deflated it to carry it off hidden in his clothes. His actions were invariably observed and as the freshmen attempted to recover the ball and the sophomores to protect their man a rush inevitably ensued. Sometimes the rushes occurred in the daytime, and as it was easier in the light to detect an attempt to hide the ball they were then fiercer and more prolonged and broke in upon study hours, and it was the desire to do away with this evil that led to the demand that the sophomores should cease from these cries.

There was a temporary lessening of rushes, but that the sophomore spirit was not effectually quenched by the pledge is shown by the fact that within a month the Faculty found it necessary, out of a class of thirty-three, to dismiss two, suspend four and put on probation four more for "an attack upon the freshman class at the hour of recitation and in locking them out of their recitation room in the presence of members of the Faculty," and that within another month three more came under discipline for similar offences. The experience with a pledge as a whole was not so happy as to justify its use the next year, and the old evil of rushes again appeared. To bring them to an end the Faculty adopted in the fall of 1868 a new plan and forbade the game of football entirely with the existing "mode of furnishing the ball and its tendencies to noise and rushes," and they declared that they would not revoke the prohibition till they were sure that those evils would not recur."¹

This measure, touching, as it did, the whole college, was more effective and the students wished to recover the lost game, but it was two years before the Faculty allowed the game to be revived, and then only on the conditions that there should

be no rushes and no cutting or stealing of balls, that the balls should be furnished by no one class and that the yelling for the ball should be stopped. President Smith at first furnished the balls himself, but later they were for a time furnished by the College.¹ In the long run this measure was successful, though occasion for rushes between the classes was still found in connection with hats and canes. After one of these in the spring of 1875 the sophomores petitioned to be allowed to have some contest of strength, such as a "rope pull"; to this the Faculty acceded, and for some years there was a contest of that general nature.

One great element in relieving the tension between the classes was the introduction in the fall of 1865 of the new sport of baseball, which, beginning with a private club, soon spread through the College and led to the organization of class teams and also of one representing the College. This team began by a game with Amherst at Hanover, in the spring of 1867, the series of intercollegiate contests which has since grown to such dimensions in all directions. The formation of a college team, on which a member of any class might find a place according to his skill, did much toward breaking down the separation of the classes and worked for the unity of college feeling as against the division of class feeling.

It was in connection with the development of athletics that in 1866, after much discussion, green was adopted by the students as the college color, and later the increasing number of contests, with the corresponding necessity for the organized expression of feeling, for which the old hurrah was insufficient, brought into existence the college cry of "Wah-hoo-wah." It was devised by Daniel A. Rollins of the class of 1879, who combined in it to a rare degree sentiment and sound, for while it seems to suggest by a kind of whoop the Indian tradition in the founding of the College, it also possesses the true excellence of an effective cry, a rhythmic cadence and a great volume of sound. When properly given with slow and sonorous utterance it will in the mouths of a hundred men overpower any other known cry given by twice as many.

Then, as now, the students were ready to break the monotony of academic life by celebrations of any kind. On the morning of April 1, 1865, the news reached Hanover of the fall of Rich-

¹ This does not appear in the records of the Faculty, but is given in *The Dartmouth* for October, 1870.

mond.¹ There was a tradition in college that President Lord, in his disbelief in such an event, had promised the students a holiday whenever Richmond should be taken. When the news reached Hanover the students abandoned their exercises and marching in a body across the river joined forces with the Norwich cadets, and returning later in the day paraded the streets with calls for speeches from members of the Faculty. In passing they called upon ex-President Lord who responded in a speech in which he did not deny his sympathy with the losing side. The students listened quietly and at the close one of the leaders called for three cheers for the Union cause. They were given with a will, when another sprang forward and called for cheers for a man who had the courage of his convictions. They were given with equal vigor, making a spirit honorable alike to the speaker and the students.

There was very little change during the first years of President Smith's administration in the course of study. The coming of Professor Young infused new life into the physical and astronomical department, and to make the observatory correspond to his requirements the Trustees in 1866 appropriated \$1,050 for apparatus, of which \$400 were for a recording barometer, \$150 for an anemometer, \$350 for a spectroscope and \$150 for general repairs. Five years later \$5,000, contributed by various persons, were devoted to the further enlargement and improvement of the astronomical equipment. The old 6-inch telescope was replaced by a new one of 9.4-inch aperture and twelve feet focal length from Alvan Clark and Son, and with it was a spectroscope of corresponding size.

The growing reputation of Professor Young in spectroscopic work led to his being called to engage in various scientific expeditions in which spectroscopy had a part. Thus, in the summer of 1869, accompanied, as an assistant, by Mr. C. F. Emerson, afterward Professor, he went to Burlington, Iowa, to observe a total eclipse of the sun, where he discovered the green line of the corona spectrum. In 1870 he went to Jerez in Spain, to observe a similar eclipse, where with his new spectroscope and the 6-inch telescope of the College he saw the "flash spectrum" and discovered the "reversing layer," of whose reality he remained the champion against the doubts of scientists till its confirmation in 1896. In the same year he made, with the assistance of Mr. H. O. Bly, the village photographer, the first

¹ *Granite State Free Press*, April 8, 1865.

photograph of a solar prominence. Two years later, again with Professor Emerson, he spent the summer in Sherman, Wyoming, in the observation of the chromosphere and sun spots. In 1874 he visited Peking, China, to observe the transit of Venus. Much of the work that formed the basis of his later fame was done at Dartmouth and with the instruments now in use at the observatory.¹

The marking system of the College was on a scale of 4, extending from 1 as perfect to 5 as a zero, but there was no point between the two that marked the limit of passing or failing, so that if one fell below it he failed to retain his place in College. An attempt was made in 1866 to introduce a more exact standard, and the Faculty voted that a notice should be sent to a student whose mark fell below 3, and that a student whose mark fell below 3.5 should lose standing and be on partial course. Examinations had always been rated separately from the recitation record and there had been no definite relation between them, owing perhaps to the fact that the marks for the semi-annual examination were made by a committee from abroad and not by the Faculty.

This system was so unsatisfactory that in 1869 each instructor was directed to mark the examination of each student, and giving the examination mark one ninth the value of the recitation mark to unite the two. The dissatisfaction with the marks of the examining committees became so great that two years later the marks of the Faculty were given equal weight with those of the committee, and a little later the latter were entirely disregarded. This result necessarily followed on the introduction of written examinations, which at the suggestion of the Trustees began in the spring of 1872. Oral examinations still continued at the end of the year in some subjects, but their number steadily decreased till they came to an end in 1893. In 1874 the passing grade of the written examinations was set at 40 per cent., corresponding to the mark of 3.5 on the merit scale, but in 1877 it was raised to 50 per cent. and the dropping point on the scale to 3.

A very slight suggestion of electives was made by the Trustees, who commended to the Faculty in 1869, with a fine discrimination in the use of terms, "a limited and cautious use of the elective principle, particularly in the department of the higher

¹ *Dartmouth Bi-Monthly*, October, 1905. Article on Professor Young by Professor John N. Poor.

mathematics," a manifest squinting toward the preparation for the Thayer School. The fruit of the suggestion appeared in the next catalogue when a choice was offered in the third term of sophomore year between French and calculus, but so cautious was the change that after a few years this election was entirely withdrawn, and it was not till 1878 that in the first two terms of sophomore year calculus was made elective with the classics.

Another suggestion of the Trustees, made in 1871, that the requirements for admission be raised, was not carried out till 1874, when the addition in Greek was made of twenty exercises in composition, and in mathematics the whole of plane geometry was substituted for three books of that subject, while in the next year the candidate was called upon for English and American history in addition. Mathematics developed a true Oliver Twist tendency in wishing for more, and in 1876 changed its requirements from the school algebra to university algebra as far as quadratics, and added solid to plane geometry, and Latin, which thus far had made no change, added the Georgics to its requirement, the sum total of all the additional requirements being nearly a year's work in a preparatory school. This, however, proved too great a burden and after two years the requirement of solid geometry was withdrawn. In 1880 Greek and Roman history was substituted for English history, and a composition in English for English grammar.

Among other things during this period the Trustees turned their attention to Commencement, and first desired the Faculty to make such an arrangement of the exercises as to give more time to the alumni. The result of their hint did not at once appear, inasmuch as it was not till 1876 that, except at the centennial, the calendar of Commencement week published in the catalogue made provision for a meeting of the alumni. They were more successful in removing the class day exercises from the church, where they had been held. The chronicles and prophecies gave occasion for personalities unsuited to the place, and after an admonition those parts of the exercises were excluded from the church in 1867, and were, henceforth, held on the hill, or, in case of rain, in the gymnasium.

The number of speakers at Commencement was proving so burdensome, that in 1869 the Trustees suggested a smaller number or less time to each speaker, but though the suggestion was repeated more earnestly two years later, a plan of reduction was not put into operation till 1874, the attempt in 1873 to have

each man shorten his piece by one minute not having been successful. This plan, adopted by the Trustees on the recommendation of the Faculty, provided for the same number of appointments as before. The names of all were to appear on the programme, but only sixteen were to speak, the first four in rank, and twelve others selected from the remaining list on the basis of excellence in composition and elocution, divided as equally as might be between the classes in which the speakers were arranged. An absolute standard as a basis of appointments for Commencement was suggested by the Trustees in 1872, but it was not put into operation till the summer of 1880, when, with a standard of 1.4, the number of appointments was reduced to nineteen, but, as the number continued to be too large, in the following years resort was again had to excusing some from speaking.

There was considerable variation in the calendar during this period. The short winter term following a vacation of six weeks was abandoned in 1866, though, as a concession to teachers, the long vacation was still retained. A division of the college year of thirty-eight weeks into three terms was followed in 1871 by an arrangement of two terms of twenty weeks each, with an extension of the summer vacation from six to nine weeks by bringing Commencement back to the last Thursday in June. This arrangement of terms lasted five years, when a return was had to a system of three terms, aggregating thirty-seven weeks, and separated by vacations of four weeks in the winter and two in the spring.

The amount of work to be required of the senior class and the privilege of a senior vacation before Commencement were questions that were unsettled for some years. It had long been the custom that the senior class should have but two exercises a day, under the belief that the time gained by relief from the third exercise, required in other years, would be devoted to reading, but this belief was not justified in many and certainly not in the majority of cases. The Faculty frequently considered the desirability of a third exercise, but hesitated to require it, partly because of the dislike of the students for additional work, but more from the difficulty of providing instruction. At last in the fall of 1871 a third exercise was required, but it was not continued beyond the following May, when the class was excused from it, "to allow time for the preparation of Commencement parts." Three years later an optional study was

offered to the seniors, who, said *The Dartmouth*, "have an option between practical chemistry and nothing. All but eight have taken—*nothing*," the others being content with two exercises.

As has been said, President Smith at his coming to the College was cordially received by the alumni and they showed themselves ready to second his endeavors for an increase of the resources of the College. One of the plans then set on foot was the erection of a memorial hall in honor of the sons of Dartmouth who had given or risked their lives in the war for the Union. At a large gathering of the alumni at the Commencement of 1865 Senator Patterson introduced a patriotic resolution, calling for a memorial and the appointment of a committee to consider the form it should take. A committee appointed on the passage of the resolutions reported in favor of an attempt to raise within a year fifty thousand dollars for a memorial hall, but the scheme did not pass beyond the stage of plans and an elevation of a building.

The alumni were beginning to turn their thoughts toward the government of the College and to ask for a voice in its affairs. Expression was given to the feeling at the centennial when the question of the increase of the funds was declared to be closely connected with an intimate relation of the alumni to its management. A series of resolutions introduced by Professor Bartlett of Chicago, afterward president of the College, congratulated the Trustees in the warmest terms upon the prosperity of the College, but called for a "closer relationship between the College and its great and powerful body of graduates." The good will of the alumni was shown by another series of resolutions, introduced by Judge Barrett, proposing to raise for the College a fund of \$200,000; the subscriptions were to be binding when \$100,000 were pledged, and \$22,000 were subscribed on the spot. It was manifestly intended, however, that subscriptions and representation should go hand in hand, for a committee of ten was appointed¹ "to have in charge the whole matter of raising the fund and coming to a suitable understanding with the Board" in reference to the representation of the alumni upon it.

This committee presented the resolutions to the Trustees at an adjourned meeting in August, together with a plan of representation, in which they asked that a minority of the Board

¹ The committee consisted of Hon. Ira Perley, Dr. S. H. Taylor, Hon. Amos Tuck, Hon. Charles Reed, Rev. Dr. A. H. Quint, Hon. J. W. Patterson, Hon. Geo. W. Burleigh, Hon. James Barrett, Hon. Harvey Jewell, and Rev. Dr. S. C. Bartlett.

should be elected upon the nomination of the alumni, each to hold office for a definite term of years and be eligible for re-election, that the other Trustees should hold their office for a limited term, that a committee of the alumni should be appointed annually to examine the accounts of the Treasurer and make report on the financial condition of the College, that a change in the provision of the charter requiring that eight of the Board be residents of New Hampshire be considered, and that the two vacancies then existing in the Board remain until they could be filled by nomination of the alumni.

The Trustees took the matter under advisement and it was not till the following July that they returned an answer couched in the President's suavest rhetoric, expressing the great gratification of the Trustees at the deep interest of the alumni in the welfare of the College, whose co-operation was indispensable to its progress, but giving a negative to every one of the requests. They made, however, a counter proposition that the alumni should appoint at their annual meeting an examining committee of six or nine, with alternates, whose names should be printed in the catalogue, and who by attending the summer examinations would have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the working of the College and make suggestions to Trustees and Faculty, by which "a channel of facile and agreeable communication would be opened." Expressing the hope that the plan might go into operation at the next Commencement the Trustees gave their hearty approval to the proposal to raise a fund of \$200,000, as the least sum that would meet the pressing wants of the College.

A skillful move on the part of the Trustees to spike the guns of the committee by the election of two of their number, Messrs. Quint and Burleigh, to the vacancies which the alumni had wished to fill, did not satisfy either the committee or the alumni, and on the presentation of the reply of the Trustees a lively debate ensued in the meeting of the alumni, in which no little dissatisfaction was expressed at the attitude of the Trustees, Dr. Bartlett leading the way in the ironical declaration of the pride that the alumni would feel in seeing their names printed in the catalogue. Interest in the subscription ended with the failure of the plan for alumni representation. It had been held in abeyance during the negotiations, and now, though not formally abandoned, was not prosecuted further.

The plan though lost for the time being was not forgotten.

It was discussed among the alumni and at meetings of their local associations, and the sentiment became stronger and stronger that some means should be found for bending an apparently inflexible charter and for gaining a part for the alumni in the deliberations of the Trustees. It was not, however, till 1875 that the matter again took definite form. At the Commencement of that year a resolution of the New York Association was presented to the General Association calling for alumni suffrage. This was referred to a committee for report at the next annual meeting, but it was presented by the New York Association to the Trustees also, where it roused an earnest discussion, in which the two members of the former committee of the alumni held firmly to their cause. At an adjourned meeting at Concord, held August 12, the question was fully debated whether the Board favored the principle of alumni suffrage and on a division (three, including the Governor, being absent), four voted in the affirmative, and four in the negative. President Smith gave the casting vote in the affirmative. A definite plan for the operation of suffrage was carried by the same four against three, the President not voting.¹

The plan which the Trustees then adopted and proposed to the alumni at their next annual meeting in 1876 provided that the next three vacancies on the Board, including one outside of New Hampshire, should be filled on the nomination of the alumni. When a vacancy occurred the clerk of the Board was to notify the secretary of the alumni, who was to request each graduate of four years' standing of the Academic and Scientific Departments to vote, over his own signature, for four candidates for the vacancy, restricted only by charter limitations of class or locality. From the four receiving the highest number of votes, as reported by the secretary, the Trustees agreed that "ordinarily, and in all probability, invariably" they would elect some one to the vacant place. Changes in the plan might be made after conference, or it might be terminated by either party.

The proposition was immediately accepted by the alumni, and two years later, in 1878, they were called upon to fill all three vacancies, two occasioned by the deaths of Dr. Peaslee and Mr. Burleigh, and one occasioned by the resignation of Dr. Bouton. The choice of the Trustees from the persons certi-

¹ On the first vote the four in the affirmative were Messrs. Nesmith, Peaslee, Quint and Burleigh, and the four in the negative were Messrs. Bouton, Eastman, Fairbanks and Davis. On the second call Dr. Davis did not vote.

fied fell upon Rev. Dr. William J. Tucker for the place of Dr. Peaslee, Mr. Hiram Hitchcock for the place of Mr. Burleigh and Governor B. F. Prescott for the place of Dr. Bouton. As Governor Prescott was then in office the Board for a year consisted of but eleven members.¹ About 550 different persons sent in their ballots, and more than 250 different individuals were voted for. It was evident that the method involved great duplication and waste, yet in general there was satisfaction with the result. One of those elected had headed the poll, another had been in the second place by but a few votes, and the third, though not a graduate, falling behind two others, was known to be a man fitted for the place and from his nearness to the College in a position to be of special usefulness. For the time being the contention of the alumni for representation had secured its object, but at that very meeting a vote was passed looking toward possible amendments and improvements in the plan.

After six years of arduous labor President Smith began to show signs of breaking down. Financial anxieties for the College, coupled with the strain of administration and especially with that of the centennial celebration, had been too great a load to carry. Once before he had been temporarily disabled, but his condition now demanded a complete rest. The Trustees urged a vacation and in December of 1869 he left the College and went to Jamaica, from which he returned in the following April fully restored. During his absence Professor Noyes was acting President and Rev. Dr. Benjamin Labaree, ex-president of Middlebury College, was engaged to aid in teaching, and he continued as lecturer on moral philosophy and international law for six years.

On his return to Hanover President Smith found no lessening of the demands upon him. In addition to the ordinary care of the College he had for two years the extra labor incident to the opening of the Agricultural College and the organization of the Thayer School. With this came the financial burden of new buildings, for Culver Hall was erected, as has been said, in 1870, before the settlement of General Culver's estate, and the money had to be temporarily raised for its construction.

¹ The persons certified and the votes were as follows:

For 1st N. H. place.

B. F. Prescott	318
Charles U. Bell	291
Hiram Hitchcock	154
Geo. B. Spalding	147

For 2nd N. H. place.

B. F. Prescott	302
Charles U. Bell	261
Hiram Hitchcock	162
Geo. B. Spalding	137

For the place outside N. H.

Walbridge A. Field	232
Wm. J. Tucker	218
Lincoln F. Brigham	154
John Ordronaux	146

In the next year the building occupied by the Chandler School was entirely remodelled and enlarged. This had been rendered necessary by the increase in the numbers of the School, which had almost doubled in the seven years since Dr. Smith's accession.

The building was owned by Moor's School, which had not sufficient funds with which to remodel it, and which was not an object for which an appeal could be made to the public with any expectation of success. President Smith was, therefore, forced to turn to the friends of the Chandler School, and successfully approached them in an appeal for funds to give increased accommodations to the School. After much labor he secured \$3,575 to use in the reconstruction and enlargement of the old "Academy." This work begun in July, 1871, was prosecuted so diligently that recitations were resumed in the building on the fifth of the ensuing March. The reconstruction of the edifice was on the lines of utility rather than beauty. The attractive old belfry was removed, the walls were raised and the sloping roof gave way to a Mansard roof, whose unsightly angles had the practical advantage of affording an additional story for recitation and drawing rooms, while the rearrangement of the interior with its increased accommodations greatly facilitated the work of the School and met its needs for the next twenty years. The total cost of the renovation was \$7,037.32, of which not quite half was provided from the funds of Moor's School, and the balance from the contributions secured by President Smith. The rent paid by the Chandler School was adjusted and paid on the basis that the contributed funds were for the benefit of that School, till the purchase of the building by the College in 1898 for \$6,000.

In the same year extensive alterations were begun in the medical building from funds that were contributed by Mr. E. W. Stoughton, a lawyer of New York City, through the interest of Dr. Phelps. Mr. Stoughton's gift of \$12,000 was for the establishment of a museum of pathological anatomy, but as the building contained no room suitable for such a museum a part of the money was devoted to the construction of one. The central portion of the building above the first story was cleared out and thrown into one large room. The outside walls of this part, in which the windows were bricked up, were raised considerably above the rest of the building and surmounted by a lantern which thoroughly lighted the interior, and this, by

means of a gallery, was divided into two stories and the walls were covered with cases for the exhibition of specimens. At the same time the large lecture room on the first floor was refitted, and a dissecting room built in the basement. The halls leading to these rooms were made convenient and even attractive with a wainscoating of black walnut, and the general result was fairly given in the statement of the catalogue that "the facilities for teaching and for the accommodation of students have been greatly increased." These improvements, doubtless, had a decided influence in the increase of the number of students which nearly doubled in the next five years.

One of the great difficulties in the way of instruction in the fall and winter was the lack of artificial light. The morning hours were not seriously disturbed by the lack, though in dark winter days the chapel exercises, beginning at ten minutes of eight, were held in a gloom that sometimes interfered with the reading. In the afternoon, however, the earlier approach of evening compelled a change in the hours of the exercises. Study hours, during which no sports were allowed, began at two o'clock and continued till six, including the afternoon recitation at five. As the afternoons shortened this exercise was brought forward by stages of half an hour, till in the shortest days it came at three, and when for any reason a class recited in two sections the earlier one was called in at two o'clock.

The inconvenience of this arrangement could be obviated only by the use of artificial light, and the desirability of such light for recitation purposes was enforced by the danger of fire in the buildings from the use of kerosene in the rooms of the students. It was, indeed, a marvel that the buildings had so long escaped the risks that successively attended the use in so many rooms and by so many careless persons, of candles, whale oil, camphene, and kerosene, which in the course of years had followed one another as illuminants. Fires had several times started in the rooms but had fortunately been discovered in time to prevent serious damage, the presence of students in the buildings being a protection against the danger as well as a cause of it.

The village, too, like the College, employed kerosene for the artificial lighting of its houses, while, except for an occasional lamp hung out by public-spirited individuals, the relief of the darkness of the streets at night was dependent on the grace of the moon and the weather combined. There was about this time an experiment in lighting the streets with gasoline, but

it was far from successful, and it became evident that the only means of improving the lighting of College and village was the establishment of a gas plant, and fortunately this was begun in 1871. The prime mover in the matter was Professor Dimond of the Agricultural Department. He was a man of enterprise, initiative and daring, as prompt to meet a need as he was to recognize it. Conferences by those interested in the matter, especially President Smith, Mr. Hiram Hitchcock and ex-Senator Patterson, resulted in the formation of a gas company, for which a charter was given July 3, 1872. Professor Dimond did not wait for the formation of the company, but by himself bought the house and lot where Wilson Hall now stands, and in the rear erected a plant for the manufacture of gas from oil. In laying the mains he used wooden pipes, which were much cheaper than iron and which, having been treated with some patent process, he believed would be enduring. The results did not conform to his expectations, and within a few years they had to be replaced with iron, but not before the gas, which escaped from the weak joints and porous sides, had played havoc with the shade trees of the village. Some of the most beautiful trees had to be cut down and many were seriously injured.

The price of the new gas, which was set at \$8 a thousand feet, was prohibitive for most, for though it was claimed that it was so rich that it had double the illuminating power of ordinary gas, and relatively was, therefore, not much more expensive than other gas, yet it was introduced into but few houses and into the church, which had no other means of lighting. It was put into the college chapel, recitation rooms, and the lower entries of the buildings the next year, and was lighted in the chapel for the first time September 25, 1872. Its use in the recitation rooms conduced greatly to the comfort of the afternoon exercise, though for a time not without interruption. The pipes in the passageways were connected with those in the recitation rooms and mischievous students soon found that by putting out the hall lights and blowing into the burners the lights in the recitation rooms could be extinguished. It is difficult to say who were more pleased, the ones who did the trick or the students whose recitation was prematurely ended, but a change in the piping soon put an end to the mischief. Two years later, as a measure of safety, gas was put into all the rooms in Reed Hall and the occupants were obliged to use it instead of oil. In 1875 it was used to light the streets, twelve lamp posts being placed about

the village, after one had been tried as an experiment at the corner of Main and Wheelock streets, and all were lighted for the first time on the night of November 18. They were of little service to late wanderers, as the lights were put out at ten o'clock.

The gas company, which was organized October 9, 1872, with a capital of \$12,000, was never a financial success.¹ It bought the plant of Professor Dimond for its actual cost, plus \$300 for his services in construction, in all \$8,201.42, and assumed debts of \$1,276, and prospective outlays of \$1,000. It never paid any dividends but continued to manufacture gas for the needs of the College and the village with scarcely any profit till 1893, when, on the introduction of electricity, the company went out of business. In the fall of 1893 its plant was leased to a company that proposed to make fuel gas by a new and cheaper process, but the experiment was unsuccessful, and the old company wound up its affairs in 1898, the stockholders receiving \$35 a share on their stock in liquidation. The house and corner lot of Professor Dimond's original purchase were bought from him by the College in December of 1872 for \$6,849. The house was moved away in the summer of 1874 and now stands at the south-east corner of College and South streets.

The question of heating the buildings, fully as important as that of lighting in the matter of safety, was still more difficult of solution. No one of the buildings could be heated as a whole except by steam. That was expensive and no combination with the village was possible. The building most in need of protection was Reed, as in it were the libraries, the philosophical apparatus, and the Nineveh slabs. At one time its basement had been used for the college carpenter's shop, but the danger from this was recognized and it was removed in 1870 to a small building on Cemetery Lane, where it remained for nine years, till a new shop was built in the rear of Culver Hall.

For some years the proposition to put in a steam boiler for heating the building was postponed through lack of funds to carry it out, but meantime attempts were made to improve the heating of the recitation rooms. The only means of heating these had long been wood stoves, which in the severe days of winter roasted those who sat near them, and left others shivering or exposed to drafts from windows opened for ventilation. Coal was introduced into Hanover as a fuel about 1869 and

¹ It had a board of nine directors: Hiram Hitchcock, president, Asa D. Smith, A. P. Balch, H. E. Parker, E. T. Quimby, J. W. Patterson, E. W. Dimond, C. A. Field and E. D. Carpenter.

two years later the first coal stove was tried as an experiment in one of the recitation rooms. Its success led to the general use of coal stoves for heating the recitation rooms, though hot air furnaces were used for a few recitation rooms and for the chapel, which though not always warm yet had a more equable temperature than when with stoves it ranged from the tropics near the stoves to the poles at the farther end of the room. Twice the furnace under the chapel was responsible for setting fire to the building. Once, in October, 1881, the fire appeared in a partition of an adjoining room where an exercise was in progress, and owing to the presence of students it was quickly put out. A second time it broke out in some litter in a closet, through which the flue passed, just as the students had gathered for chapel, and one of them discovering it smothered it with his overcoat.

The care of the recitation rooms was entrusted to students, who occupied rooms usually adjoining those for which they cared and which were called "guard rooms," but the general care of the buildings was for years in the hands of Alanson P. Haskell, a man of soft voice and obliging manner, whose fidelity matched his long service. Of course he had nothing to do with the care of the students' rooms, to which the occupants themselves attended. A beginning of a janitor service for these rooms, more as a matter of safety than convenience, was made in 1873, when a man was hired to carry out the ashes and waste from the rooms, but on the introduction of steam into Reed Hall the service in that hall was extended and the rooms were put into the care of a Mrs. Badger, whose efficient labor for several years gained for her the title of "Queen of Reed Hall."

At last it was felt that the safety of Reed Hall and its contents could no longer be risked with individual fires in the rooms, and it was decided in 1875 to introduce steam. Even then the College had not the money with which to meet the expense, and it was borrowed upon the personal note of President Smith and Professor Quimby, though of course the College later assumed the payment of the note and its interest. The total cost, a little over \$2,400, was not paid till 1877. The firm that did the work did not properly estimate the amount of heating surface necessary, and on the coming of cold weather the students bitterly complained that they could not keep warm even by sitting on the radiators. Fortunately the contractors had guaranteed the

heating of the building, and to meet their contract they were obliged to double the radiators in all the rooms.

During the administration of President Smith, aside from the painting of the old buildings, already mentioned, there was little change in their appearance or in that of the college yard. Several classes planted trees in the yard which later became its ornaments, and in 1871 the "suitable fence" of thirty-five years before was removed, leaving only the hedge to protect the yard. In the process of time this, too, became unsightly, having been broken by "rushes," which had surged across it, and by students who, forsaking the paths in the search for short cuts, had made holes through it in all directions, and it was finally removed in 1893, about the time when fences generally disappeared from the village. Less noticeable were a new dial face, by which in 1870 it was attempted to give outward respectability to the errant clock, and the signs which were put upon the doors of the recitation rooms to distinguish them according to the departments using them. Previously each class had its own recitation room in which nearly all its exercises were held, but this led to collisions between the classes, and occasionally to injury to the rooms themselves, so that to prevent mischief each department was assigned rooms of its own, in which the students recited without regard to classes, except that the senior class retained a room for its exclusive use.

Outside the college yard, and besides the new college buildings the village began to change its appearance. On the west side of the Common a break was made in the ancient order. The long, two story building with its gable toward the street, which for many years had been the office of the college treasurer, and where in the evening he could often be seen working at his desk by the light of two tallow candles, gave way in 1870 to the present bank building, in which was continued the treasurer's office till its removal to the Administration Building in 1911. The house on the corner, which had been the former home of Professor Haddock and Professor Brown, joined the long procession of migratory houses in Hanover, and being moved to the east became the home of Dr. C. P. Frost.¹ Close beside it there was built, two years later, a chapter house by the Alpha Delta Phi Society, in imitation, at a considerable interval, of its friendly

¹ This later became the property of the Chi Phi Society. On the vacant corner a large house was erected by Mr. A. P. Balch, who at that time was an extensive land owner in this vicinity. In 1887 it passed into the hands of Mr. F. W. Davison, who used it partly as a store, till after its partial destruction by fire, February 8, 1900, when it was bought by the College.

rival, the Kappa Kappa Kappa Society, which in 1860 had been the first of the fraternities to build and own its own hall. The Kappa hall was merely a place for meetings, but this new building contained a few rooms for students, being thus the forerunner of the many fraternity houses that began to appear thirty years later.

The little house to the west of Professor Brown's house and nearly on the site of the Psi Upsilon house also soon disappeared and the street was greatly beautified by the erection, partly on that site and partly on the adjoining lot, of the present Episcopal church, in which the first service was held September 12, 1875. Beyond this the road leading to the bridge after passing the brow of the hill was bare and forbidding, dusty and without shade, till in the early seventies William T. Smith, a son of President Smith, afterward Dean of the Medical School but then in poor health, took pity on its bare estate and with thought of the future planted that row of elms which now forms such a beautiful screen on its southern side.

In the changing life of a college there are many minor events, not always indicative of progress, that give the color of the time. Some mark the weakening or the end of old customs and others the rise of new ones, or they are merely the expression of temporary moods of administration or of impulses of undergraduate life. A college generation often regards as of immemorial origin a custom that sprang up but yesterday, or thinks of itself as the first to do something which former students have repeatedly done, and a given custom may be accepted as good or bad without knowledge of how it came about.

For many years Saturday afternoon was the only free time of the week. The weekly meetings of the secret societies were held on Friday evening, but their effect, at least so thought the Faculty, was harmful to the exercises of Saturday morning, as the students, almost all of whom were members of the societies, had not time enough for the preparation of the morning lesson. The rhetorical exercise of the senior class before the whole college, or public speaking, as it was usually called, was held Friday afternoon at two o'clock. In 1866 the Faculty gave up the afternoon recitation, but did not remit study hours, expecting that Friday afternoon after rhetoricals would be devoted to the preparation of the lesson for Saturday morning. It was found difficult, however, to enforce the requirement of study hours when there was no exercise following, and in 1870 an ar-

rangement was made with the societies whereby they transferred their meetings to Wednesday evening. In like manner the rhetorical were carried back from Friday to Wednesday at two, and the rest of the afternoon was left open. These two half holidays continued to be the custom till 1901, when on the adoption of three hour courses of instruction coming on alternate days, exercises were scheduled for the afternoon of Wednesday, till three o'clock, and a few years later till four o'clock, thus doing away with the half holiday.

A singular custom had long prevailed in the chapel exercise of the students turning their backs to the desk during the prayer. During the reading of the Bible they sat, but on the giving out of the hymn they rose and faced the presiding officer. In the prayer that followed, instead of resuming their seats or continuing to stand as before, they turned about and, sitting upon the rail of the pews behind them, put their feet upon the seats from which they had risen. To one who conducted the service and followed the scripture injunction to "watch and pray," was presented the singular spectacle of an audience turning away from the most personal part of the service and assuming a position that was anything but devout. The incongruity of the custom at length brought a change, and in 1871 the students were directed to sit during the prayer, and this posture, usually accompanied with the bowing of the head, has continued to the present. In reporting the change the *Aegis* of that year said, "at prayers we have ceased to turn, like devout Mussulmen, toward the chapel organ."

Up to 1872 the students were required to attend on Sunday morning and afternoon service in the church in addition to the usual morning chapel. In that year Dr. Leeds, the pastor of the College church, was given a vacation of several months. The supply of the pulpit was a difficult matter. There were several clerical members of the Faculty, but while they expressed a willingness to take charge of the morning service in due proportion they did not wish to become responsible for the afternoon. After much deliberation it was decided as an experiment to omit the afternoon service, but that the free afternoon might not offer too great a temptation for absence it was also decided to transfer the chapel exercise to the afternoon and thus make the requirement of attendance a police regulation to restrict wandering students. The experiment was successful. The college rejoiced in the relief from the second service of church on Sun-

day and President Smith vivified the afternoon chapel service by a short talk of a direct and often personal nature. Under his successors it was somewhat enlarged and became the "vesper" service, which has borne so important a part in the moral life of the college.

About this time a new attempt was made to deal with the inveterate abuse of student absences. The introduction of written examinations a little later did much to hold attendance upon them, though as long as special examinations were allowed to delinquents there was a readiness on the part of some to prefer them in the hope that they would be easier than the regular examinations, but this did not affect the number of occasional absences, which became excessive. Excuses for absence had previously been given orally on application to any member of the Faculty, but in January of 1871 it was voted that excuses should be given on printed blanks only by the instructors to whom a class was reciting. These were to be obtained in advance of the absence and handed to the Clerk of the Faculty within two weeks. Excuses not secured in advance could be obtained only on the presentation of a satisfactory reason in writing. The result of this regulation was an astonishing decline in the health of the college, as indicated by the number of written applications for excuse on the ground of sickness, but it was followed by a speedy recovery when, in connection with the report of each student's rank sent to his parents at the end of the semester, the Faculty forwarded the applications for excuse which each had made on account of sickness. The attention which parents were thus able to give to the unexpected infirmities of their sons tended greatly to the health of the college.

But the question of absences was by no means solved and has remained to this day a lasting source of difficulty. Many attempts have been made to meet it, and after temporary success each plan has given way to a new one in the hope that a change might be more effective. The granting of excuses has been successively conferred upon class officers, a committee, the President and Dean, or the Dean alone, and in the hope that absences might be lessened a certain number of "cuts", or absences without excuse, has been allowed. Privileges have also been granted, in the form of credits for punctual attendance, or of partial freedom from college obligations for high scholarship, but the trouble remains as one of the chief stumbling blocks in college administration.

Two questions assumed such prominence in the minds of the Trustees that in 1872 special committees were appointed to consider them, and one was regarded as so pressing that the committee was given authority to act, if in its judgment an emergency should arise. The emergency did not arise, and there is no record that either committee ever reported. The two questions were those of co-education and military instruction. The President and Messrs. Spalding and Quint were the committee to consider the first. It does not appear that there ever was any urgency either in the Board or among the alumni for the admission of women at Dartmouth, and the appointment of the committee was probably the recognition by the Board of the discussion of the higher education of women that was general at the time. In the west the discussion resulted almost universally in the adoption of co-education by the colleges and universities. In New England two only of the existing institutions of higher learning opened their doors to women at that time, the University of Vermont in 1871 and Wesleyan one year later. Boston University was chartered as a co-educational institution in 1869, but the movement turned rather in the direction of separate colleges for women. Smith chartered in 1870 and Wellesley in 1875, and each receiving its first class in 1875, and meeting with immediate success, were the expression of the form of advanced education for women which was preferred in New England.

The committee to consider the introduction of military instruction into the college, to which was given discretionary power of action, consisted of Messrs. Burleigh, Quint and Haines. The occasion for such instruction did not arise from any general discussion or movement. Its desirability may have been one of the waning influences of the war, but it probably became of immediate interest at Dartmouth from the coming of the Agricultural College. The act of Congress granting land to the several states for the establishment of agricultural colleges and the supplementary acts of July 28, 1866, and May 4, 1870, made provision for the detail of an officer to any college "with sufficient capacity to educate at one time not less than one hundred and fifty students, to act as a professor of such college," and also for the distribution of small arms for the use of the students of the colleges to which officers were detailed. An officer for such a purpose was detailed for service at Bowdoin and the University of Vermont, and was considered here espe-

cially in connection with the Agricultural College, to which Thomas W. Kincaid, assistant engineer of the United States Navy, was detailed as instructor in civil engineering and shop work from 1886 to 1888 inclusive. It may have then been the feeling that it would be well for the College to secure the services of an extra professor in a field that on one side at least would be entirely new, that led to the appointment of the committee of the Trustees.

The martial spirit of the students outran the inaction of the Trustees and in the next summer the classes of 1874 and 1875 organized two military companies known as Company A and Company B of the Dartmouth Cadets of the New Hampshire militia, although they were familiarly known among the students as the "Dartmouth Belligerents."¹ Professor Robert Fletcher was commissioned major and drilled the officers, who in turn drilled the companies.² The State furnished uniforms and muskets, and in the following fall the companies began practice in good earnest. "Three days in the week," said *The Dartmouth*,³ "at a certain hour the two companies of Dartmouth Cadets may be seen parading on the common or in the park. They make a fine display in their neat uniforms of blue, and the instruction in the tactics progresses rapidly."⁴

A later issue⁵ said: "The Cadets, who have attained wonderful proficiency in military evolutions, are also obliged to suspend operations and go into winter quarters." The drill was renewed in the spring but with less zest and Commencement of course brought an end to Company A. No other class came to take its place, and by the fall the interest was completely gone. "The boys did not take the trouble to attend drills," the captain later wrote, "and the company died a natural death, easily and quietly." The arms were returned to the State in 1875.

Once the Cadets performed escort duty of a somewhat unusual kind. It had been an intermittent custom for the sophomore

¹ The organization of the companies seems to have sprung from a suggestion of Professor Quimby, who had seen at Concord some useless guns in store, and obtained the promise of guns and uniforms from the State, if companies should be organized among the students. [Letter of Dr. C. E. Quimby, of 1874.]

² The commissions dated June 10, 1873, were issued to the following officers: Robert Fletcher, major, Company A; H. L. Horne, captain; H. N. Allen, first lieutenant, L. C. Montgomery, second lieutenant; Company B, W. G. Eaton, captain; H. W. Stevens, first lieutenant; L. C. Montgomery, second lieutenant.

³ Issue of October 1873, p. 341.

⁴ Not all were equally alert and one man marched so lazily that Professor Young, who was one day watching the drill, exclaimed, "M. ought to have a bee in the seat of his trousers."

⁵ November, 1873, p. 378.

class to bury mathematics at the conclusion of that study toward the end of the year, but the exercises were not always creditable and when, in the spring of 1874, the Faculty learned that the sophomore class was preparing for the usual burial of mathematics, it voted to inform the class that it could not allow any travesty of a funeral ceremony. The class took the prohibition good-naturedly and prepared for a ceremony of cremation. It issued an elaborate programme, and as it was at that time reading the *Antigone* it adapted a line of the play as the heading of the programme: "Will you *bury* it, a thing forbidden by the authorities? No, by Zeus, but we will BURN it." On the evening selected, the 8th of May, the class formed in procession and escorted by the Dartmouth Cadets and the Hanover Cornet Band marched to the middle of the Common and there performed the ceremony of cremation. Everything was orderly, if not quiet, and the class dispersed leaving the Faculty somewhat in the frame of mind of one contemplating the discovery of a gold brick.

The rise of the Dartmouth Cadets was but one expression of the spirit of athletics which seized the College so strongly in the seventies and has maintained itself with increased force to the present. It had already been manifest in the formation of baseball clubs, which in this decade had hardly begun the career of knight-errantry that later became so common, but in 1872 it suddenly blazed out in a revival of the enthusiasm for boating that had been quenched in the freshet of 1857. In September of that year the Dartmouth Boat Club was formed with the special purpose of sending a crew to compete in the intercollegiate races at Springfield the next summer. An active campaign was started and more than \$2,000 were raised by subscription among the students and in the village, a shell was bought of the Harvard sophomores, a new one was secured from Blaikie of Cambridge for \$300 and a six-oared cedar shell from Elliot of Greenpoint, L. I.¹ A boat house was built on the level ground just north of the bridge, on a site given for the purpose rent free by the owner, Mr. Hiram Hitchcock, and just below was the landing float.

In the next spring a trainer for the crew, John Biglin, a professional oarsman, was hired, and a crew, sent to the regatta at Springfield, gained the fourth place in a field of nine. In the following year a still more determined effort was made and

¹ *The Dartmouth*, October, 1872, and W. G. Eaton in *Dartmouth Athletics*, pp. 172 f.

\$1,500 were raised among the students. Meantime at a convention at Hartford, Conn., in 1874, to which John A. Aiken of 1874 and W. G. Eaton of 1875 were the Dartmouth delegates, there was formed by thirteen colleges the Rowing Association of American Colleges, and it was decided to hold the regatta at Saratoga. The river at Hanover was not favorable for practice, and for a short time the crew was allowed to avail itself of the smooth water of Mascoma Lake at Enfield. In the regatta the exact position of the crew at the end of the race was in dispute, the judges assigning it the sixth place, but the report of the signal officer, the fourth place.

At the opening of the next college year the interest in boating over-shadowed all else. Class races were projected, and every afternoon the river was enlivened by the crews in training. The race on the 24th of October was won by the sophomore class and the victors were drawn in triumph through the streets of the village. But the resources of the students were exhausted and the next spring they appealed to the alumni for aid, and with much success, though there was some dissatisfaction with the method by which the appeal was made. The crew of that year went to Webster Lake for its practice, and at the regatta at Saratoga again held the fourth place. Internal dissensions soon brought about the breaking up of the Rowing Association, and Dartmouth was prominent in the attempt to form a New England Association which should hold its regatta at New London, Conn.

Affairs were not fully settled when the boating interests at Dartmouth received literally a crushing blow, for on January 26, 1877, the roof of the boat house gave way under the heavy weight of snow upon it and ruined both the building and all the boats within it. The loss on the house and boats was over \$1,200, from which the club, already staggering under the troubles that beset it in the Association, never recovered. Aside from the difficulties of boating on a stream having so swift a current as the Connecticut at Hanover, nature seems to have frowned upon the boating attempts of the College, for she has thus twice completely destroyed the property of the college clubs. Her warning has thus far been heeded and organized boating has not revived since the second catastrophe.

As the enthusiasm for boating faded away another interest took its place. In December, 1875, an Athletic Association was formed and a constitution adopted, providing for two meetings a year

for track athletics, one in the fall and one in the spring, but this action merely made formal what had already been done in fact, for at the opening of the fall term, under the initiative of Lewis Parkhurst of the class of 1878, a movement was begun and carried through for a field meeting in October. It was arranged to occur in connection with the class boat races on the river, and was on such an extensive scale that, with them, it occupied parts of four days. A quarter-mile track was laid out on the Common and also straight aways for the hurdles and the dashes. Besides the races there were twenty-one events, including some that do not find a place in later day programmes, and that were intended mainly for the amusement of the spectators, a wheel barrow race, a sack race, and a three-legged race.

The exercises, beginning on Wednesday afternoon, October 13, which was a half holiday, were partly on the Common and partly on the river, and continued all of Thursday, which had been given as a holiday, though the races were not concluded till Friday and Saturday afternoons. The spectacle on the Common was enlivened by the music of a band brought from Lebanon, and the spectators, who were excluded from the enclosure, used the fence as a grand stand. The success of this first track meet gave to that branch of athletics a firm place in the College. Annual or semi-annual meets have since been held, and before many years contests with other colleges in various leagues became very common.¹

The activity of the students was not always so healthfully or harmlessly expressed as in athletic contests. In April, 1873, in their indignation at what they regarded as an encroachment on the rights of the College, the students tore down and burned the fence at the south end of the Common. Before that time the Common had extended about thirty feet farther to the south than at present, and in the wish to straighten the line of West and East Wheelock streets the town authorities took a strip from the Common into the road, and moved the fence so much to the north. The burning of this fence caused a great commotion, and the selectmen threatened to open the road which had formerly passed diagonally through the Common from the hotel to the present chapel corner, and which had never been legally discontinued. The college authorities thought it wise immediately to replace the fence rather than to allow the

¹ A full and exact account of the successive meets and intercollegiate contests up to 1893 is given in *Dartmouth Athletics* by John H. Bartlett and John P. Gifford of the class of 1894.

town to do it and thus raise a question of title, or to have any controversy over the road. Within a few days the fence was replaced and President Smith so effectively stated to the students the unwisdom of their act that they raised \$60 to repair the damage.

In November of 1875 there occurred what was commonly spoken of as a "riot." A bookseller of the village, named Parker, in winding up his business preparatory to going to another place advertised his stock at auction. He was a man of somber appearance and without the flexibility that could adapt itself to the caprices of young men. When the auction came the students attended in force, partly to buy and partly to enjoy any fun that might arise. What followed was published in the papers as a "riot" of considerable magnitude. The circumstances were given in a later issue of *The Dartmouth*¹ with palliation and yet with an intended fairness. Describing the occurrence it said:

A number of students attending the book sales of Mr. Parker were rather boyish in behavior and, besides making a good deal of noise and crowding almost as in a rush, destroyed or injured a few pieces of furniture of no great value, and when Mr. Parker left the store a moment fastened the door against him. In this there was nothing very criminal, yet there was certainly nothing at all praiseworthy. Like other boyish pranks it deserved no very severe punishment, yet we cannot see anything out of the way in Mr. Parker's feeling of dissatisfaction. He determined to take no notice of the disturbances until after the completion of his sales when he would send in a bill to the students concerned for the loss he should have sustained, and then if necessary appeal to the law. The Faculty heard of the proceedings of the first day and endeavored to ascertain the facts from Mr. Parker, but he as yet considered it a small matter, little more than a joke, and kept the facts to himself. The second day somewhat aggravated the case, and after that, he was exposed to a multitude of petty annoyances such as, injury to his sign, the moving of his steps, salutations with groans and the like, which, it is needless to mention, were never approved by the students in general. These would naturally exasperate almost any man, but, when an informal proposition was laid before him, he declared himself ready to accept it. The formal proposal, however, being delayed, and no explanation given him, while the insults continued, it is not strange that he inferred that the plan had been abandoned and put the matter into the hands of a lawyer.

It is evident even from this temperate statement, especially in view of another statement of *The Dartmouth* that the students "almost literally turned the room inside out," that noise, disturbance, insult and destruction of property did reach nearly

¹November 11, 1875.

the proportions of a riot, and that Mr. Parker, who set his loss of property at several hundred dollars, was, in default of reparation, fully justified in appealing to the law. This he did and ten days later nine students were arrested and taken to Plymouth on the morning train north. Nearly all the college escorted them to the station, but though they made no attempt to disturb the officers they did prevent Mr. Parker from taking the train by detaining him in the station. He managed to reach Plymouth by another route, and obtained an indictment against six of the nine, who were put under \$200 bonds to appear at the March term of court. The Faculty, meantime, had taken up the case and disciplined several of those who were afterward indicted, but then recalling their action till the settlement of the case, they contented themselves with re-affirming the position that "students were as fully subject to the laws of the land as any other dwellers therein," and with separating one and degrading another of those who took part in the disturbance but had not been arrested. The case came on at the appointed time, but being continued from time to time was finally settled by the payment of \$350, and the case dismissed.

In the fall of 1875 there was a very extensive outbreak of typhoid fever in the village. A few cases occurred almost every fall, but in that year the number far exceeded the ordinary. By the last of October there had been nearly sixty cases, most of them of a light character, but there were a few deaths and among them one of a senior. The student body was aroused and the senior class petitioned the Faculty for a recess till Thanksgiving, when they believed that the epidemic would have subsided. The Faculty after careful consideration did not grant the petition, but promised that they would "spare no pains to improve the sanitary condition of the village." Fortunately, owing to their efforts or because the epidemic had run its course, there was little further trouble, nor has there been since that time a similar outbreak of fever, while of late years with improved systems of water supply and sewerage, and with a careful inspection of all eating houses and lodging places typhoid fever has almost disappeared from the village.

The later years of President Smith's administration were marked by several movements that had a great effect upon the subsequent working of the College. The first of these was the consolidation of the libraries of the old literary societies with that of the College and their union under the management

of the Trustees. The college library had continued to be of practically little value to the students. It was nominally open six hours a week, but its shelves were not open to inspection, and the selection of books from an incomplete catalogue and with the help of insufficient and untrained assistants was a matter of much difficulty. The libraries of the societies, open three hours a week, were of much greater service, but they, too, suffered from shifting and unskilled management and from the waste of duplication. Each society made additions to its library without regard to the other, not wishing to be second in any special branch of literature. The expenses of separate control were so great that, with the lack of stable and consistent direction and the loss of dues, the societies ran into debt, and in 1869 had asked the Trustees to take charge of the collection of dues and the assignment of members, which had become a purely alphabetical matter. The result was the payment of the debts and an increase in the number of books purchased.

This opened the way for the consideration of a more business-like and efficient administration of all the libraries, and to Mr. C. W. Scott of the class of 1874, who during his senior year was the assistant of Professor Sanborn in the College library belongs the credit of devising and carrying through, against considerable opposition, a plan for the permanent management of all the libraries under the direction of the Trustees. At first it was proposed that the society libraries should be put under the control of the Faculty and not bound up with the college library, but to this arrangement the Trustees objected on the ground that they were the sole guardians of all property that came under college administration, and that the Faculty could not control property within the College except under the authority of the Trustees. They accordingly took the place in the scheme of arrangement that had been intended for the Faculty, and by an agreement between them and the societies, completed in 1879 by the Fraters and in 1880 by the Socials, all the libraries were brought under their direction in conformity to the plan proposed by Mr. Scott. Its details are given in another place, but it involved the appointment of a general librarian with oversight of all the libraries, and brought increased efficiency and less expense.

The plan went into operation in the fall of 1874 and Mr. Scott became the first librarian. The consolidation brought under the new management about 20,000 volumes in the library

of the College, 2,300 of the Northern Academy, 9,500 of the Socials, 9,200 of the Fraters and 1,200 from the Philotechnic Society, an organization of the Chandler School chartered in 1854. The ownership of the books was not at the time transferred to the Trustees, but the care and custody and responsibility passed to them under conditions of maintenance which resulted in a greatly increased use of the library. The college library became equally as accessible as the others; the number of assistants was increased; the hours for distribution rose at once to twenty-one a week; the reading room was brought under the same control and a continuity of administration from year to year secured.

It was, of course, the aim of President Smith to raise the standard of scholarship in the College, and several movements tended to this end. It was for this that written examinations were introduced, that the passing mark was raised, that difficulties were put in the way of absence for teaching, that rank was restored as a basis of college honors and that the stimulus of prizes was again sought. Several prizes were established during this period. The Lockwood prizes, already mentioned, were followed in 1866 by two Latin prizes, established by the class of 1846, for the best work in that subject and these were reinforced for several years, beginning in 1873, by the offer of two prizes for the best ode in Latin written in one of the Horatian meters. A provisional mathematical prize, offered in 1866, was made permanent three years later by the gift of \$1,000 by General Thayer, and at the same time Senator Grimes of the class of 1836 established, by two gifts of \$1,000 each, two prizes for English composition, and one prize, known as a "general improvement prize," to be awarded at the end of senior year to the student of the graduating class, who, in the judgment of the Faculty, had made the most satisfactory progress during his college course. Other temporary prizes were offered from time to time, the largest being the rhetorical prizes given in 1874 by John B. Clarke and open to competition to members of the Academic and Scientific Departments.

The question of admission to college was one that received much consideration. The changes in the requirements for entrance, all in the nature of increase, have been already mentioned. The only method of admission was by examination and the increased requirements brought a great burden upon candidates for entrance, as examinations upon all the require-

ments were taken at one time. To relieve this strain, the Faculty voted in December of 1874 to allow candidates to divide their examinations into two parts, a preliminary and a final, the former to be taken one year before admission upon all subjects completed at that time, and the latter just before admission upon the work of the last year of preparation. For some reason, perhaps the introduction of the certificate plan, the announcement of this change was not made in the catalogue for several years.

In the winter of 1876 President Smith brought to the Faculty the suggestion of a new plan of admission to college, the substitution of a certificate from a fitting school for the examination by the college. Long discussions followed and the doubt and uncertainty with which the proposal was received gave way to a willingness to try it and a reasonable confidence in its success. The plan, as adopted April 14, 1876, was somewhat more exacting than as afterward modified and was as follows:

Students from such fitting schools as have a regular and thorough course of preparation for College, of at least three years, will be admitted, without examination, on the certificate of their respective principals, that they have completed the curriculum of the senior year, and have regularly graduated; and that, in addition to the proper moral qualifications, they have mastered the entire requisites for admission, or their equivalents, as set forth in the catalogue.

The statement that candidates coming on certificate must have mastered the entire requisites was regarded as so important that for many years, after the first, it was emphasized with capitals in the catalogue. At first it was proposed that students thus entering should not become members of college for three months, but the Trustees objected to the idea of having students in College who were not members of College, and, therefore, the first three months of the college course were regarded as probationary. As this was really the case with all students, those who came on certificate were practically on the same footing as the rest, and after a few years the statement of probation was dropped from the catalogue.

The plan was put into immediate operation. Announcements were sent to the schools and candidates for the next class were received by the new method. This early announcement and the consequent committal of the College to the schools, at least for one year, was all that saved the life of the plan. The determination of the conditions and methods of entrance to college belonged to the Trustees and not to the Faculty. In the earlier days the Trustees legislated upon them, as upon the

courses in college, to the smallest detail, even to prescribing the books to be used; afterward, under their general direction and without express authorization, the Faculty acted upon many things that did not affect the policy of the College, but the Trustees held to the principle of complete control, as when a little later they refused to allow, except in mathematics, a division of classes according to scholarship which the Faculty had made.

When, however, the President laid before the Faculty and asked its action upon so important a matter as a certificate system, the Faculty naturally felt that it did not exceed its limits in voting favorably upon the President's proposition. But when the plan came to the knowledge of the Trustees it did not meet their approval, and if it had not been too late they would probably have refused to sanction it. As it had already gone into operation they could do no less than give it provisional assent, which they did at an adjourned meeting in August in the following vote:

The Trustees, having incidentally learned that the conditions of admission of students have been materially changed by the omission in certain cases of examination by the Dartmouth Faculty,

"Voted That we do not recognize the authority of the Faculty to make so radical a change, the conditions of examination being fixed by the laws of the College.

"2nd. That we authorize the Faculty to carry out the proposed plan for the present year and direct the Executive Committee, as soon as the working of the new system appears, to determine whether it shall continue in force another year."

As far as appears,¹ the Executive Committee made no move, so that the plan continued in operation without formal approval for six years, when, in April, 1882, the Trustees, by a definite vote authorized the Faculty to accept "from competent teachers certificates of the proper preparation of students for admission to college in the studies required by the laws." Though to the present it has never commanded the unanimous consent of the Faculty it has always been supported by a decided majority, and for many years the greater part of the students of the College entered on certificate. In process of time the plan has undergone considerable modification. A complete certificate is no longer required. "Minor exceptions" were at first allowed,

¹It is proper to say in reference to this phrase, which in substance occurs somewhat frequently, that from 1864 to 1892 the "files of the Trustees" have almost completely disappeared. Not one presidential report and scarcely a single report of committees for that period is to be found, so that the progress of many movements can only be inferred from the scanty record of the proceedings of the Trustees, and this often with more negative than affirmative force.

and these have been extended till they now may include nearly one half of the requirements for admission. Greater stress is laid upon the approval of schools, certificates being received from such schools only as have received the certificate privilege, and since 1902 this has been given in New England by a Certificate Board, composed of nearly all the colleges in that section which receive students on certificate.

The financial burden which President Smith assumed on entering upon office did not lessen as the years went by. Expenses steadily exceeded the income and each year showed a deficit, till at the end of his administration the sum of these deficits was over \$65,000. The College grew; there was an increase in the receipts from tuition and also from additional endowments, but this was more than neutralized by the increase in the salary roll, the care of the new buildings and the general expense of new interests and new methods, so that the President spoke from experience when in a circular to the alumni, appealing for funds, he said, "it costs to prosper."

To the ordinarily unfavorable course of the finances of the College was added a specially disturbing incident in the summer of 1875. Daniel Blaisdell, who had been the Treasurer of the College for forty years, died on the 24th of August. He had been the trusted financial adviser of the village and had enjoyed the fullest confidence of the Trustees, whose auditing committee the year before had congratulated the Board on his fidelity and the accuracy of his accounts, but after his death it was found that his accounts were almost hopelessly confused. Mr. Blaisdell was the president of the Dartmouth National Bank and the Dartmouth Savings Bank as well as the Treasurer of the College, and the securities of all these institutions were kept in his personal safe, an arrangement which rendered possible an interchange of the securities of different funds.

On the death of Mr. Blaisdell, Frederick Chase of the class of 1860, who had been in the practice of law in Washington, D. C., but had a short time before returned to Hanover, his native place, and opened a law office there, was appointed acting-treasurer. The results of a long investigation into the accounts of the late Treasurer conducted by him and by an expert accountant were embodied by him in an exhaustive report, presented to the Trustees at a special meeting, February 8, 1876.

By this it appeared that though before 1865 there were a

few confused entries there were none that were not explained, but from February of 1865 the accounts of every year afforded more or less entries not in accordance with what other evidence indicated to be facts. It was found that the numbers of bonds owned were rarely recorded, and that many large and important transactions, involving the receipt and payment of considerable sums of money, found no place on the books. Moneys were received and paid out, bonds and other securities bought, exchanged and otherwise disposed of, and the only evidence of the transactions was in scattered memoranda of correspondence, and in some cases it came only through inquiries instituted with brokers through whom the transactions had been conducted.

It seems to have been the habit of the Treasurer to charge from time to time bonds as purchased for various funds in order to balance accounts, when the purchase had not in fact been made, and if purchases were afterward made they did not always correspond with the previous charges. There were charges of bonds purchased, which apparently never were purchased or came into the possession of the Treasurer, although the books showed the existence of means to make the purchases as charged, and yet on these fictitious bonds, which were sometimes incorrectly assigned to different funds, interest was credited, as if collected when due, so that on them the Treasurer credited the College each year more than he actually received, in all to the amount of \$18,000 to \$20,000.

"It will be readily perceived," said the report, "that a series of accounts like these, continuing through a period of ten to fifteen years, wherein many complicated transactions took place that are not recorded, and can, therefore, be imperfectly understood, are incapable of being adjusted except approximately."¹ The approximate discrepancy in the accounts was \$47,840.73, but this adverse balance in the account was reduced by about \$20,000 through the subtraction of the amount of interest credited but not collected. Acting on this report the Trustees appointed a committee "to confer with the heirs of Mr. Blaisdell in reference to the claims of the College on his estate," and after a report by this committee, they voted "to sell and assign to the heirs-at-law of Daniel Blaisdell all the claims and demands of Dartmouth College against said estate in consideration of twenty thousand dollars to be paid or secured by said assigns to said College." The settlement was made the next day in

¹Report of the Acting Treasurer in the college files.

accordance with this vote. No sufficient explanation was ever given of the disappearance of the funds, for no known fact in the life of the Treasurer gave color to the suggestion that he employed them in speculation or converted them to his own use.

At the same meeting Mr. Chase was elected Treasurer, and measures were taken for a closer scrutiny in the future of the funds of the College through the appointment of a "Financial Committee." This committee was to consist of two members holding office for two years, but retiring one each year. It was to see to the sufficiency of the Treasurer's bond, set at \$25,000, and to keep in its hands "a list of all securities and other property belonging to the College, with copies of all reports, schedules and statements representing the several funds, in such fullness as shall enable them to present a full and accurate account of all the property belonging to the College and the mode of its investment." It was also required to make an annual audit of the books of the Treasurer, and he, besides being required to furnish "a complete list of all bonds, notes and other securities belonging to the College, with the names, numbers and amount of each, also the par and cash valuation of each," was forbidden "to hold any similar office by which he should have or retain in his hands the funds of any other corporation or monied institution," nor could he make or change investments of college funds without the consent of the committee.

To the dark financial cloud that hung over the College there was given a silver lining by the announcement about this time of three legacies, one entirely unexpected, that seemed to open the prospect of relief. Two of them were not immediately available, but no one anticipated the long delay that actually occurred in their realization. The first was a bequest by Judge Richard Fletcher of Boston, who died June 1, 1869, which was estimated at \$100,000, but of which only \$30,000 were received under President Smith, and of this sum \$10,000 were reserved for a biennial prize to be offered by the Trustees for an essay tending "to counteract the worldly influences that draw professed Christians into fatal conformity to the world." In case no essay was thought worthy of the prize the amount of it was to be given to some charitable institution in New Hampshire. "Essays have been accepted and published from time to time," wrote President Tucker at a later period, "in accordance with the terms of the will, but of late years so many manuscripts have been rejected by the judges, that the Trustees are about to

ask leave of the Courts to substitute some other form of carrying out the devout intention of Judge Fletcher which shall insure the result which he had in mind."¹ The amount thus far received under this bequest falls a little short of \$100,000 but \$15,000 or \$20,000 more are expected.

The second bequest was that of another former Trustee, Judge Joel Parker of Cambridge, who died August 17, 1875, leaving to the College property estimated at \$140,000. Part was for the benefit of the library, but the greater part for the establishment of a law school in the College. As much of the property was in land, and as other interests than those of the College were involved, the settlement of the estate progressed slowly, and after a time, in 1883, an arrangement was made with the heirs, the fund being found insufficient for a law school, for the founding in the College of a professorship of law and political science. The amount realized from the estate produced a fund of \$50,000 for the professorship, and of \$37,500 for the library.

The third and unexpected bequest was that of Tappan Wentworth, a lawyer of Lowell, Mass., who died June 12, 1875. Mr. Wentworth was not a graduate of the College, but was perhaps interested in it because he was of the same stock as Governor John Wentworth, who gave the charter to the College. At one time he visited Hanover and made his investigation of the College without the knowledge of any one connected with it, and on returning to his home remarked to a friend, "I have been to Dartmouth and I think a little more money will do it no harm." At his death he gave to the College his whole estate, subject to some annuities and small bequests, and with the condition that it should be allowed to accumulate till it reached \$500,000.

The announcement of this bequest gave new heart and hope to the college authorities, but they were to suffer great disappointment in its realization. The inventory of the estate was \$276,972.19, of which \$194,750 were in houses and lands in Lowell, and \$82,222.19 in personal property, including 910 shares of the stock of the National Rubber Company valued at \$75,000. The care of the property was put into the hands of three executors, D. S. Richards of Lowell, A. O. Bowen of Bristol, R. I., and President Smith, who soon desired to include

¹Resources and Expenditures of Dartmouth College, *Dartmouth Bi-Monthly*, October, 1907-August, 1908.

the Trustees in the management of the real estate, and Messrs. Spalding and Davis were associated with them in that task. Two years later the two trustees assumed the entire responsibility for the real estate and still later of all the property, and this was continued with marked ability till the death of Dr. Spalding and the resignation of Dr. Davis in 1891.

An examination of Mr. Wentworth's assets and liabilities was, however, attended with some unwelcome revelations. The real estate, located mostly in the central portion of the city, was subject to mortgages, to the amount of \$41,000, bearing interest at the rate of 7 percent. Mr. Wentworth had anticipated the dividends of the current year from his stock in the Rubber company, and claims called for payment in excess of all dues in his favor. The lots on Merrimack street had great prospective value, but the buildings, with a single exception, were old; two thirds of them were ten-footers and all in need of extensive repairs. The rents were low, the total receipts from this source not exceeding \$10,000 a year.

In this state of affairs, with claims that had to be met within twelve months quite in excess of the annual income, the committee was much perplexed, but by help from Mrs. Wentworth, who cordially supported her husband's wishes, by the extension of the notes through temporary loans, and by the sale of two out-lying lots of land, the committee was able to meet the current claims and to pay the \$18,000 of legacies due within four years. It took up several of the notes at 7 per cent., and transferred them to the College at 6 per cent., which was advantageous both for the College and the estate. The trustees desired to sell the rubber stock, but Mr. Bowen, the executor, did not consent to transfer it to them till after the company ceased to pay dividends. There was no market for it and at last the company becoming bankrupt, the College realized from it only \$11,295. In 1889 the committee reported that all legacies and claims had been paid and that the College owned all the real estate, except one lot, free of all encumbrance beyond a mortgage for \$28,000 held by the College, the net value of the estate being \$259,000, with an excess of income of about \$4,000. The payment of this mortgage and the appreciation of the property, which was appraised in 1892 by outside parties at \$501,432, gave the use of the income to the College from July 14, 1896.¹

¹Report of the Committee August 27, 1889, and "A Manual for the Use of the Trustees and Other Officers of Dartmouth College," printed by the Trustees in 1911.

In October, 1876, President Smith issued a leaflet entitled "Donations to Dartmouth College Within the Last Thirteen Years," the period of his administration, by which he showed that for all Departments there had been given to the College \$960,590, estimating the gifts at their current value. Including the Wentworth bequest at \$250,000 the amount given for the Academic Department was \$519,815, but only \$119,050 were then available for meeting current expenses. The actual or estimated value of gifts to the other Departments was \$24,000 for the Scientific, \$205,900 for the Agricultural, \$70,000 for the Thayer, \$17,000 for the Medical, and \$120,000 for the Law, and \$3,875 for Moor's Charity School. The amount of residuary and other legacies, as they would be when available, was \$740,000.

Notwithstanding these gifts, some of actual but more of prospective value, the College was in serious financial difficulties. In that very year its deficit was nearly \$11,000, and at a special meeting of the Trustees in August the President introduced the question of retrenchment and recommended: "1st, All necessary measures to keep expenses within the income. 2nd, A *temporary subscription* to supply deficiencies. 3rd, In case of failure of the subscription by the first of April a deduction not exceeding ten per cent. from all salaries, except in cases of special contract." In carrying out the first recommendation the Trustees, following the suggestions of the Faculty, voted to retrench by dispensing with one tutor, by reducing expenses for the gymnasium, gas, printing, fuel, labor, etc., by dispensing with the services of Dr. Labaree, by reducing repairs to a minimum, by encouraging students to room in the buildings, and after one year to assess the rent of the unoccupied rooms on those rooming outside. These methods of retrenchment were put into operation the next fall and helped materially to reduce the deficit of the year, but the subscription was not attempted or was not successful and there was no reduction of salaries.

Under these discouraging financial conditions the new year opened, and to add to the discouragements there was disappointment also in the size of the entering class, which in the Academic Department was smaller by twenty, and in the Chandler by seven than the year before, a total of seventy-nine against one hundred and six. It was at this time, perhaps for his own cheer as well as for that of the friends of the College, that President Smith sent out the list of donations already mentioned,

but the strain was telling upon him. He bore up under it with his usual courage, though conscious of a lessened vitality, till about the middle of November, when he was prostrated by a violent cold, accompanied by almost complete physical exhaustion. About this time he was greatly affected, and his weakness was increased, by a letter which he received from a prominent alumnus of the College, containing a bitter and violent attack upon him and his administration. To criticisms of errors of judgment, such as might be brought against any administration, were added personal attacks of a peculiarly trying nature. In his enfeebled state these combined to make a serious menace to his health. He did not rally from his collapse and his physician ordered him to give up work altogether.

A meeting of the Trustees had been called for the 22d of December at Concord. He was unable to attend, but sent instead his resignation to take effect at the end of the month. The Trustees were dismayed, and, declining to accept the resignation, appointed a committee of four, Messrs. Quint, Fairbanks, Nesmith and Spalding, to wait upon the President and urge him to withdraw it. They came to Hanover by appointment on the 3d of January, but Dr. Smith was too ill to see them. They sent him a communication offering him an indefinite leave of absence and relief from all work with continuance of salary, if he would only remain in office. After a night's consideration he declined their offer, but, though persisting in his resignation, yet in the hope of completing some matters for which his signature was desirable, he consented to remain in office until February. On the report of the committee the Trustees accepted his resignation, but fixed the date of his retirement as March 1. He never regained his health, and though with the coming of summer he was able to drive out, he died in the middle of the following summer, August 16, 1877.¹

President Smith was fortunate in the comparatively stable body of his advisers. It is true that at his retirement there were only three members of the Board of Trust who were in office

¹Asa Dodge Smith was born in Amherst, N. H., September 21, 1804, the son of Dr. Rogers and Sally Dodge Smith, but in his infancy his family removed to Weston, Vt. After entering upon the printer's trade at Windsor he determined to secure an education, and having fitted at Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, N. H., he entered Dartmouth in 1826 and was graduated in 1830. After a year's teaching at Limerick, Me., he studied for the ministry at Andover Theological Seminary, and immediately on graduation was called to the Brainerd Presbyterian Church, just built on Rivington Street, New York City. There and in its new home on Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street, he remained as its successful pastor for twenty-nine years, till he was called to the presidency of Dartmouth. He married, November 9, 1836, Miss Sarah Ann Adams of North Andover, Mass.

when he came, but the changes had occurred relatively within a very short time, so that especially in the latter half of his administration he could rely upon those who by long association knew both one another and the College. The stability of the Faculty after the first was even more marked. Of the nine permanent members of the Academic Faculty at his retirement, three had been with him from the beginning, two almost from the beginning, another for seven years and the remaining three had been taken into the Faculty as tutors and advanced to professorships. The leading member of the Chandler Faculty was also connected with the College for twelve years.

The administration of President Smith covered a period of a little more than thirteen years, and was both honorable and successful. Under it the College prospered. Two new departments were organized, the Agricultural College and the Thayer School, and the older ones shared in the common advance. The number of students in the Academic Department, though somewhat fluctuating, rose from the low point of 1864 till for two years it exceeded that of any one of the preceding thirteen years. In the Chandler Department the number nearly doubled; the number in the Medical School also greatly increased, so that including the students of the two newly organized departments the total registration of the College reached in one year 479, the largest number in its history up to that time. The list of the general Faculty rose from seventeen to twenty-nine, partly through small additions to the older faculties and partly through the addition of the faculties of the two new departments.

An outward and lasting sign of growth appeared in the new buildings, Bissell, Culver and Conant Halls and the renovated buildings of the Chandler and Medical Schools. The equipment of the Observatory was almost wholly renewed, as well as enlarged, the apparatus of the Appleton physical laboratory made doubly effective, and there were many minor improvements that made the buildings more convenient and serviceable.

During this period the College regained to a large degree the sympathy of the clergy of the State, which had been alienated by the pro-slavery views of President Lord. Not only was President Smith in entire accord with the prevailing sentiment on the subject of slavery, but he used every effort to show that in the College there was nothing at variance with it. With great persistence and with great tact, through personal acquaintance and through personal and circular letters, he attempted

to interest the ministers of the State in the moral welfare of the College, and by attendance at the meetings of the various ministerial associations and by addresses before them and on other occasions, to reinstate the College in the active sympathy of its natural constituency.

President Smith was well qualified for his position. His mind was alert and constructive, his temper sympathetic, and a native ease in meeting people had been trained and perfected in a long city pastorate. He was fond of young men and entered heartily into their feelings, so that when he was President, Professor Noyes, a classmate of his in college, once said to him: "Mr. President, I think that you are more of a boy now than when you were in college." His sympathy for those who were working their way through college was unbounded and more than once in the early days of his presidency, when he was directing his energies particularly to raising funds for scholarships, he pledged his salary with the treasurer to its full amount for help to needy students, trusting that he would make himself whole by what he might beg from others.

He never lost sight of what he regarded as the highest interest of the students, their moral and spiritual welfare, and he made it his practice not to allow a student to leave college without having a talk with him on the subject of personal religion. He took pleasure in personal contact with the students, no one of whom ever felt himself unwelcome when he wished for counsel or advice, and though the President's fluency and exuberance of expression sometimes seemed to go beyond the need of the occasion, no one doubted the genuine kindness that lay behind his words. It was his custom to meet the incoming classes with an address of advice and suggestion, and he never failed to impress upon them his desire to stand to them, in his common phrase, *in loco parentis*. His theory of college government, like that of his predecessors, was paternal, but though he was always ready to listen to excuses and to make allowances he was firm in discipline and tempered his mercy with justice.

Dr. Smith had the gift of public speech; he was always at his ease, never thrown off his balance, the master of phrase, and never happier than on occasions when something must be said and yet it seemed as if there was nothing that could be said. By tact and grace of expression he frequently redeemed an apparently impossible situation and even turned it into an opportunity. In this he was aided by an unusual facility in the use of language,

resting upon a vocabulary of extraordinary range, and, as was said of another, by "an inexhaustible copiousness of grandiloquent phrase." He used long words by preference and his vernacular, a word of which he was fond, was largely made up of Latin derivatives. His style was consequently of the Johnsonian order, as was illustrated by two expressions in his baccalaureates, in which he described the universe as a "vast congeries of reciprocities," and a well reasoned argument as a "series of well concatenated ratiocination."¹

Sounding phrase was not used, however, as a mask for weakness of thought. Dr. Smith's sermons, addresses and familiar talks, though sometimes drawing attention and even causing a smile by expressions like those just given, were thoughtful, earnest and effective. Hearers were impressed by his real depth of feeling, clear understanding, power of analysis and ability of statement and illustration. Few among the students failed to be impressed by his conduct of the chapel services either in morning prayers or in the vesper service of Sunday evening, or to recognize the strength of his convictions and to be affected by the force with which they were presented.

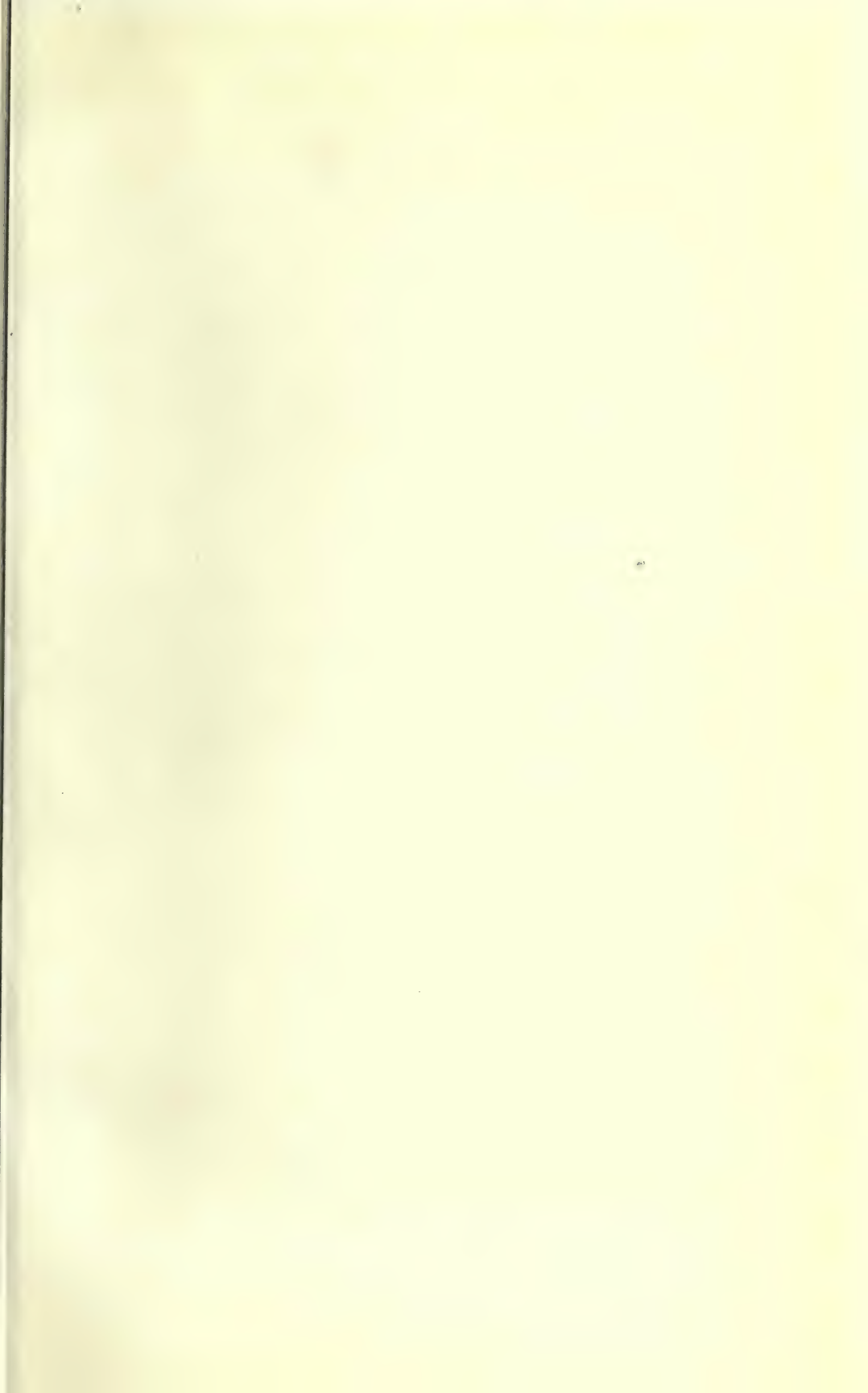
In his relations with the Trustees and the Faculty President Smith was thoughtful and considerate. His leadership was real but not assertive, commending itself by the wisdom of its measures and the graciousness of its methods. He was firm when firmness was necessary, but preferred to carry his plans by persuasion rather than by authority, and to hide the strength of his hand beneath a silken glove. Resourceful and diplomatic, he was skillful in harmonizing opposing interests and rarely aroused antagonism in bringing his plans to effect.

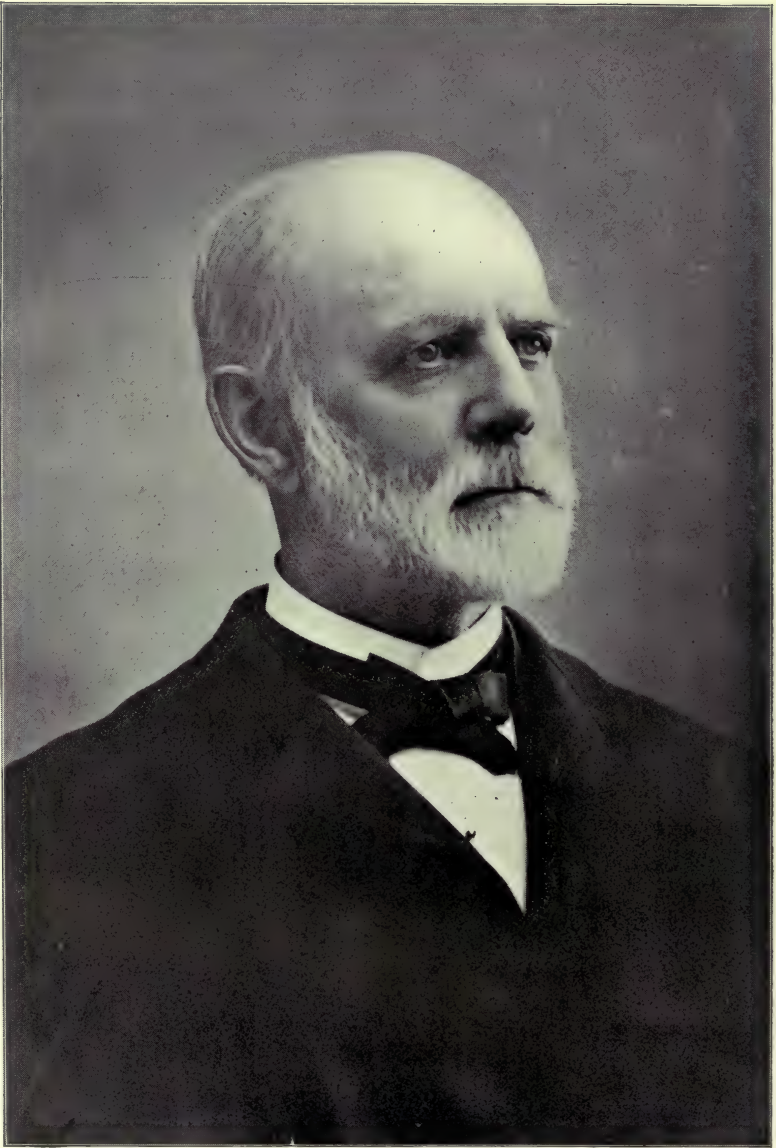
His scheme for the development of the College was comprehensive. The organization of the Thayer School, and the connection with the Agricultural College, temporary though it was, were indicative of the university idea which he cherished. At the time it was, doubtless, better for the latter institution to be established in Hanover than elsewhere; it profited by its association with Dartmouth, and Dartmouth gained by being free at that time from the diversion of support to another college. That the connection was not permanent does not reflect upon the wisdom of the early arrangement. Later conditions could

¹His preference for Latin words was shown in a remark which he made in a faculty meeting. In reporting a reprimand, which he had been asked to give to a student, he said, "He was saucy to me; in plain Saxon, he was impudent." The laugh of the Faculty recalled the correct origin of the word.

not be effective at the start. Dr. Smith desired to concentrate all the higher educational interests of the State at Hanover, and thus give them the advantage of mutual support. The lines of expansion on which he worked had a definite aim, whose larger realization at that time was prevented mainly by the financial stress. That the alumni of the College did not then, as later, rally to its aid was due to their wide dispersion, which took them out of touch with its immediate condition, and to their association with the interests of the newer localities with which many had cast in their lot.

In person President Smith was tall and well proportioned, a noticeable figure in any place. Always erect, he had the habit when speaking, as if to emphasize a serious or a humorous remark, of raising himself to his full height and giving almost oracular utterance to his thought. He had a rounded face, which, with a ruddy hue and always smooth shaven, was not characterized by marked features. A slightly receding chin, a small mouth, a short and rather thick nose, pleasant eyes that smiled behind their barriers of gold-bowed spectacles, and a high forehead combined to give the impression of a kindly nature. His manner, while not wholly forgetful of himself, was yet dignified and cordial. In dress he recalled the former time, for he always appeared in public in a dress coat, which with his erect carriage made him a conspicuous figure.





L. C. Bartlett

CHAPTER XIV.

1877-1892.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENT BARTLETT.

WE HAVE now come to times whose events are covered by the memory of many still living, and as some of these events involved controversy, which perhaps cannot yet be seen in clear perspective, it will be better to let their extended discussion await the determination of later times, and to present only a brief summary of their progress.

On the resignation of President Smith the Trustees, after the informal canvassing of many names, chose, on January 30, the Rev. Samuel Colcord Bartlett, D.D., as his successor. Dr. Bartlett, a graduate of the College in the class of 1836, had been a tutor in the College for one year in 1838-1839, and during successive pastorates in the east and the west and professorships first in Western Reserve College and then in Chicago Theological Seminary, where he was at the time of his election to the presidency, had kept up a warm interest in his *alma mater* and had been an earnest advocate of alumni representation. After carefully considering the invitation and coming to Hanover to inspect the College, he accepted the position in March, but was unable to enter upon its duties till the middle of May.

His inauguration, which came on Wednesday of Commencement week, June 27, 1877, was favored with a beautiful day and commanded a large audience. The exercises, which were in the church, were presided over by Dr. Peaslee of the Board, a classmate of the President-elect, and, after music by the Boston Cadet band, were opened by a prayer by Rev. Dr. N. Bouton. An address and delivery of the keys and the charter of the College by Governor B. F. Prescott were followed by an acceptance of the trust by the President, who also responded to an address of welcome on behalf of the students, instructors and alumni of the College by Professor E. D. Sanborn. An interlude of music was followed by the inaugural address on "The Chief Elements of Manly Culture," and the exercises closed with prayer and benediction by the President.

The new administration met a severe loss at the very outset in the resignation of Professor Young. He had been invited to

the chair of astronomy at Princeton, and in February indicated to the Dartmouth Trustees his intention to accept the invitation, though he said that he would remain if the Trustees would make him professor of astronomy, without duties in the department of physics, would appropriate \$5,000 for the further equipment of the Observatory and endow his chair in a sum sufficient to ensure a salary not less than his existing one. He was at once made professor of astronomy; Dr. Spalding assured the \$5,000 for equipment, and the Trustees, while not being able to raise the necessary endowment in so short a time, promised that they would use their best endeavors to secure it, and that the salary should not be reduced. In fact the vote of the previous year, looking toward a possible reduction in the salaries of the Faculty in general was recalled. But Professor Young feeling that his condition had not been met, since the endowment was not immediately secured, put in his final resignation on March 22d, the same day on which the acceptance of Dr. Bartlett was received, and at the close of the year went to Princeton.

Dr. Bartlett accepted the presidency with the understanding that the subscription, which had been proposed, should go on, though not under his direction, and that he was to be free to devote himself to "the literary interests and internal affairs of the College." The financial condition of the College was, however, too serious to be neglected. Its literary interests were dependent upon a closer relation between income and expenses, and it soon became evident to the new President that, whether he wished it or not, his first effort must be to relieve the college treasury. He entered upon the work with characteristic energy and during all his presidency devoted himself unceasingly to the increase of the endowment and an economy of administration, and with such success that in four years the annual deficit became a slight surplus and in the fifteen years of his presidency this pleasing result was five times repeated.

The subscription was abandoned without results, but an attempt was made to secure the same end by working through a committee of alumni, which was appointed in 1878 "to confer with the Trustees on the general interests of the College" and to report. This committee of seven reported upon the finances of the College and recommended an appeal for subscriptions, payable at once or in five annual instalments. Their report was supplemented by that of another committee of the alumni, consisting of three members and appointed the next year, which in

a printed report considered the relations of the students and the Faculty, and of the several departments and also the needs of the College, and urged co-operation in the plans of the President for the endowment by subscription of two professorships, to be called the "New Hampshire" and the "Daniel Webster" professorships. The result of these movements was donations of only a few thousand dollars.

The first substantial gift that brought cheer in the darkness was a gift unexpectedly made in June, 1878, by Mr. Henry Winkley of Philadelphia, who sent his check for \$25,000 to be used as the Trustees thought best, and to this sum he added \$10,000 in November following, the whole amount being then devoted to the endowment of the chair of the "Anglo Saxon and English Language and Literature." Mr. Winkley had not received a college education, but entering business at an early age had become a successful crockery merchant in Philadelphia. His birth in New Hampshire may have turned his attention to the College, as he had not been approached on its behalf, and in fact it was his avowed plan not to give to causes for which he was solicited, but to investigate his own objects of benevolence.¹ His benefactions did not end with his first gifts, for in March, 1880, he gave \$5,000 toward the Daniel Webster professorship, and again in May he added \$20,000 for a fund for the general purposes of the College, and his last benefaction was a bequest in his will of an additional \$20,000, which were received in 1890, and devoted to the completion of the endowment of the "New Hampshire" professorship.

The encouragement coming from Mr. Winkley's first gifts fortunately did not pass away, for they were followed in 1880 by the endowment of two other chairs. In April of that year Mr. B. P. Cheney of Boston, Mass., also a native of New Hampshire but not a graduate of the College, put into the hands of Judge Nesmith, a trustee, and Mr. John P. Healy, a graduate of the College, the sum of \$50,000, requesting them after consultation with the Trustees to apply it for the use of the College in such manner as should "do the most good and produce the best results." In accordance with their suggestions the Trustees appropriated \$40,000 to the endowment of the chair of mathematics, \$5,000 toward the endowment of the Daniel Webster professorship and \$5,000 to the increase of the presidential fund.

In October of the same year the chair of intellectual and moral

¹ Letter of E. A. Rollins to President Bartlett, December 15, 1882.

philosophy was endowed by the gift of \$35,000 by Mrs. Valeria G. Stone, of Malden, Mass. Her husband, Mr. Daniel P. Stone, had not been reputed during his life as a man of wealth, but at his death the probate of his will showed that he had possessed a large fortune. A large part of this he desired his executors to distribute, in consultation with Mrs. Stone, among various literary institutions. President Bartlett appealed to Mrs. Stone, and aided by Dr. Leeds, who was a warm friend of Dr. Wilcox, one of the executors, he secured \$35,000. During this time Dr. Bartlett was soliciting subscriptions for the Daniel Webster professorship, which was completed to \$35,000 by 1883. Mr. Winkley, Mr. Cheney and Dr. Spalding, who always aided the College in a pinch, each gave \$5,000, the classes of 1856 and 1860 and fifteen individuals each gave \$1,000, and the remainder came from small subscriptions. The realization, already mentioned, of \$50,000 from the legacy of Judge Parker in 1883, the gift of \$5,000 by the State in 1883 and 1884, and in 1885 the bequest of \$50,000 for the general purposes of the College by Mr. Julius Hallgarten, a banker of New York City, still further helped to relieve the financial pressure.

Along with the increase in the endowment came funds for two much-needed buildings, a chapel and a library. The old chapel in Dartmouth Hall had long before ceased to be suited for chapel services. It was the one auditorium of the College and was used indiscriminately for all purposes. The rhetorical exercises were held there on Wednesday afternoons and these were often followed by turbulent collisions between the classes; college and class meetings were frequently held here, and it was also the place for political gatherings, for lectures and even for the exhibitions of jugglers. It was not seldom the scene of unsavory practical jokes. A freshman or sophomore class coming to morning chapel sometimes found its seats smeared with grease or oil or molasses; an animal was occasionally found in the room, as once when the students came to the rhetorical exercise they found a donkey securely tethered on the stage; or, worst of all, a body was once stolen from the dissecting room and placed on the floor under the seats of the freshmen. The seats were uncomfortable and covered with inscriptions and the names of those who sought the immortality of the jack-knife, the room was unattractive and there was nothing about it that tended to give dignity or sacredness to the morning chapel service. Evidently these could be secured only in a

new building, in which they would not be belittled or destroyed by unworthy associations.

The need of a new library building was not less urgent than that of a chapel. The space in Reed Hall was insufficient for the increased accommodations demanded by the consolidation of the libraries, but more than all a fireproof building was needed as a protection against the danger from fire to which the library was constantly exposed in its existing situation, and even if a fireproof building could not be secured it was very desirable to remove the library to a place where it would be free from the risks attaching to a dormitory. So urgent was the need of removal that in 1877 a movement was started to convert the gymnasium into a library, and Mr. Bissell had given his consent, if other provision could be made for the gymnasium, but it never took effect.

Fortunately provision for the two buildings came at about the same time. When, in the spring of 1883, Mr. Edward A. Rollins of Philadelphia, a graduate of the College in the class of 1851, who had already shown in lesser ways his interest in the College, was approached by President Bartlett with the suggestion that he give to the College a new chapel or a new library, he replied that he was already thinking of the need of the College of a chapel, and on the 27th of June he wrote offering to give \$30,000 for a chapel on condition that \$400 a year be paid to Professor Sanborn during his lifetime, and that \$60,000 be raised for a new library building before January 1, 1884. If but \$50,000 were secured for a library then his gift for a chapel would be but \$25,000.

Mr. Rollins' gift was gladly accepted and efforts were at once made to fulfill the condition. It was evident that the fund for a library could not be secured by a general subscription, and an attempt, therefore, was made to reach a few wealthy alumni, who might individually or together give the necessary sum, and to allow time for such a movement, Mr. Rollins extended the date of meeting his condition to March 1, 1884. The attempt was unsuccessful, but fortunately an unexpected gift assured success. In January of 1883 George F. Wilson, a business man of Providence, R. I., died, leaving a bequest of \$50,000 to the College. No one at the College had known of the bequest, but Mr. Wilson had been a client of Messrs. Blodgett and Boardman of Boston, who were graduates and ardent friends of the College, and he had doubtless been influenced by them

in making his will, and also, perhaps, by the fact that New Hampshire was his native State. He designed the bequest for the endowment of a professorship or for the erection of a building as Mr. Boardman, his executor, should determine. Its opportuneness for a library building was too obvious to be neglected, and as the executor gave his consent the Trustees devoted it to that purpose.

Mr. Rollins accepted this action as the fulfillment of his condition, and competitive plans for both buildings were at once invited. That of Mr. John Lyman Faxon of Boston was accepted for the chapel and that of Mr. Samuel J. T. Thayer of Boston for the library, and Messrs. Bartlett, Quint, Prescott, Stanley and Fairbanks were appointed a building committee of the Trustees. It was decided without hesitation to build the library of red brick with red sandstone trimmings, but the material for the chapel was for some time in doubt. Mr. Rollins preferred granite, but there was a suggestion of white marble which Governor Proctor of Vermont, a classmate of Mr. Rollins, offered to give from his quarries at Rutland. It was, however, even then fully as expensive as granite, which could be obtained close at hand, and Mr. Faxon objected to its use on the ground that a marble building would not harmonize with its surroundings. The choice was finally made of pink granite from Lebanon, which it was decided to lay in irregular courses with red sandstone trimmings. Proposals were asked for the construction of the two buildings together and separately, and after they were received the contract for the library was awarded to Currier, Peabody and Russell of Lawrence, Mass., and that for the chapel to Mead, Mason and Company of Boston, Mass.

Work upon both buildings was begun in June of 1884 and on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 25th of June, the corner stones were laid with appropriate ceremonies, in which Mr. Rollins, and Mr. Boardman as Mr. Wilson's executor, took part. The purpose and spirit of Mr. Rollins's gift were well illustrated in his address. "It is a chapel," he said, "of which we lay the corner stone today, because we believe that the chapel is the corner stone of the State. Dartmouth College with no chapel and no religious worship or instruction, would mean ultimately the cities and villages of our State without churches, and our civilization a delusion and a mockery."

Work upon the buildings was carried steadily on and in a year they were ready for occupancy. The expense of each was

greater than had been planned, the cost of Wilson Hall being \$66,622.32 and that of Rollins Chapel \$32,005.52. The amount required for the library building above the \$50,000 of Mr. Wilson's bequest was appropriated from the legacy of Mr. Hallgarten. Against the urgings of the architect for wider limits Mr. Rollins had steadily held his gift at \$30,000, and insisted that the building should cost no more, and that there should be no excess for others to pay, but as the building neared completion a series of memorial windows for the presidents of the College was secured, and these seemed to call for some more extensive interior decoration.¹

That the chapel might be perfect in harmonious detail Mr. Rollins enlarged his gift to the amount above stated, and a few days before Commencement forwarded the final payment, "to cover the full cost of the chapel completed and ready for use." The building, Romanesque in general style with entrances under heavy round arches, was in the form of a Roman cross and had a seating capacity of about six hundred. Its equipment for service was completed two years later by the gift of an organ by Mr. H. C. Bullard of the class of 1884, who has twice since that time supplemented his original gift by donations for the enlargement of the organ, made desirable by the enlargement of the chapel.

The dedication of the chapel took place during Commencement week, on the morning of Wednesday, June 24. The company gathered at the old chapel in Dartmouth Hall and after singing the doxology, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," moved to the new chapel, and after an anthem and the reading of the scriptures, partly from the revised version, which had appeared within the month, and partly from the old version, of which a large copy had been given by the New Hampshire

¹The windows for the first five presidents were in the apse and for the others in the transepts. Those to the two Wheelocks were given by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Billings of the Wheelock kin, the one in the center for Eleazar Wheelock representing John the Baptist, and the one at the side, for John Wheelock, representing Peter. Both were made in Edinburgh by John Ballantine and Son. The original window to Eleazar Wheelock was taken out in 1892 and placed by President Bartlett in the Christian Association building, and was replaced by the one now in the chapel. The delicate window at the right of the center in memory of President Brown, representing John the Apostle, was given by Hon. Francis Brown Stockbridge of Kalamazoo, Mich., and came from the Royal Bavarian Stained Glass Works in Munich. The windows at the extreme right and left representing St. Paul and St. Andrew, in honor of Presidents Tyler and Dana, were made in Boston and were the gifts of Edward Tyler and others. The figures of Moses in the south transept, and of St. James in the north, respectively commemorate President Lord and President Smith, the former being given by alumni in Boston under the lead of Judge Caleb Blodgett and J. W. Rollins, and the latter being secured by Professor Blanpied from friends of President Smith in the Agricultural College. The last four were from designs by Donald McDonald.

Bible Society for the new desk, an address was given by Rev. Dr. Quint on "The Place of Religion in Education." Ill health prevented Mr. Rollins from being present but he took part in the exercises by a letter in which he said: "I shall never cease to regard the chapel with affectionate and peculiar interest, nor suffer my faith to wane that with the ministration in it of faithful Christian ministers and instructors, and the blessing of heaven upon it, it will not fail, for many generations, to accomplish great good for the College itself and for all those whom the influence of the College shall reach." The unveiling of a portrait of Mr. Rollins formed a part of the exercises which were closed by a prayer, an anthem and the benediction.¹

The first regular exercise in the new chapel was held on Thursday, the opening day of the next college year, and Mr. Rollins being in Hanover, though much out of health, was able to be present, but his malady, more serious than he knew, took an unfavorable turn and he died two days later. On the following Monday his funeral was held in the chapel, the first of many funerals of college men held there since that day, and as his casket stood in front of the desk he seemed to consecrate by his death the gift of his life.

The effect of the new chapel upon the character of the daily service was very marked. The customs and the traditions of the old chapel were left behind. Almost without exception good order and propriety have prevailed. Worthy surroundings have aided worthy conduct, and respect for the place and respect for the service have helped each other. To this day the pews are free from disfigurement by pencil or knife, and the spirit of reverence has been preserved by the fact that the chapel has been reserved exclusively for religious and kindred services, no notices, even, of a different kind being given from the desk.

In 1888 the chapel barely escaped destruction by fire. Two days before the opening of the fall term a fire was built in one of the furnaces to dry out the dampness that had gathered in the organ during the summer months. The attempt to force all the heat through a long horizontal pipe led to overheating at a point where a timber was partially exposed and this took fire. Fortunately the fire was discovered in the evening before it had made great headway and the prompt action of the fire

¹ A marble tablet, erected by Mr. Rollins, declares the building to be "a reverend and loving tribute" to his father, Daniel Gustavus Rollins, his mother, Susan Binney Rollins, and his wife, Ellen Hobbs Rollins.

department saved the building. The organ was considerably damaged and the interior of the roof was charred throughout, so that later it had to be ceiled again, but no fatal damage was done to the building and it was made ready for prayers on the first day of the term.

The dedication of the chapel in the morning was followed by that of the library in the afternoon. Delays in the preparation of the shelves had prevented the transfer of the books from Reed Hall till a week before the time set for the opening. When at last the shelves were ready the President at morning prayers asked for volunteers to help in the moving. The whole college volunteered. Each class was assigned a day and was divided into squads which worked two hours at a time. Each pair of men, except those employed in taking down and dusting the books at one end and those employed in arranging them at the other, was given a tray holding as many books as two could conveniently carry. An endless chain of full and empty trays thus passed and repassed between the two halls till at the end of four days sixty thousand volumes had been transferred and the new library was ready for inspection. For this it was thrown open to the public at two o'clock Wednesday afternoon, and at three the dedicatory exercises were held in the College church, when the address was given by Mellen Chamberlain of the class of 1844.¹

Upon the prosperity thus indicated by the increase of endowment and the erection of new buildings there had fallen the shadow of controversy. It began almost with the beginning of the administration and had its occasion in the relation of the Chandler School to the College. It will be remembered that at the opening of the School the Trustees determined the requirements for admission and the curriculum, and that after President Lord's unsuccessful attempt to put all the Faculty on a common footing as to work and salary, the teaching in the School was largely done by members of the Academic Faculty at the rate of payment, first of one dollar, and then of two dollars an hour, and that the School also paid, after 1860, one fifth of all common expenses. Under this arrangement the School continued during the administration of President Smith, without further action by the Trustees except in the appointment of officers. The development of the university idea tended to

¹ All the exercises of the day are to be found in a pamphlet entitled: "Dedication of Rollins Chapel and Wilson Hall, Dartmouth College, June 24, 1885. Printed for the College, 1886."

give the School greater prominence, and President Smith, while maintaining the supremacy of the Trustees, was inclined to allow the Faculties, as has been seen in the matter of the certificate system, to act upon matters which had heretofore been determined solely by the Trustees.

Acting under this tacit permission the Chandler Faculty made considerable change in the requirements for admission and in the course of study, so that by 1877 the requirements for admission had been modified by the substitution of American history for outlines of general history, and of physical and political geography for geography, and by the requirement, instead of the recommendation, of algebra, first to, and then through, quadratics, and of all of plane geometry, and by the addition of physiology.

The course of study, aside from variations that necessarily arose from convenience or advisability of arrangement, was modified particularly by the introduction of more history and more modern language. These changes were brought about partly by an aspiring consciousness in the minds of the Chandler Faculty of the growing importance of the School, partly from the desire to keep pace with the enlarged requirements for admission in the Academic Department, and partly from the wish to mark the contrast between the Chandler School and the Agricultural College, whose requirements for admission were stated in general to be the studies pursued in the common schools, a phrase recalling the statement of Mr. Chandler's will.

In the early years of the School there had been a marked feeling of division between its students and those of the College, based largely upon the fact that the preparation demanded of the former was so much less than that demanded of the latter, but in process of time, as the number of the Chandler students increased and the idea of the Department became more distinct the feeling grew less pronounced, the students of both Departments met on more familiar terms and the friends and graduates of the School, as well as its Faculty, felt that the School had secured a rightful individuality. Professor Woodman and after him Professor Ruggles, as holding the place of chief importance in the School, were very jealous of its name and fame and did their utmost to give it a prominent and independent position. This they did, not by developing the technical but the general character of its work, and they sought to attract students by advertising the School, not merely as a school for scientific

training, but as one whose object was to give "a liberal education on a scientific basis."

When President Bartlett entered upon office, in his survey of the financial and educational needs of the College, his attention was at once drawn to the Chandler School. He found, as he believed, that the School had expanded beyond its resources and that it was drawing upon those of the College. Since its proportion of the common expenses had been fixed at one fifth, it had greatly increased in numbers and was not then contributing its fair share of those expenses. It had a comparatively small fund, but through its connection with the College was making a disproportionate display. Its Faculty, for instance, which had but three permanent members, appeared larger than that of the College itself, for it was the custom to print in the list of the Chandler Faculty the names of those members of the Academic Faculty who gave instruction in the School, though they had no other connection with it and no voice in its administration. Thus in 1876 and 1877 there were but two members of the Academic Faculty that did not also appear in the list of the Chandler Faculty, which, with its own members and the inclusion of some other names, was larger by two and four in the respective years than the Academic Faculty. The cost of the instruction thus gained was at disproportionately low rates. Professors in the College, on the ratio of work to salary, received from \$5 to \$6 an hour, but for their instruction in the Chandler School they received but \$2 an hour. All work there was of course in addition to their work in the College and was by most, if not by all, welcomed as an opportunity to add to their meager salaries, but it unquestionably was a draft upon strength, which if not devoted to the same ends in the College might have been used for the personal advancement of the individual members of the Faculty.

To the new President the Chandler School thus seemed to be a drain upon the College in two ways, by failing to pay its proper share of common expenses, and by making excessive demands for instruction upon the College Faculty, and further to have assumed an unwarranted independence of management. The first of these evils he at once sought to correct, and at the annual meeting in June of 1877 the Trustees passed the vote that henceforth expenses for the catalogue should be divided among the Departments according to the space occupied by each, and that those for chapel and the Commencement dinner

should be divided in proportion to the number of students. This was a natural solution, but the second and third difficulties could not be dealt with so easily, and required longer attention.

The educational position and claim of the Chandler School were not less disturbing to the President than the financial situation. He was a thorough believer in the superiority of a classical training and regarded it as the only proper method of a liberal education, so that the expression, "a liberal education on a scientific basis," as descriptive of the work of the Chandler School, seemed to him misleading. He further thought that such an aim, even if secured by the School, was not in accord with Mr. Chandler's intent, which was to train young men "in the practical and useful arts of life," and that the requirements for admission to the School were in excess of those described in the will, as "no other or higher studies than those pursued in the common schools of New England."

Soon after the settlement of the financial relation of the College and the Chandler School by the apportionment of expenses, it became evident that the President had in mind a complete overhauling of the School. He questioned not only the validity of the requirements for admission and of the course of study under the will, and the propriety of instruction by members of the Academic Faculty, but also the constitution of the School itself. He called in review the decision of the Board made at the establishment of the School, that it had the right to accept the gift of Mr. Chandler subject to a Board of Visitors, and presented the question anew to various lawyers, and to judges of the Supreme Court of Vermont. Upon the question whether the curriculum of the School was in accord with Mr. Chandler's will he asked the opinion of the heads of several technical schools. To the legal members of the Board he caused to be referred the same question and also that of the requirements for admission. The members of the Academic Faculty were practically withdrawn from the School and the instruction there was restricted to its own Faculty, which was enlarged by the addition of two members.

Within three years these matters were so earnestly pressed upon the attention of the Board that the School occupied more of their thought than it had done during the preceding fifteen years. The changes that had been made under President Smith were discovered to be without the express sanction of the Trustees, and were, therefore, held to be invalid. Their

last vote upon the order of the School was in 1857, and the proceedings of the Faculty since that time, taken partly because of the growth of the School and partly for the sake of it, though shared in by the President of the College and printed in the annual catalogue and unchallenged by any member of the Board for twenty years, were regarded as entirely unauthorized.

President Bartlett suggested a return to the entrance requirements of 1857 as the only authorized requirements, but on presenting the matter to the Board the subject was referred to a committee consisting of Judge Eastman and Judge Veazey, who were requested to consider the requirements with special reference to Mr. Chandler's will. In accordance with their report plane geometry was taken from the existing requirement and algebra required only to quadratics, but two years later geometry was again required. Some changes were also made in the course of study. But the President's main contention, fortified by the opinion of lawyers whom he had consulted and strenuously urged upon the Board, that the Trustees could not legally accept a trust subject to visitorial control, was not accepted by them. He was more successful, as has been said, in withdrawing the Academic Faculty from teaching in the Chandler School, a result which was brought about by a vote, passed in June, 1879, that "if any teacher in the College become instructor in the Chandler Scientific department his services shall be limited to fifty recitations and that one half of the compensation be paid to the teacher and one half to the College" except in cases otherwise provided for.

As few cared to give up half of the small return for their services which they received for teaching in the Chandler School, the supply of teachers from the Academic Department was thus cut off. This lack brought a great load upon the Chandler Faculty, even when enlarged, and the securing of sufficient instruction with the restricted funds of the School was no small task for the President and committees of the Trustees to whom the matter was successively entrusted.

It was not unnatural that these attempts to modify the existing order of the Chandler School and to restrict its operations should arouse opposition. The Chandler Faculty soon felt that not only their privileges but what they regarded as their rights were endangered, and they resented what seemed antagonism to the School. The President appeared to be the head of the School, not to develop but to depress it, for so they interpreted

the curtailment of the liberty of action, which they had enjoyed for so many years, the reduction in the requirements for admission and the withdrawal of the teachers of the Academic Department. It was not so much, however, the things that were done as the way in which they were done that occasioned friction. To change established methods, to withdraw privileges and to enforce restrictions are always difficult and call for tact, forbearance and the appreciation of the feelings of others. These qualities were not characteristic of Dr. Bartlett. He had a resolute will, intent on carrying its point, sharp incisive speech, a quickness of caustic retort, a tendency to controversy that sometimes seemed a fondness for it, and when engaged in it a firmness that grew stronger with opposition, and that emphasizing the correctness of his own view and the error of his opponents, regarded compromise and yielding as a mark of weakness.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his attempt, undertaken in all sincerity, to correct what he regarded as abuses in the Chandler School, soon took a personal turn, and that ill feeling arose between those who thought that they were being degraded by an unsympathetic leader, and one, who felt that he was being thwarted in his plans. In place of sympathetic confidence there came distrust on the part of the Faculty and the determination to carry his point on the part of the President. The difference once begun was thus enlarged by personal feelings that had nothing to do with the case.

If the President had been willing to make concessions on some points he would have conciliated many who could not follow him to the extreme, but opposition only made him more steadfast, and with an inflexible determination he pushed forward in the execution of his plans. Quick sensibilities, easily stirred, gave stimulus to his will and made this a chief factor in his relations with others. It seemed to the Chandler Faculty as if he were disaffected toward the School and, with this spirit, were unwilling to yield anything to its supporters.

The Board, while accepting his views to some extent, guarded against this attitude for itself by a vote passed at its annual meeting in 1880, in connection with the report of the committee upon the requirements for admission:

Resolved that we are opposed to any change in the curriculum in the Chandler Scientific Department of Dartmouth College that shall in any sense tend to debase or degrade the same; that we believe the standard and usefulness of this Department can not only be maintained but improved by a rearrange-

ment and modification of the curriculum in some respects, and that the same be done by Rev. Dr. Quint in connection with Professor Ruggles as a committee subject to the approval of the President, Dr. Bartlett; and in case of disagreement, the two may call in an arbiter whose decision shall be final for the ensuing year.

The difficulties of the situation at that time gathered mainly about the securing of instructors. Under existing schedules the withdrawal of the Academic teachers left more work than the Chandler Faculty could well do, and as their only possible relief seemed to be in having help as before from the Academic Faculty they were earnest to secure that permission. The amount of instruction required was, however, bound up with the schedule of the curriculum and it was to these two points that Dr. Quint's efforts were directed. His success in carrying out his commission was told by him in a letter to Governor Prescott, written from Dover under date of July 23, 1880:

I did not succeed quite as well as I wished. I did succeed as to curriculum, very well. I met Mr. Ruggles alone, and also with Mr. Sherman. My plan was to leave the President outside, and arrange with Mr. Ruggles a schedule which I knew the President *could* approve when it came to him. I wanted to relieve him, and take (for myself and the Board) all the curses, so the President should be free. I did so. Mr. R. wailed, and Mr. S. was rather savage, but I put my foot down that the Board would have certain things, and I got them. Mr. Ruggles and myself signed a joint report, which was and is a thoroughly good schedule, good enough. The President approved with one "provided." The "provided" referred to "architecture." I had to decline admitting his "provided" on the ground that Mr. Chandler's will absolutely required "architecture" by name, and our object is to get to Mr. Chandler's will.

But, after I thought that we had agreed on the arrangement of teachers to the studies,—*that* part tumbled over! My agreement with Mr. R. was this:

1. It is impossible for the new Prof. to teach Mechanics! Mr. Sherman has been doing it. (I knew when the choice was made at the President's urging, that it was a great blunder!) So we agreed that these two might quietly *exchange* some studies this year. To this the Prest. assented.

2. I understood the opinion of the Board to be, at Concord, that, *this year*, there should be *entire liberty* to employ Professors of the College, on the *old* basis (not last year's)—accepting such professors as were not fully employed. You will remember that, after I was appointed Committee, I asked the opinion of the Board on this matter; that the Prest. stepped forward and said that we ought to be surprised at what he should say, but that, for this year, he was in favor of waiving all objections, and allowing full liberty—except where Professors were now fully taxed,—and that this was a *concession*. The Board agreed and seemed glad at this concession.

I so informed Mr. Ruggles; and also that the President had this kindly feeling. He was mollified. As to Pollens, I said he was too busy. As to Noyes, Sanborn, and Parker,—yes, within fair limits. Mr. Ruggles said that

Hardy had some lectures (good ones) on architecture, and it would be a good thing to get him, and it would please him (he being a little disgruntled). I told him, doubtful as to Hardy, but would consider. As to Prof. Bartlett, Hitchcock, and Pettee, all right.

Mr. Ruggles and myself signed report on this basis. I took it to the President (Mr. R. remaining in my room) and explained it. I was glad I did not take Ruggles with me. The Prest. agreed to the employment of his son, Hitchcock and Pettee. I suggested whether it would be a good stroke to ask Hardy as above. The President was *exceedingly* irritated,—"it was the old plan, trying to sap the College," etc. I instantly withdrew the suggestion, saying it was but a hint, and that Mr. Ruggles had not pressed it in the slightest degree. Turning then to the employment of Noyes, Parker, and Sanborn, the President opposed it in the *strongest terms*. It intensely surprised me. I understood him at Concord to admit the whole plan! He said that at Concord he did not say "how many" and did "not mention any names." I told him I understood the opinion of the Board to be *unanimous* that a generous liberty should be allowed this year. He renewed his arguments about "sapping the College." I told him that he should have finished that up down at Concord. He finally consented that Noyes might teach. I told him it was not a question whether *one* or *ten* were to teach; it was conciliation in view of what he had done disagreeable to the Chandlers, and that it was clear that he and I could not agree. I felt bound to abide by the opinion of the Board, and told him so. I told him that if this was left unsettled by the Committee *he* would have the fight on his hands. He replied that he could do it, he could stand fighting when he knew he was right. I hinted that he had had full enough of it, strong as he was, and plead for conciliation in a few words. It was *useless*. When we could not agree,—he called my attention to the fact that Dr. Davis's record did not authorize this Committee to assign teachers! It was so! The intent of the Board was doubtless to have this Committee affirm the curriculum to the teachers, but it did not (apparently) *say* so. I told the President that I did not doubt what the Board *intended* but that, as we disagreed, I was very glad to be relieved of all further responsibility, and should so consider myself. But I expressed to him my regret that matters must be left so unsettled, with *nobody* authorized to do anything, as nobody had any right to hire a teacher or appropriate money except the Board or an authorized committee.

The Prest. then proposed that we might assume the responsibility, and wanted to know if in case he would further agree to admit Prof. Parker (making Noyes and Parker) I would agree to oppose any further employment *after this year*. I declined making any bargain. I regarded the determination of the Board at Concord as final for the year, and must abide by it.

I went to Prof. Ruggles; told him (not of our differences) that the Prest. had called my attention to the fact that the record of the Board did not authorize us to procure teachers, and we must take out that part of our report, which we did; he was rather bewildered however.

I left Hanover. Have had letters from the President since. I have declined acceding to anything except that the Board intended this year to allow a generous liberty in employing Professors,—especially to remove soreness,—and that I cannot *bargain* in the matter. There it rests.

I was *grievously* disappointed. I had relieved the President of all the

odium in rearranging the curriculum. I had seen Noyes, and Parker, and the conciliation as to Professors had softened them wonderfully. Then to have the President suddenly fly off at the minor matters, go straight against the opinion of the Board, let the favorable time go by,—seemed cruel. Ruggles left town with nothing settled as to teachers. There is no authority in the President to get teachers. A growing harmony was suddenly smashed; all for a point of no *principle* whatever. I felt hurt, and almost despair of any harmony while the President is President and the Chandler School is connected with Dartmouth College. I became fearful that the President is *embittered* against the Chandler School, and that he means to depress it. The sudden erection of that new professorship, and filling it with the man who must do the engineering, implies it. The President insisted that Engineering meant nothing but surveying; he will persist in that. He opposed the creation of a Professorship of Engineering;—my attention was called to the fact at Hanover—that the professorship does *now* exist. It was erected about 1856, and was kept filled until Hardy was transferred to the College two or three years ago! It is still on our records. I called the President's attention to that fact, at Hanover. He refused to acknowledge it, because it is not *endowed*.

I wish that you would write me. Was I mistaken as to the intent of the Board in allowing the employment of Professors *this* year? If I am I will yield, but it will embitter the trouble fearfully. At Hanover I think *not a quarter* of the sentiment is with the President, and not *more than two* Professors besides his son. I was grieved at it. If I saw you I could tell you of opinions as to the matter which are unfortunate.

By some blunder the copy which the President gave me of the vote as to terms of admission, taken from 1857, *omits entirely* the strong *recommendation* of Algebra and Geometry! I don't understand it. *That* was a vital part of the vote. I have called the President's attention to it.

Unless there is some change of feeling I frankly say I see no prospect of harmony.

The feeling which Dr. Quint reported was not confined to the Chandler Faculty. Dr. Bartlett was not a man with whom half-way positions were possible. He commanded ardent support or equal opposition, and his policy and methods ranged the whole resident Faculty on one side or the other. Some members of the Academic Faculty were sorry to lose the opportunity of teaching in the Chandler School, some sympathized with the Faculty of that School in its relation to the President, but it was not till the spring of 1881 that the parties were definitely alligned.

There had been several recent changes in the Faculty. In the summer of 1878 Professor E. T. Quimby resigned the chair of mathematics and civil engineering, which was at once filled by the transfer from the Chandler Faculty of Professor Arthur S. Hardy, who brought with him a warm sympathy for his

former associates. In the same year Louis Pollens, who had come as instructor in French the year before, was made professor of French and Librarian, and John H. Wright, a graduate of the class of 1873, who came from two years' study in Germany after being assistant professor of ancient languages in the Ohio State University, was appointed associate professor of Greek. In 1879 Dr. Edwin J. Bartlett, the son of the President, was elected to the chair of chemistry on the recommendation of members of the Faculty. The untimely death of Professor John C. Proctor, which occurred October 27, 1879, made vacant the chair of Greek, and it was in connection with the appointment of his successor that the break between the President and the Faculty occurred. Under the charter the Faculty had no voice in the election of new members, yet it had long been the custom for the President of the College to confer with the Faculty upon appointments, for advice or recommendation, before taking them to the Trustees. No immediate appointment to the Greek chair was made, as the work of the Department was under the charge of Associate Professor Wright, who, being in the line of succession, desired the appointment and was favored by several members of the Faculty. The President did not favor him, and when at last he fixed upon a man for the place he did not bring the matter to the Faculty, though he showed his credentials to most of its individual members. The failure to bring the matter before the Faculty, or even to consult all its members privately, brought to the surface the dissatisfaction with the President that had been gathering, and when the election was announced the feeling was very strong. It was not that an unsuitable man had been chosen, or even that the Faculty had not been consulted, for after first refusing to discuss the matter the President had, in a meeting of the Faculty, stated his position, with the added remark that he would present to the Board the different view of any member of the Faculty but he did not think that any such view would affect the result. It was rather that some felt that their views had not been correctly stated to the Trustees, and that the President's course, in line with his course in the Chandler School, indicated an autocratic temper that, in carrying out a policy saw only the object he had in view and interpreted everything in accordance with his desires. The order of former administrations seemed to be reversed, and authority to take the place of friendly association.

The disaffection of the Faculty corresponded in time with a similar feeling among the students, though partly from other causes. The Chandler students were naturally disaffected toward the President, but many in the College, and mainly the senior class, had a similar feeling, arising from a case of severe discipline in which the class had been earlier involved. The Faculty was divided in its judgment concerning it, but a majority of two to one agreed with the President in inflicting the penalty, and yet, as is usually the case, the executive officer suffered the odium of it.

The opposition of a considerable portion of the Faculty to the President's candidate for the Greek chair becoming known, though there was nothing personal in it to him, caused that gentleman to decline the election, and stirred the alumni, who had for some time been hearing that all was not at peace in the College. Coming in addition to the unrest in the Chandler School, and supplemented by the reported ill-feeling among the students, it moved the Association of Alumni in New York City to present the following memorial to the Trustees at their meeting, April 7, 1881:

To the Honorable Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College:

Whereas the Alumni of Dartmouth College have heard for some time past disquieting rumors concerning the state of affairs in the College, tending to impair the natural increase and growth of the College, to alienate the interest of the Alumni whose co-operation and assistance are so needful, and to reflect upon the management of the present incumbent of the presidential chair,

Therefore the said Alumni would respectfully request the Honorable Board of Trustees to appoint from their own number a committee whose duty it shall be to thoroughly investigate the said state of affairs, in order that errors of management, if there are any, may be corrected, by the adoption of a new policy, or that the present executive may be vindicated and strengthened; in either case that an end may be put to injurious rumors, harmony in administration may be attained, hindrances to growth may be removed, and the interest and aid of the Alumni again secured. And they would further suggest that said committee report at as early a day as practicable in order that ends above specified may be attained with as little delay as possible."¹

The memorial was referred for investigation and report to a committee of three, consisting of the senior members of the Board, Messrs. Nesmith, Spalding and Quint. The President and the disaffected members of the Faculty were at one in wishing to avoid a public investigation. The President, believing in his policy and methods, felt that the public airing of "dis-

¹In the matter of a Memorial of the New York Association of Alumni of Dartmouth College vs. President Bartlett, Vol. 10.

quieting rumors" would be harmful to the College; the members of the Faculty, believing that the disquieting rumors covered essential evils of administration, were equally desirous not to have them spread abroad. They felt, however, that these could be cured only by the retirement of the President, and with the hope of bringing this about they expressed to the Trustees, in advance of any investigation, their view that the interests of the College called for his resignation. This was done in a paper signed on April 29 by fifteen of the twenty-two resident members of the Faculty, and assented to by the Treasurer. The signers included all the members of the Faculties of the Chandler School and the Agricultural College, the one resident member of the Medical Faculty, and seven of the twelve permanent members of the Academic Faculty.

The disquieting rumors of which the New York alumni complained had, of course, their origin in the situation at Hanover, but the movement of the alumni was not the result of influences that came from there. Several things combined to bring it about. Friends of the Chandler School were disturbed by the attitude of the President toward it, others distrusted him as an administrator and were apprehensive of the result of his policy, and some of liberal tendencies were opposed to his rigid orthodoxy. The paper sent from the Faculties to the Trustees ranged its signers with the New York Alumni, though without regard to the motives of the alumni, for among the signers were some whose orthodoxy was as firm as the President's. Both parties sought the same end, but in opposite ways, the alumni by investigation, the signers without it. The paper, however, had exactly the opposite result from what was desired. Dr. Bartlett would not resign under fire and united with the alumni in demanding an investigation, with the expectation not only of clearing himself but of exposing the motives of hostility to him.

On the 9th of May the committee of the Trustees went to Hanover and spent two days in conferring with the President and the members of the Faculty, both those who signed the paper and those who supported the President. They had interviews with individuals and also with the body of the signers, but were not able to effect a reconciliation, as they had hoped.

The alumni had not desired or expected any part in the investigation for which they had asked. They were informed of the appointment of the committee and that it would meet in Hanover May 26, but in answer to an inquiry they learned

that their presence was not expected. The committee met on the appointed day and had a conference with the members of the Faculty who had signed the paper, when these, in answer to requests, declined to make charges against the President, saying that their action was only an expression of judgment in view of the memorial of the alumni, and not an exhibit of charges. An adjournment was taken to Concord, to the 3d of June, and the New York Alumni were notified to appear. Sanford H. Steele of the class of 1870 was sent to represent them, but as the meeting was on Friday and the notice was not received until the afternoon of Tuesday, and as there had been no expectation on the part of the alumni that they were to be present, Mr. Steele could only ask for a continuance. This was granted with the requirement that before the committee next met, an adjournment being taken to June 17 at Hanover, the alumni should present in writing their charges with specifications. No member of the Faculty opposed to the President was present at the meeting, though a telegram was sent by the committee, on the morning of the day, authorizing the suspension of college exercises in order that members of the Faculty might attend the hearing.

It was very evident, however, that though the Faculty had brought no charges and had not appeared to testify, the case of the Alumni rested upon facts that could be obtained only in Hanover and from the Faculty. Accordingly Mr. Steele came to Hanover and after several days of inquiry formulated, on his return to New York, the charges against the President. These, five in number with twenty-two specifications were as follows:¹

First. That said Bartlett by his habitually insolent, discourteous and dictatorial manner in official intercourse with his associates members of the Faculty has stifled all free and independent discussion of college matters and that he has illegally ignored and usurped the functions of the Faculties of various departments of the College.

Second. That said Bartlett has deliberately and intentionally imperiled the influence of the Faculty with the students and has improperly endeavored to bring certain members into disgrace in the eyes of the students and the public.

Third. That said Bartlett has persistently and systematically exerted his official influence to impair and diminish the prosperity of different Departments of the College.

Fourth. That in his public official relations to the students said Bartlett

¹ In the matter of a Memorial of the New York Association of Alumni of Dartmouth College vs. President Bartlett, Vol. 2.

has used such language as to necessarily humiliate and disgrace them and graduate them as enemies instead of friends of the College.

Fifth. That said Bartlett has so far lost the confidence of his associate members of the Faculty that out of a total membership of twenty-three residents sixteen openly express the belief that the best interests of the College require his resignation.

The hearing on these charges was begun before the committee at the office of the Treasurer in Hanover on June 17. The alumni were represented by counsel, Judge William Fullerton, Sanford H. Steele and Asa W. Tenney of New York City, and President Bartlett was present with his counsel, Harry Bingham of Littleton and Judge William S. Ladd of Lancaster. The proceedings of this and subsequent sessions were reported stenographically by Mr. J. R. Pember, a graduate of the College in 1862, and an official reporter in the courts of Vermont. Two days were spent in the hearing, most of the sixteen mentioned in the last charge being called upon to testify in support of the different specifications, and then it was adjourned to July 12.

On that day the committee met in Culver Hall, and as Dr. Quint was absent Judge Stanley and Judge Veazey of the Trustees, who were present, were invited to sit with the committee. Two more days were spent in the hearing and then the case was submitted without argument. It will be observed that the charges had to do, as Mr. Steele remarked in presenting them, with what might be called constitutional tendencies, expressed not so much in single oppressive acts as in a general and characteristic determination on the part of the President to make his will effective and to crush opposition rather than to persuade it. Their real gravamen, imperfectly expressed in the specifications and, therefore, ruled out in the testimony, was an infirmity of recognizing and stating a position opposite to this own.

The report of the committee made to the Board and unanimously adopted at a meeting held at Concord July 28, at which all the members were present except the President, was uniformly in favor of the President.

"While the charges," it said, "were serious, the specifications were inadequate, many of them trivial, nearly half of them were withdrawn, and as a whole unsupported by adequate proof of any important error.

"Some alleged remarks, of a severe or ill-timed or careless nature, mainly in the early part of the administration, and if not always prudent, yet sometimes challenged by disgracefully disorderly conduct; some omission or commission in the intercourse of the president and faculty; some differences as to administration; and some occasional real mistakes on the part of the

president, which he himself frankly admits;—such constitute the main part of the case presented by the New York alumni in the alleged particular facts. The committee do not think that the formal investigation thus has disclosed any results which sustain, so far as acts and words go, a claim that there should be a change of office."

The report, in attempting to trace the cause of the alienation that had grown up, regarded the Chandler School as the seat of the trouble, and in stoutly asserting the control of the Board over the School, as against the influence of the President, it practically made a confession of neglect on the part of the Board in allowing the School to continue for twenty years without any supervision except such as had come through the assent of the President of the College for the time being, and in asserting that "there could be no degradation of the Chandler Scientific Department," and that, henceforth, the attitude of the President must be in harmony with the policy of the Board.

The committee was aware that the life of an administration could not be framed into technical charges and specifications capable of precise and tangible proof, and consequently found its most serious difficulty in the relations of the President and the Faculty, for it saw that while the professors recognized the President's "eminent ability, his great scholarship, his constant industry and his executive force, and were on terms of personal friendship with him," they were yet "out of harmony with him in their official intercourse and were positive in their convictions." It felt that the President's natural energy and force of will had, perhaps, made him "somewhat inflexible," that his "characteristics and opinions being in some respects different from those of his eminent predecessor" naturally had caused some friction, and that "extreme sensitiveness had been developed on the one side, and perhaps inattention to the fact of that sensitiveness had existed on the other." With the grounds of dissatisfaction thus explained it hoped that there might be a reconciliation between the parties. "To this," said the report, "the Board should exhort all parties. If it fail, the Board will be in a condition to deliberate and act with wisdom and decision."

To the memorial of the New York alumni the answer was returned that the Board had patiently examined into the "disquieting rumors," and while finding some "errors of management" had yet "endeavored to correct all such errors in the best possible way." A committee, consisting of Messrs. Veazey,

Tucker and Stanley, was appointed to communicate the result to the President and the Faculty and to act as a committee of conference. At the opening of the college year Messrs. Veazey and Tucker came to Hanover, and met those who had opposed the President. A day was spent in conference upon the situation. The members of the Faculty thought that since the Board had sustained the President, while their own views had not changed, the circumstances unquestionably called for their resignations, and all without hesitation placed them at the disposal of the committee. The committee, however, declined to receive them, earnestly declaring that the interests of the College required that every one should retain his position, and go on with his work.

Under these conditions the work of the new year began, but it was not to be expected that there should be harmony. Strong feeling existed inside the College and out. Members of the Faculty held their peace, but many communications from friends and opponents of the President away from Hanover, and also among the students, appeared in the papers. Sharp criticism and keen defence of both sides were mingled with rumors of resignations, asked or voluntary, till at the meeting of the Trustees in April, 1882, the following votes were passed:

To put at rest the disquieting rumors that have been circulated, to the effect that the Trustees desire the resignation of President Bartlett,

Resolved. That we put on record the expression of our continued confidence in him as an able, efficient administrator, and an admirable instructor and we believe that the best interests of the College require that he should continue in his present position.

Resolved. That we believe that the best interests of the College require that the members of the Faculty should continue in their present positions and cordially co-operate in advancing the true interests of the College.

The second resolution received unanimous support, the first was passed by a vote of six to four, Governor Bell not being present. The division of opinion indicated by this vote continued through the administration of Dr. Bartlett, varying with the shifting composition of the Board, but never giving to the opposition an actual majority until the meeting in February, 1892, when all occasion for it was ended by the resignation of the President. It was strong enough, however, in the interval, to resist the demand for the removal of some members of the Faculty and to secure the election of one professor who was opposed by the President, yet on the whole the majority

stood steadfastly by the President, withholding their support only in case of extreme measures which would have widened the breach between him and the Faculty.

The administration of Dr. Bartlett continued for eleven years more. This period was not one of harmony either in the Board or the Faculty, and the lack of it was harmful to the College, but it is a proof of the ability of the President and the fidelity of the Faculty that, in spite of the division, the College held its own in numbers and standards, and also made advance in endowment and equipment. The great misfortune of the period was that during those years the College was not building up a strong constituency on which it could afterward rely.

One of the early movements of importance in President Bartlett's administration was the establishment of the Latin Scientific Course. As has been said, Dr. Bartlett was a firm believer in a classical training and in this he laid no less stress on Greek than on Latin. He was himself an able Greek scholar, and in the interval between the death of Professor Proctor and the appointment of his successor, he had helped out the Greek Department by taking the course in Demosthenes on the Crown. But the time was one in which the push against Greek was making itself strongly felt. Educational values were becoming unsettled and there was a growing demand for an A.B. degree without Greek. The President recognized the force of the movement and in the fall of 1878 a committee of the Faculty, of which he was chairman, reported favorably upon the setting up of a course in the College in which Greek should have no place. After long discussions the matter went to the Trustees with the approval of the Faculty, the President insisting only that the same degree should not be given to the one who had taken Greek as to him who had not. The degree of A.B. had not so far lost the meaning which it had held up to that time, of connoting the study of Greek, that the President or Trustees or Faculty were willing to assign it to a course of study which omitted that language, and they hence agreed that the new course should have a degree of its own.

At their meeting, March 20, 1879, the Trustees voted:

That the Faculty be instructed, if practicable, to establish a Latin Scientific Course in the College, with a fixed curriculum differing from the present course, by substituting for the study of Greek in College, an increased amount of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and mineralogy, modern languages and other studies, which may be judged expedient, and that the degree conferred at graduation shall be Bachelor of Letters.

The above vote did not imply any change in the requirements for admission, and candidates for the new course were expected to bring Greek as for the regular A.B. course. But it soon appeared that it was a mistake to require a leading subject for admission that was not to be continued in College, and also that the requirement would not meet the desires of those who wished to avoid Greek in the preparatory school as well as in college, accordingly at the next annual meeting the Trustees voted to omit Greek from the entrance requirements for the new course. As nothing was substituted for it students entering the new course lacked the preparation that others gained by the consistent study of Greek for two or three years and were consequently at a disadvantage in their college work. An attempt was made in 1882 partially to remedy this by requiring for admission one year of French, and a little later, physical geography. In 1892 the requirement in French was raised to two years, and botany and physiology were added, but five years later, for the last two there was substituted one of the sciences, physics, chemistry and biology.

The new course was advertised in the catalogue issued in the fall of 1879, and in the next year opened with four students. It had a fairly rapid, though somewhat irregular, growth, entering twenty-seven in 1890, and after 1896 partaking of the general advance of the college and rising to fifty-eight admissions in 1900. Owing to the enrichment to the B.S. course incident to the incorporation of the Chandler School with the College, and to the somewhat uncertain value attaching to the different degrees, the Latin Scientific Course was given up with the class entering in 1901, the degree of B.L. being conferred for the last time in 1905. After that year the College conferred in course only the two degrees of A.B. and B.S. Latin, and not Latin and Greek, was made the basis of the A.B. degree, and those who had taken neither Greek nor Latin in college received the degree of B.S.

Almost coincidently with the beginning of the Latin Scientific Course elective studies found a place in the curriculum. The Faculty had not done violence to the recommendation of the Trustees, already mentioned, of a "limited and cautious use" of electives, since it had restricted elections to mathematics and modern languages in sophomore year, and to mathematics and Greek and Latin in part of junior year, but beginning in 1874 it had offered several optional studies in senior year, consisting

mainly of "practical" courses in the sciences and of courses in French and German. Other subjects, like Hebrew and Sanskrit were added as teachers could be secured, but they were taken by comparatively few students and the relation of optionals to other subjects—whether attendance should be required, whether an examination should be required, and whether they should be marked and rated as other courses—caused much discussion in the Faculty. In 1880 certain courses were offered in metaphysics and history in which the student was to work under the direction of a teacher, to hand in a thesis, to take an examination and be marked, but no announcement of the courses was made in the catalogue.

This omission was owing to the dissatisfaction of the Faculty with the system of optionals, and in the next year they presented to the Trustees, with a recommendation for its adoption, a detailed schedule of electives covering junior and senior years. This was assented to by the Trustees, to go into effect in the fall of 1882, and was the beginning of the present system of electives in the College. It opened a little more than a third of junior year to electives, the afternoon hour being wholly, and the noon hour being partially, given to them. Greek and Latin were thrown into the elective group, the prescribed subjects being physics, chemistry, astronomy, rhetoric, natural theology and English literature. In senior year the change was still greater, the noon hour only was held to prescribed work, and as from that time three exercises were required of seniors, as of the other classes, two thirds of their work became elective. The prescribed subjects of senior year were, psychology, logic, ethics, political economy, Christian evidences, constitutional law and physiology. In these two years the languages, ancient and modern, and mathematics retired to the elective group, and in senior year the sciences entered the same group after being prescribed during junior year. This system of electives, with minor changes of arrangement and subjects, continued substantially the same until 1893, when it received a still further extension into sophomore year.

Another plan for the encouragement of scholarship was worked out in the same year as the system of electives. It was a scheme of honors, so arranged as to affect different portions of the college course, and to have cumulative effect. Two grades of honors were devised, one called "honorable mention," which was awarded for general excellence in various departments mainly

in the prescribed courses, not before the end of sophomore year, the other called "final honors" and awarded at graduation for distinguished excellence in the work of a department, and the passing of an examination on the entire work of the department and on such other work of reading or investigation as might be specially prescribed. To those who received both honorable mention and final honors in any department a degree was given *cum laude*. A few years later, in 1886, the Trustees permitted, in the interests of scholarship, the division of classes in classics as in mathematics into sections based on rank.

In the Medical College a decided advance of the standard was made in 1890 by the requirement of an additional year of professional study, so that a candidate for the degree of M.D. must have pursued four full years of such study instead of three, and have attended three full courses of lectures instead of two, although the holding of a college degree was accepted in lieu of one year of study.

The Commencement of 1882 had an unusual character. A very discriminating and sympathetic address in memory of President Smith was given by the Rev. E. B. Coe, D.D., of New York City, on Tuesday evening, and on Wednesday was observed the centennial celebration of the birth of Daniel Webster. The address was delivered by Thomas F. Bayard, United States senator from Delaware. A cloudy morning brought relief from the heat of the preceding days and gave comfort to the audience. At ten o'clock Mr. Bayard was escorted by the student body from the home of Mr. Hiram Hitchcock, whose guest he was, to the church, where a great concourse awaited him and which he held in closest attention for two hours in an analysis of the character and work of Webster.

At the alumni dinner, which followed the exercises, President Bartlett lead the speaking with the sentiment, "Daniel Webster and Dartmouth College, one and inseparable," and all the speakers paid their tribute to Webster in the discussion of some phase of his life. Especial interest was given to the occasion by the gift to the College by Messrs. Houghton Brothers of Boston of the hair-cloth covered armchair which Webster had used in his study at Franklin. When the chair was presented by Governor Bell on behalf of the Messrs. Houghton, Mr. Bayard, as the guest of honor and the eulogist of Webster, was escorted to a seat in it.

The changes in the resident Faculty that occurred in the

earlier part of President Bartlett's administration, and that have been already mentioned, were followed by a still greater number in the later years. In 1881 the former Professor S. G. Brown, who had just resigned the presidency of Hamilton College, was recalled as lecturer on intellectual philosophy and political economy, and remained two years. In 1882 the chair of Greek, which had been vacant nearly three years, was filled by the election of Rufus B. Richardson, a graduate of Yale and at that time professor of Greek in Indiana University. In the same year Professor Sanborn, whose health had been failing, gave up the chair of English literature. His letter of resignation displayed the simplicity and directness of the man.

BOSTON, Dec. 5, 1881.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND TRUSTEES OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE:

GENTLEMEN:—For several years I have been struggling with what, now, seems to be a mortal disease, attempting to rise above insurmountable obstacles, hoping against hope, that I might, for a little longer time, discharge, acceptably, the duties of my profession; but old age and sickness have prevailed against me, have robbed me of my strength and courage and left me worn out and exhausted in body, mind and estate. I, therefore, resign into your hands my professorship of "Anglo Saxon and English Language and Literature," which your partiality conferred upon me two years ago, this resignation to take effect immediately, or at any moment before the close of the present college year, when you may think that the interests of the College may require my chair to be filled. Grateful for your generosity and kindness in the past I remain,

Your obedient servant,

EDWIN D. SANBORN.

Professor Sanborn had given the best years of his life to the College with a return that allowed him to make no adequate provision for his age. Several of his friends and former students, knowing this, took it upon themselves to make some provision for his remaining years and assured him a fund of \$500 a year.¹ His successor was Charles F. Richardson, a graduate of the class of 1871, who since graduation had been engaged in journalistic and literary work, and who came to the college in the fall of 1882.

Professor Sanborn's resignation was followed by that of Professor Noyes in 1883, who likewise resigned under the stress of physical infirmity. To both was given the title of *Professor emeritus*. Professor Noyes was followed by the Rev. Gabriel

¹ The movement was begun by E. A. Rollins of Philadelphia, with whom were associated James F. Joy of Detroit, Edward Tuck and Levi P. Morton of New York, and Hutchins and Wheeler of Boston.

Campbell, a graduate of Michigan University and then professor in Bowdoin College.

In this year Professor Hubbard also withdrew from active service in the Medical College. His connection with the College, beginning in 1836 and thus covering forty-seven years of actual teaching, although in different departments, exceeded in duration that of any other person in the history of the College, and his name, continuing in the catalogue as "professor *emeritus* in the Medical College" till his death in 1900, appears in the list of the Faculty for sixty-four successive years, an unexampled record.

The year 1885 was made memorable in the necrology of the College by the deaths of Professors Brown, Noyes and Sanborn, within a few weeks of each other. Dr. Brown died in Utica, N. Y., November 4, Dr. Noyes in Chester, N. H., December 22, and Dr. Sanborn in New York City, December 29. All were buried in Hanover, within the sound of the college bell whose summons they had so long and so loyally obeyed. They were all graduates of the College, Drs. Noyes and Sanborn being classmates, and Dr. Brown being one year earlier. They were men of very different characteristics, but united in love of the College, to whose service they had given the greater part, or nearly all, of their effective manhood. Dr. Brown was a man of scholarly tastes and wide attainments, refined and courteous, lacking in ease of social intercourse and finding it easier to express his thoughts with his pen than in conversation. He had a pleasing and effective style in writing, but in the classroom impressed his students with the extent of his scholarship rather than stimulated them by it. Dr. Noyes, who came to the College after a twelve years' pastorate, was more effective as a teacher in his later chair of philosophy than in his earlier one of ethics. He had no fondness for casuistry and subtle distinctions, but he had the gift of clear statement and was more confident in matters of intellect than in questions of conscience. He was naturally religious and though without the forceful nature of an instinctive leader and with a kind of timidity of action, he held firmly to what he believed was right, and made a strong impression on the students by his sympathetic sincerity.

Of the three, Dr. Sanborn produced by far the strongest impression upon the College. He had a forceful nature, that carried the enthusiasm of a boy into whatever pleased and

interested him as a man, great powers of acquisition, a capacious and retentive memory, ready humor and the ability to command and express in entertaining form his store of knowledge. His mode of thought, in which the impulsive outweighed the critical, was discursive, and he gave frank expression to his feelings¹ but rarely with offence. He never shrank from any task that he felt was his duty or spared himself in its execution. In person he was large and active with a corresponding physical and mental energy, and in his earlier years the combination of his mental and physical characteristics, with its suggestion of power, gained for him the nickname of "Bully." It clung to him throughout his connection with the College, but in later years, at least, it was wholly complimentary and expressed only the admiration and even affection of the students. During nearly all of President Smith's administration and the opening years of Dr. Bartlett's, Professors Noyes and Sanborn, as senior members of the Faculty, exercised a leading influence in its counsels.

In 1885 the Parker professorship of law and political science was first filled by the appointment of James F. Colby of the class of 1872, a practicing lawyer in New Haven, Conn., and an instructor in international law in Yale Law School. In 1886 the Rev. Marvin D. Bisbee, of the class of 1871 and previously connected with the editorial department of the *Congregationalist*, was appointed Librarian, in place of Professor Pollens who was made professor of French and German. The same year the College suffered the loss of Associate Professor Wright, who went to Johns Hopkins University as professor of classical philology, and after a year there became professor of Greek in Harvard University. The work of the Greek department was filled out by tutors for some years till in 1891 Mr. George D. Lord, who had been tutor, was raised to the position of assistant professor, at the same time that Arthur Fairbanks received a similar appointment in German.

In December of 1891, Professor Parker gave up the chair of Latin. He had never fully recovered from the effects of an

¹ His frank outspokenness may be illustrated by two incidents. In a prayer meeting in which the subject was "Growing in Grace," he rose when the minister had finished speaking, and turning to the audience said: "I don't know much about this growing in grace. I don't see that I have grown in grace in the last ten years, and I don't see that any of you have either."

Rushes at night were forbidden, but, one occurring, the writer went out and broke it up. At the next Faculty meeting when the matter was under discussion, Professor Sanborn spoke approvingly of breaking up the rush and said, "Mr. Lord did just what I did when I was a young man—big fool that I was!"

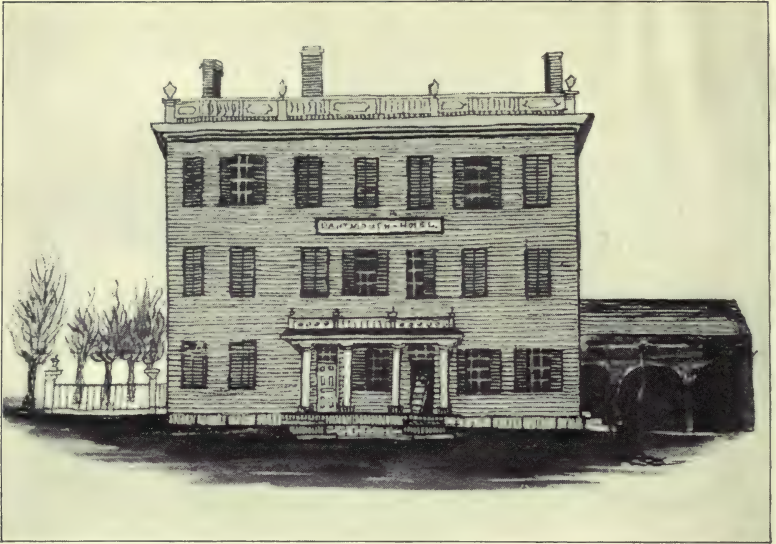
accident which he met in 1883, when a chimney fell on him as he was aiding in fighting a fire, and his health was gradually giving way. His withdrawal removed from the College one who had endeared himself to every student who came under him. His kindly sympathy and gracious bearing, coupled with a readiness to help those in distress, in addition to his literary tastes, gave him a strong influence over the students with whom he came in contact, and led them to regard him as a friend, and in his manner as the model of a gentleman.¹ His associate in the department, John K. Lord, was promoted to the vacant chair.

In 1890 the College sustained a severe loss in the death of its Treasurer, Frederick Chase, who died on the 19th of January. An attack of grippe found him in a weakened state caused by the unremitting ardor with which, in addition to his duties as Treasurer and Judge of Probate, he had devoted himself to the writing of the history of the College. He had been indefatigable in the examination of all sources of information, and in his eagerness had overtaxed his strength. The history, of which he had completed the first volume, is his memorial. He was succeeded by Mr. Charles P. Chase, at first by temporary, and on March 17, 1890, by permanent appointment.

The fire in which Professor Parker was injured was one of two disastrous fires that occurred in the village during the eighties. It began in the forenoon of Saturday, May 5, in a barn on the south side of Lebanon Street, where some children were playing with matches, and spread at once to a large building on the southeast corner of Lebanon and College Streets. It was while attempting to save a little house just below this building that Professor Parker was struck by a falling chimney and sustained injuries that were nearly fatal. A strong wind from the southeast carried the fire directly toward the village, and the utmost efforts were made to prevent its crossing Lebanon Street. The opera house was saved with very great difficulty, but the fire, leaping College Street, burned everything on the south side of Lebanon Street as far as the brick house on the corner of Main Street, and at one time gained a hold on a house on the north side of Lebanon Street. On the fate of that building depended that of the whole west side of the village, and just as it seemed impossible to save it, the arrival of a company and engine from

¹After his resignation Professor Parker removed to Boston, where he died at the home of his daughter, November 7, 1896.





DARTMOUTH HOTEL, 1826.



DARTMOUTH HOTEL, 1866.

Lebanon gave sufficient addition to local efforts to check the fire and protect the village. Several houses caught fire from flying sparks, but in each case the fire was extinguished in time. The aid of the students was the only thing that made it possible to hold the fire till the coming of the Lebanon company. Thirteen buildings were destroyed and twenty families thrown out of home. The loss of property was not as great as might be expected, being about \$25,000, since most of the buildings burned were old or of inferior construction.

Four years later a second and much more serious fire occurred in vacation, on the morning of Tuesday, January 4, 1887. It began in the Dartmouth Hotel, which stood on the site of the present Hanover Inn, and had two parts, one of brick and one of wood. The fire started in the wooden part, probably from a defective chimney, and was first noticed about two o'clock by Mr. D. B. Currier who lived in a house immediately adjoining. An alarm was given and the available force of the village at once gathered, but it was insufficient to prevent the spread of the fire. Mr. Currier's house was of course doomed, and soon the two wooden buildings to the south of the hotel took fire. Next beyond these buildings, and separated from them by an alley about twelve feet wide, was a large brick structure, three stories high, known as the Tontine, which sheltered most of the stores of the village and the halls of several fraternities. It was hoped that its brick wall might withstand the fire, but it had a wooden jut, against which the flames from the adjoining building were thrown by an iron roof that prevented them from rising directly upward, and it was soon on fire.

With this building the fire was stayed. Lebanon again sent to the assistance of the village, by special train, an engine and company, and they came at a critical time, just as it was attempted to hold the fire at the south wall of the Tontine. This wall stood through the fire and served as a screen to protect the adjoining wooden building, and the extra amount of water that was thrown upon the flames by the Lebanon company prevented their further advance.

The night was one of the coldest of the winter, with a temperature of more than twenty degrees below zero in some parts of the village, perfectly clear and without a breath of wind. When the flames broke through a roof they rushed upward like fountains, carrying myriads of sparks and glowing cinders that rose till their weight became too great for the upward force

of the heated air, when they fell back into the glowing furnace only to be thrown up again and again till they were consumed. The stillness of the night was the salvation of the village, for, in the absence of the students, it would have been impossible to attend to other fires that might have been kindled by sparks carried by a wind.

By nine o'clock in the morning the fire was under control and the chief corner of the village a smoking ruin. The loss in buildings, furniture and tradesmen's stocks was estimated at \$56,000. Six fraternities, Psi Upsilon, Delta Kappa Epsilon, Phi Delta Theta, Phi Zeta Mu, Vitruvian, and Sphinx, were rendered homeless; eight stores were burned besides the post office, a restaurant, a billiard room, a book bindery and an upholsterer's. The buildings burned were among the landmarks of the village. Mr. Currier's house was one of the oldest, having been built by Dr. John Crane, the first physician of the town, in 1773. Two of the most stately elms of the village, that stood in front of the house, were destroyed with it. The hotel that was burned was not the original one on that site, for that had been moved away in 1813 and for a century stood on the northeast corner of Main and Lebanon Streets till it was torn down in April, 1913, to give room for a bank building, but was the brick structure erected in that year, to replace the one moved away and afterward frequently enlarged. The Tontine, "a name probably adopted, without any regard to its special significance, in imitation of some large building in Connecticut, familiar to the builder," Lemuel Davenport, who built the medical college in 1811 for Dr. Nathan Smith, was, like the hotel, erected in 1813. From its great size, one hundred and forty feet long, forty feet wide and four stories high, it proved a losing venture for several successive owners, and at one time could neither be sold nor given away, but during the seventy-four years of its existence it had sheltered the chief part of the business of the village.¹

As is often the case, this fire worked to the ultimate advantage of the village, since in place of the old and generally unattractive buildings better ones were erected. The owners of the Tontine, Messrs. Bridgman and Currier, replaced it with a building of a more attractive appearance and a more serviceable plan. The buildings next to it were also an improvement on those

¹ *The Dartmouth*, February 4, 1887, an article on the history of the burned buildings by Frederick Chase.

that had been burned. As the owner of the hotel was a non-resident and did not care to rebuild, the question of hotel accommodations became of pressing importance for the College. There was no place at which the alumni and guests of the College or even the Trustees could be entertained at Commencement or at other times of interest. There was a small house, which, after the burning of the Dartmouth Hotel, took that name, but it was not one on which the College could rely.

Immediately after the fire the Trustees took measures to secure the corner lot, on which the hotel had stood, and to prevent its falling into unfriendly hands bought it for \$5,000. The adjoining lot of Mr. Currier they were not successful in securing till a later time. They did not then contemplate building a hotel, but after waiting a year in the hope that some private persons might undertake the enterprise, they felt that the lack of a place of suitable entertainment was a growing injury to the College, and after much deliberation, in March of 1888, they voted to build a hotel at a cost not exceeding \$25,000. Messrs. Fairbanks, Hitchcock and Prescott were appointed a building committee, who engaged as architect Mr. Lambert Packard of St. Johnsbury, Vt. His plans were approved and the contract for the building was let to W. J. Bray, also of St. Johnsbury, for \$22,500. The structure was of brick with red sandstone trimmings, and had accommodations for about one hundred guests. Work was begun in May, 1888, and the hotel was ready for occupancy by Commencement of the next year.

The cost, perhaps not unnaturally, exceeded the estimate and, including the furnishing but not the land, was a little over \$37,500. Of this sum \$34,000 were taken from the Hallgarten bequest and the balance from other funds. Some defects in construction necessitated repairs within a year, and the general plan of the house proved so unsatisfactory that in 1902 repairs and a rearrangement were undertaken on such an extensive scale that their cost exceeded the original cost of the building. The house was called "The Wheelock" and for several years it was run, sometimes by a lessee and sometimes by a manager for the College, rarely to the satisfaction of the public, and usually with loss to the College. Since the alterations in 1902, when the name was changed to "Hanover Inn," the College has assumed its direction through a manager whom it employs at a salary, and has thereby obtained a well appointed house and a rea-

sonable return upon a capitalization representing the later expenditures.

The construction of the hotel was soon followed by that of a building for the Young Men's Christian Association, for which President Bartlett had for some time been earnestly working. The existing quarters of the Association in Thornton Hall were very inadequate and the President felt that its work and influence could not be properly extended without a home of its own. In the summer of 1888 he presented the matter to the Trustees, who voted that it was expedient to have such a building, and proposed to devote to it, if additional funds could be raised, the "accumulations from the Moor fund and the future income, so far as needed" and to call it "Moor Hall," and they even went so far as to select as a site for it the north end of the Rood house lot, not less than 140 feet from the south line.

The subject again coming up at a meeting in November the Trustees still further appropriated the unassigned Fletcher prize, the \$2,000 insurance received for South Hall and \$2,100 to be borrowed, and repaid by six years rent of the Moor's School building paid by the Chandler School. As there was some doubt whether these funds could be used for this purpose, the question was referred to Judge Veazey and Judge Smith, whose report was adverse to such use, and at the annual meeting of the Trustees in 1889 the vote of appropriation was rescinded and the site abandoned. The President, however, had been earnest in his efforts to secure subscriptions from individuals, and on presenting the subject to the General Association of the Congregational churches of the State at its annual meeting at Derry in October, 1888, had gained the support of that body, with an immediate subscription of \$500, and the assurance of contributions in various churches. In this work he had an able assistant in Professor Bisbee, who was equally interested in the cause, and pushed it on in the absence of the President, which soon after was rendered desirable by the health of Mrs. Bartlett. A six months' leave of absence, beginning with the close of the first term in December of 1888, was occupied by a trip to California, from which he returned in the following June, when the student body expressed its pleasure at his return by meeting him at the station and escorting him to his house. During his absence Professor Parker had officiated in the place of the President.

On his return the President renewed his efforts for the Chris-

tian Association building with such success that in the spring of 1890 he brought the matter again before the Trustees, who voted that when \$9,000 had been paid into the college treasury for such a building they would appropriate for it \$5,000, the bequest of Micajah C. Burleigh, and \$1,000 additional, provided the whole cost should not exceed \$14,500, except as additional gifts might enlarge the amount. The required sum having been raised, work was begun at once and the corner stone was laid on the afternoon of Wednesday of Commencement week, June 25.¹

The architect of the building was the same as of the hotel, and the builders were Mead and Mason of Concord, N. H. After considerable questioning as to a site, and the consideration of one offered by the Trustees of the Agricultural College on the south side of Wheelock Street, the present one on the north side of the same street was chosen. Although the interior was far from complete the building was dedicated on June 24, 1891, and in honor of President Bartlett, to whose exertions it was so largely due, it was named by the Trustees, "Bartlett Hall." The cost of the building and its equipment was just under \$17,000, which was met by subscriptions above the appropriation of the Trustees.

It was during this period that the College began that process of acquisition that has brought into its possession almost all the property around and immediately north of the Green. Four houses were then secured either by purchase or gift. For several years the President had urged upon the Trustees for various reasons the importance of their buying a "president's house." At first he desired to secure the house now occupied by the Howe Library, a house peculiarly appropriate for such a purpose, as it was built and occupied by the first Wheelock, and Mr. Billings of Woodstock, of the Wheelock kin, was ready to purchase it for the College, but it was not for sale, and after the consideration of several houses the Trustees bought for the use of the President, for \$9,500, the home of Dr. Noyes. The house then stood on Main Street on the present lawn between

¹The programme consisted of: 1, Invocation by Rev. George W. Patterson of the class of 1881; 2, Statement by Rev. Henry Fairbanks, chairman of the building committee; 3, Address by Rev. John M. Dutton, for the churches and contributors; 4, Address by Hon. Dexter Richards for the Christian business men; 5, Response by W. E. Reed for the Young Men's Christian Association; 6, Recital of the apostles' creed; 7, Laying of the corner stone and address by President Bartlett for the Trustees of the College; 8, Hymn; 9, Prayer by Rev. Henry E. Parker, D.D.; 10, Benediction by Rev. Edward Slafter of the class of 1840.

the Crosby House and the tri-Kappa house but was afterward removed and now opens on Webster Avenue.

On the site of Webster Hall there then stood a large white wooden house, known as the "Rood House." The College had long desired it, but had not the means to purchase it. In the fall of 1885, however, Mr. L. P. Morton of New York City, formerly a merchant in Hanover in the old Tontine, at the request of the President bought the house for \$7,250 and gave it to the College. The house remained on the spot till it was torn down in 1900 to give place to Webster Hall. Two houses were also purchased which were afterward enlarged and made into dormitories. The old homestead of Dr. Dixie Crosby, still called the "Crosby House," was purchased in 1884, and the residence of Professor Sanborn, now "Sanborn Hall" similarly came into the possession of the College in 1887.

The title of the College to the Green was called in question in the fall of 1884 by an attempt, under the leadership of Mr. D. B. Currier, to erect a band stand on its southwest corner, under a claim that it was the property of the public. "The fact of title is," wrote the Treasurer of the College to Judge Chase, "that the fee came to the College by grant from the Province in 1771, by prior deed from Benning Wentworth and has never been alienated."¹ A temporary injunction was obtained, which was continued by Judge Blodgett, sitting at Haverhill, in October.

The college park had received no attention since the gift of Judge Parker. The trees which he had given had grown into a veritable thicket, concealing the natural beauties of the place. The College had not any money to spend upon it, but President Bartlett suggested the idea, which was worked out by Professors Fletcher and Hardy into a plan, of beautifying it by the opening of a winding road and intersecting paths, with rustic bridges over ravines, with seats and benches here and there, and occasional summer houses. For the building of these he enlisted the co-operation of the students, proposing that they should do the work if the College should furnish implements. Wednesday and Saturday afternoons were half holidays, and he asked for volunteers for work in the park at those times. It was not expected that every volunteer would work at every opportunity, but by dividing the volunteers into squads of fifty or more, no one's turn would come oftener than once in two weeks.

The students took kindly to the idea, and "park" and "co-

¹ See Vol. I, p. 147.

operation" became words of jest and interest. Work was begun in the fall of 1879 under the direction of different members of the Faculty, though the general oversight of the work was in charge of Professor Hardy. The difficulty of clearing the underbrush, of trimming trees, of handling shovels and hoes in making roads and paths was attested by many an aching back and blistered hand, but the pluck of the students was sufficient and by the close of the season a large part of the plan was completed. The roads that now exist were then made, but of the paths, then made or begun, several have been overgrown. Two rustic bridges were built, many benches placed and an iron summer house, secured by Professor Hardy, was placed on the ledge that crowns the western summit. The wooden house on the eastern summit was built at a later time by the college carpenter. It was not to be expected that such labor of love should continue indefinitely, but in lessening amount it was prolonged for four years till the park was well cleared and made attractive to visitors. In 1882 there was constructed in the hollow between the two summits near the old "freshman gallows" a "bema," at which part of the exercises of class day have since been held, and near by is a grotto made under the direction of President Bartlett, partly excavated in the precipitous ledge of the hillside and partly roofed with slabs of stone.

In connection with the development of the park another proposal of President Bartlett for its adornment was put into effect. The old pine that crowned the summit of Observatory Hill, about which gathered traditions of Indian students, and at whose foot the farewell pipe was smoked by each graduating class at the conclusion of the class-day exercises, was showing signs of age,¹ and in anticipation of its decay the President suggested that a tower of a mediaeval pattern be erected not far from it. The senior class of 1885 took up the suggestion and laid the foundations for a tower. Successive classes continued the work, adding section to section, indicated in the outer wall by the numerals of the classes, till the topmost section was added by the class of 1895. The conical roof, which brought the tower to the height of seventy-one feet, and also the circular stairway were put up by the College. The tower commands a beautiful view of Hanover and the surrounding country with the valley of the Connecticut from Ascutney to Cube.

¹ This pine was struck by lightning July 28, 1887; its largest branches were broken in a gale June 14, 1892, and after this it rapidly decayed and was cut down in 1895. See *The Dartmouth* for May 3, 1895, p. 249.

In the attention given to aesthetics the practical was not neglected. In 1879 a shop was built for the college carpenter on the ground now occupied by the tennis courts north of Culver and east of Fayerweather Halls. It was provided with a small steam engine for power, and enabled the College to do profitably much of its own work, for which it had before been dependent on others. The sidewalks of the village had for a long time, especially in the spring, been the object of extreme and deserved reproach. Being made only of dirt they were pleasant enough in dry weather, but were disagreeable when wet and in the spring were almost impassable except by those wearing rubber boots. The walk of tar concrete was introduced in the summer of 1886 by Mr. Joseph Emerson, who occupied the present Casque and Gauntlet house. His example was followed by others with great rapidity, though the burning of some of the tar after the opening of the fall term nearly put a stop to the work. In the next year the College put the concrete in front and on the south of its yard, and in 1890 introduced it into the yard itself.

The development of athletics was making evident the insufficiency of the gymnasium for the practice of the track and baseball teams. To meet the lack a building, known as the "Cage," was built in 1888 on a lot occupied by the present Sanborn Hall purchased by the Trustees for the purpose. The \$3,000 necessary for the building were raised by subscription among the students and their friends. At the same time a running track was constructed in the gymnasium for the track team.

Among the improvements of the time was one in which the College and the village shared, the renovation of the church edifice. Extensive changes had been made in it in 1877, begun in the interval between President Smith and President Bartlett. At that time the building had been lengthened by an addition of eleven feet on the north, the galleries had been lowered two feet, the south gallery narrowed three feet, the organ removed from the gallery to the floor and other changes made, all at an expense of about \$4,000, of which the College contributed \$1,500.

In 1889 another movement for the improvement of the building was undertaken by the citizens of the village, and while they were preparing plans for it Mr. Hiram Hitchcock consulted his friend, the well known architect, Stanford S. White, of the firm of McKim, Mead and White of New York, who offered to advise in the remodelling of the church. His advice was

gladly accepted and the present beautiful interior, one of the finest specimens of old colonial architecture in the country, is due to his suggestion. An extension of twelve feet in the rear was added, giving a pulpit recess, an organ room and a pastor's room, the upper tier of windows, formerly close under the eaves, was lowered, the "blind" windows, half of the whole number, were removed, the vestibule improved, and the whole interior finished and decorated richly but with simplicity. The whole scheme of decoration, as well as the design of the pulpit, was made by Mr. White.¹ A subscription of about \$1,800 raised in the village, and \$500 paid by the College were turned over to Mr. Hitchcock, who met all the expenses of the work above this sum, which amounted to over \$6,000, and, in addition, Mr. Hitchcock presented the church with a large and fine organ.

The affairs of the Agricultural College during this period were not wholly satisfactory. Dr. Bartlett, though a member of the Board from 1878 and President of the Faculty from 1880, was not made President of the College, that position being held by Judge Nesmith. This fact undoubtedly relieved Dr. Bartlett of considerable labor, but in view of the relation which President Smith had held to the Agricultural College, the situation was somewhat anomalous, and was so considered by Dr. Bartlett. But the College gained in its resources. Between 1880 and 1891 its Faculty increased from six to twelve members, the increase being partly due to the establishment in 1888 by the United States government of an agricultural experiment station in connection with the College at an annual expense of \$15,000, for which a suitable building was erected in 1888.

In students, however, it made no gain after 1880, when it had a maximum of forty-two, nor did it gain in popular interest. Among the farmers of the State considerable dissatisfaction existed with its progress, so that a joint resolution of the Legislature, approved on August 29, 1885, after reciting the fact that in almost twenty years the College "had graduated less than forty agricultural students," authorized the appointment by the Governor and Council of a committee of three to investigate the propriety of removing the College from Hanover.

This committee, consisting of Joseph B. Walker, Greenleaf Clarke and Warren F. Daniel, made an extended report to the Legislature of 1887. It found that the reasons for removal,

¹ Addresses at the reopening of the College church in Hanover, October 26, 1889.

urged largely by the State Grange, were¹ the failure of the College to accomplish more, the "want of centrality" in the location of the College, the overshadowing effect of older and larger institutions, the inability of students "comparatively few in number, and working on agricultural and mechanical lines, to live harmoniously with far more numerous bodies whose studies lie largely in other directions," the fact that the management of the College had been mostly "in the control of persons having but little interest in agricultural pursuits," and that its removal from Hanover would quiet these objections, "leave the institution more fully in control of the class it was founded to benefit, and elevate it to a higher plane of usefulness."

The report, which carefully considered these reasons and reached the conclusion that the removal of the College would not inure to its benefit but rather to its serious injury, was made to the Legislature in 1887, and for the time being laid the question of removal, but three years later it was revived with irresistible force by a large bequest to the State for the benefit of an agricultural college. Benjamin Thompson, a resident of Durham, died January 30, 1890, leaving to the State property appraised at \$408,220.71, including a farm valued at \$18,300. The bequest was conditioned on its acceptance by the State within two years, on the guaranty of the perpetual security of the principal, and of its increase by interest on the personal property compounded at 4 per cent. for twenty years, together with the addition of an annual appropriation of \$3,000 similarly compounded. The college to be established was to be erected upon his farm in Durham.

It being found that the income of the estate was sufficient to meet the requirement of the interest and the annual appropriation, the State accepted the gift with its conditions² in March, and in April following appropriated \$100,000 for buildings, to which \$35,000 were added three years later. This action carried with it of necessity the withdrawal of the College from Hanover, and by an act, passed April 10, 1891, the connection with Dartmouth College was dissolved and the required notice of one year was given to its Trustees of the termination of the contract with them. As the new buildings at Durham were not ready till 1893 the session of 1892-1893 was held at Hanover, but with a naturally diminished attendance in view of the break.

¹ Seventeenth Annual Report of the Board of Agriculture of New Hampshire, 1888, p. 283 and p. 264.

² N. H. Reports, 1891, Vol. II, pp. 559-563.

In accordance with the contract made at the erection of Culver Hall, the State, on withdrawing, requested the Dartmouth Trustees to repay the \$15,000 which it had contributed toward the building, but a more generous spirit prevailed, and in March, 1893, the Legislature relinquished to the College the claim for the money and also its title to the Hall.

The Agricultural College naturally wished to dispose of its property in Hanover, that it might apply the proceeds toward the erection of its new buildings at Durham, and after considerable amicable discussion offered to the Dartmouth Trustees at a reasonable price that portion which was desirable for them. Conant Hall was almost valueless to any purchaser except Dartmouth College, and was not such a building as the College needed, or would have built, if a building were needed, but it was of some value, and the lot on which it stood and the adjoining tract were very important for the College. An agreement was, therefore, reached by which the Agricultural College sold to Dartmouth for \$15,000 all of its real estate, including Conant Hall, situated west of Park Street and south of Wheelock Street, reserving only the right of occupancy till it should transfer to Durham, but paying interest as long as it should remain. The part of the purchase lying between Crosby and Park Streets, that is now partially occupied by the gymnasium and the athletic field, was estimated at \$5,000.

The experiment station was sold, as was told on a previous page, to the Thayer School, and the large farm to private parties. The last exercises of the Agricultural College in Hanover were held in June, 1893, and its next year began on the 7th of September following at Durham, where it has since enjoyed a successful development.

During the later years of President Bartlett's administration the question of alumni representation, which had received a temporary settlement in 1876, came again to the front. According to the arrangement then made, the Trustees nominated by the alumni had an unlimited tenure of office, and the alumni soon began to feel that such representation was not enough. They did not find fault with the representatives who had been chosen, but they wished a method of closer touch, one by which they could express their views each year with the authority of a direct commission.

The alumni associations of Washington and Chicago first took up the matter at their midwinter meetings, passing reso-

lutions which were laid before the annual meeting of the General Association in June, 1885. After discussion, this association declared its "belief that the graduates, within the limit of the charter, should be allowed an increased voice in the selection of a certain part of the Trustees," and appointed a committee of seven¹ to confer with the Trustees and if possible to arrange a clear and well defined method of making such selection.

At the next annual meeting of the association the committee presented a printed report, agreed to by a majority of its members, in which, after describing the existing arrangement, it gave as its opinion that "under the charter the Trustees cannot divest themselves of the duty and responsibility of filling vacancies" that might occur in their number. But in order to bring the wishes of the graduates properly before the Trustees it proposed a "Board of Councillors," fifteen in number, elected by the alumni in such a way that three should retire each year after a service of five years. The duty of this board was to be, "to attend by its committees the regular examinations, to examine the course of study, the methods of instruction and administration, the financial condition and needs of the college, and to confer with the president and trustees, whenever they think it desirable, upon all these matters and upon the appointment of professors, instructors and tutors, and to make a report annually in print to the alumni."

A diversity of feeling among the alumni was indicated at this meeting by resolutions presented by two associations. That of New York sent an earnest commendation of the movement, and that of the northwest at St. Paul gave as the opinion of the association that it was "inexpedient to attempt any action providing for a representation of the alumni upon the Board of Trustees."

The proposition of the committee, which was but an enlargement of the one made in 1870 by President Smith, was not favorably received and after much discussion it was referred back to the committee without instructions. The committee itself was not enthusiastic in its support, and in the following April addressed a letter to the Trustees in which it said that it did not know that a majority of the alumni was in favor of the plan, or would adopt it even if the Trustees approved it, and that unless both alumni and Trustees cordially favored it, the

¹ The committee consisted of Messrs. W. A. Field, C. H. Bell, H. Russell, W. L. Burnap, S. W. McCall, E. D. Redington and H. L. Moore. Record of the General Association.

plan would probably die of inanition, adding that the committee did not see "that any great harm would come of this, and the experiment might be instructive."

The opinion of the Trustees was asked upon the proposal, but no meeting was held till Commencement in June, 1887, when a member of the committee appeared before the Board, to present the matter in person. On the next day a very diplomatic reply was delivered, to the effect that the Board had a natural hesitancy in considering plans which the alumni had not yet sanctioned, and that it was a matter calling for much time and labor. The reply congratulated the alumni on the prosperity of the College, but it had a Catoesque ending in the phrase: "half a million dollars could be speedily used to the best advantage." The alumni in their meeting postponed the matter till the next year.

At the Commencement of 1888 the matter again was discussed and a committee of three was appointed to confer with the Trustees to ascertain if they had been able to consider the proposal of the committee and whether or not it met their approval. If they had not considered it, the alumni asked the Trustees to appoint a committee of conference. The Trustees, not as yet being "convinced of the feasibility of a plan so complicated," appointed the President, Dr. Quint and Judge Smith a committee of conference as requested. The alumni committee was composed of Judges W. A. Field and L. W. Clark and Mr. E. C. Carrigan. The report was then laid on the table till the next year, at which time the committee reported to the alumni that it had had two conferences with the committee of the Trustees without result, that the matter had been referred to sub-committees which had been unable to agree upon any plan, and that no suggestions had been received from the Trustees. Much discussion but no action followed upon this report and the matter was left for another year in the hands of the committee.

Meantime the feeling among the alumni was becoming more urgent and the Board was not insensible to it, but neither party was able to suggest a plan wholly satisfactory to the other. The alumni desired a more immediate representation; the Board hesitated to go beyond what it had already given, except in the way of advisers that might have influence but not authority. Each was trying to bring the alumni and the College into closer relations, but the alumni, claiming representation as a right

or at least as a privilege, wished that it be granted before they did anything further, while the Board laid stress upon the needs of the College and wished assurance of help as an advance proof of the interest of the alumni.

On the first day of January, 1890, the Trustees addressed a letter to the several alumni associations setting forth the general plans and aims of the Trustees and the more pressing needs of the College and asking the alumni to join the Trustees in individual and organized effort to make these plans effective. They also asked each association to send a representative to inspect the College during the examinations, to examine into its needs and to confer with the Trustees and aid them in bringing the alumni into closer practical relations with the College. As a kind of answer to this the Boston Association at its January meeting passed a resolution calling for direct representation.

This resolution was presented to the general association of the alumni at its meeting in June, and their increasing earnestness was shown in the discussion which followed and which resulted in the following resolution:

Resolved that the alumni deem it most important for the prosperity of the College that the Trustees cordially adopt the principle of alumni representation and that they provide as soon as may be for the practical embodiment of the principle in such form as their wisdom and devotion to the interests of the College may suggest.

While this was under discussion in the general association of the alumni a communication was received from the Trustees referring to the circular of January 1, and asking for a conference the following evening with representatives of the associations for counsel and advice. A committee of five¹ was appointed, which reported the next day, recommending the appointment of another committee to confer and co-operate with the Trustees in devising a plan for securing to the alumni an active participation in the affairs of the College, and to obtain suggestions from the alumni associations toward such a plan. The conference with the Trustees was a fruitful one, for it resulted in a vote by that body reaffirming in substance the vote of 1875 and for the first time formally committing the Trustees, as then constituted, to the opinion that "the alumni should have an advisory voice in the management of the College," and in

¹ Messrs. W. L. Burnap, David Cross, A. C. Perkins, J. S. Conner and F. S. Streeter.

the appointment of the committee to confer with a like committee of the alumni.¹

The two committees met in Boston September 10, 1890, when the committee of the Trustees felt authorized to state only their belief that the Board would accept the plan proposed by Judge Field in 1886. To this plan the committee of the alumni expressed itself as unalterably opposed, feeling that the proposed Board of Councillors did not put upon the alumni a "real, substantial, personal responsibility," and that a mere advisory board with no rights and uncertain privileges would arouse no active interest. It wished for an "annually recurring obligation" that should assure the unity of the graduates with the administration of the College.

The committee was, therefore, requested to put the wishes of the alumni in writing and to present them to the committee of the Trustees before an adjourned meeting which was set for the 8th of November. In response to this request the committee made a radical proposition that outran anything that had before been suggested, and that was in fact nothing short of a revolution in the Board and in the control of the College. It proposed that the alumni of five years' standing should be invited to recommend a suitable person to fill any vacancy in the Board, except those of the Governor and the President, that the Board should agree to elect the person thus recommended, and that each trustee thus elected should hold office for ten years. It was also proposed that the charter limitation, that eight of the trustees be residents of New Hampshire, should be changed by the Legislature, with the consent of the Trustees, so that only four need be residents of the State. An alternative and less radical plan proposed a change in the charter permitting five trustees in addition to the existing twelve, to be nominated by the alumni of five years' standing and elected by the Trustees, each to hold office for five years, and to be so arranged that one vacancy and one election should occur each year.

The committee of the Trustees, while declaring that it had no authority to bind the Trustees, did not favor the first plan or the proposition to enlarge the number of non-resident trustees, but thought the second plan feasible, and was willing to support it, if it were slightly modified and if it should be gen-

¹ This committee consisted of Messrs. Quint, Smith and Chase, but as Mr. Chase was unable to act with the committee, at his request and that of the other members, Dr. Tucker was invited to be his substitute. The committee of the alumni consisted of Messrs. J. B. Richardson, G. H. Tucker, W. L. Burnap, F. S. Streeter and J. H. Smith.

erally approved by the alumni. In modification the committee suggested that the plan of 1876 be repealed, that the existing Board should fill its own vacancies, without the votes of the added five except in the election of a president, and that, as nothing would be gained by the circuitous method of the alumni nominating and the Trustees electing their nominees, the alumni should elect directly the five additional members, and further that the plan be regarded as an experiment which might be terminated at the end of fifteen years by the action of the original twelve members of the Board.

At a meeting of the Trustees held January 1, 1891, their committee reported that it was satisfied that a new interest in the College on the part of the alumni would be created by their participation in its management, and that it would be well to ascertain the sense of the alumni as to their wish for such participation, and whether they approved the plan of the addition to the Board of five members directly chosen by themselves. The constitutionality of a change in the charter was assumed but not discussed. To this report the President offered an amendment, widening the scope of the questions to the alumni. He proposed to ask whether the alumni preferred to keep the existing chartered board intact; if not, whether they wished a larger participation than that given by the plan of 1876, and whether they would favor a change in the charter. If a change in the charter did seem wise, which of these three plans was preferred: 1st, The increase of the Board by five members to be elected directly by the alumni; 2d, The election of three trustees on the nomination of the alumni, one for the next vacancy in the State and the others for the next two vacancies outside the State, the terms of the three to be so arranged that one should expire each year; 3d, The election by the alumni of an "Advisory Board of Councillors" on the general plan proposed in 1886.

After much discussion the amendment was lost, and the proposition of the committee being carried, the committee was continued to secure the judgment of the alumni of five years' standing upon it. A circular was immediately sent out asking the alumni whether in their judgment the welfare of the College and the interest of the graduates in it would be increased by a change in the existing plan of alumni representation and, if such a change were desirable, whether they approved the addi-

tion of five trustees provided authority could be had, and the plan should continue in operation not less than fifteen years.

The authority for such a change could be had only by a change in the charter, of which the legality was questioned, but as the circular made no mention of any doubt on the part of the Trustees, the committee of the alumni not unnaturally took it for granted that the Trustees either had no doubt or were willing to run the risk, and proceeded at once to secure from the Legislature then in session the requisite authority. The bill which the committee prepared, in conference with some of the Trustees, and which was enacted without opposition February 18, 1891, enlarged the corporation by the addition of five members, all of whom were required to be graduates of the College and at least one a resident of New Hampshire. They were to be elected by the alumni for a term of five years, and were to have no voice in the choice of the other members of the Board, or in any vote having to do with any change in the charter.

The act was conditioned for its effect on its acceptance by the Trustees of the College, and if so accepted was to remain in force fifteen years, and afterward for an indefinite period if again accepted by the original Board. It was distinctly stated in the act that its passage was not to be taken as a claim by the State of the right or power of the Legislature to change the charter, or its acceptance by the Trustees as an admission of such a power. It may be said in passing that the first change in the charter since the attempt of 1815 to establish the University, was made in 1883 when an act was passed at the June session¹ and accepted by the Trustees December 20 of that year, removing all limitation in the amount of property that the College may hold. The act was communicated to the Trustees by the committee of the alumni about the last of March and the hope expressed that the Trustees would "meet and accept the act at as early a date as is conveniently possible."

Although the Trustees as a body had no part in securing the act they did nothing to oppose it, and this fact coupled with their circular asking the judgment of the alumni on the desirability of accepting the plan authorized by it, gave color to the belief that they favored it. As might have been expected, therefore, the answers of the alumni to the circular were almost wholly favorable.

The Trustees now found themselves in an uncomfortable

¹Laws of 1883, ch. 177.

position. Uncertain of their own counsels they were being forced by the votes of the alumni into agreeing to the change in the charter against their will, or, if they did not agree to it, into a contest with the alumni. Some of them favored the act, some were opposed to it, and others were doubtful of its legality, and in this doubt they were sustained by some of the ablest lawyers of New England. This feeling of the Trustees became known directly after the passage of the act, through an article written by President Bartlett and published in *The Dartmouth* of February 27, in which he said that, as far as known, no Trustee had expressed a definite opinion in the matter, and suggested that the alumni should not be misled in voting, by the belief that the Trustees desired the change.

To give still wider information as to the position of the Trustees the substance of the President's article was issued, as a statement to the alumni, and with it went two circulars from different groups of the alumni, advising against the change of the charter on the grounds of its questionable legality. One of these, prepared by Judge Ross of the Supreme Court of Vermont and signed by him and seven other prominent alumni, opposed any amendment of the charter and presented two plans between which the alumni were asked to choose, and, if they had already voted in favor of the proposition for five additional trustees, to recall that vote. The first plan was the old one of a board of councillors and the second provided for the nomination by the alumni of four of the ten elective trustees. The latter plan was already in successful operation at Williams and other colleges, and was known as the Williams plan.

This move was intended to divide the vote of the alumni and was successful in so doing. The board of councillors received no support, but so many votes were cast in favor of the Williams plan, that the Board was not forced into the dilemma of antagonizing the great body of the alumni or accepting a plan which all its members did not approve, as would have been the case if the voting had been only in response to the first circular of the committee. The committee of the alumni, however, was greatly disturbed by this division of sentiment. Its conference with the committee of the Trustees, which was in accord with its proposition to add five members to the Board, and the later action of the Trustees in putting the question before the alumni had led it to believe that no opposition would arise from that quarter. When, therefore, this check to its plan came from the

Board itself the committee was ready to charge bad faith, although there never had been any action of the Board to support such a charge.

The dissatisfaction of the committee was a cause of great uneasiness to the Trustees. On May 5, Dr. Tucker wrote to Judge Chase:

The situation is awkward and liable to become ugly. The circular sent out proposing two other plans is misleading in the impression it gives that the action proposed by the Trustees was hasty and ill-advised. Something, I think, ought to be done to remove that impression. We don't want a wrangle at Commencement. If steps could be taken looking toward a friendly suit to determine at once the constitutionality of the act of the Legislature, would not the difficulty be averted? By steps toward a friendly suit, I mean an understanding between the Trustees and the committee or committees of the Alumni that as soon as the act *is* accepted by the Trustees it should be tested by a suit brought by one of the Trustees.

The proposition for a friendly suit was not approved by all the Trustees. President Bartlett, though entirely opposed to "meddling with the charter" wrote:¹ "I deprecate to the last degree a needless lawsuit, however friendly. It will surely rouse bad blood, become a scandal, and, whichever side prevails, drive off friends, *funds* and *students*. I am perfectly convinced that the whole matter can be adjusted to the general satisfaction by promptly offering to the alumni to adopt the second [Williams] plan." The President did not realize how strong was the feeling of the committee of the alumni in favor of its own plan or how determined it was to insist upon it, and the final giving way by the committee and the acceptance of the Williams plan were due to the persistence of another member of the Board.

This was the Rev. Henry Fairbanks. He was in favor of alumni representation, but he was unalterably opposed to a change in the charter. He accepted the opinion of Judges Ross and Barrett and other prominent lawyers that a change could not legally be made, and he further believed that it would be morally wrong, on the ground that all gifts to the College had been made on the basis of its Trustees being *twelve and no more*, and that a change in the number would be an act of bad faith with the donors. A snow blockade on the railroad had kept him from attending the meeting of the Trustees in January, and he felt free to express by legal action his dissent from a possible acceptance of the act of the Legislature, if the Trustees

¹Letter to Judge Chase, May 18, 1891.

should later incline toward it. Though in accord with the President in the matter of alumni representation, he disagreed with him in regard to a suit, for he felt that in no other way could the legality of the proposed change in the charter be determined, and he made up his mind to test it, if need be, in this way.

As he was to be absent from the country at the time when a decision would be reached he employed counsel to represent him before the Board and in conferences with the committee of the alumni, and later, if necessary, in bringing suit. Professor James F. Colby was retained by him, who further retained Judge W. S. Ladd of Lancaster, Harry Bingham of Littleton, Charles A. Prouty of Newport, Vt., and Charles F. Mathewson of New York City. Judge Ladd died within a few days after accepting a retainer, and owing to other engagements and to ill health Mr. Bingham took scarcely any part in the case, so that its conduct was almost wholly in the hands of the junior counsel.

Mr. Fairbanks sailed for Europe April 22, but before he left the country he sent to the Trustees a letter urgently opposing the acceptance of the act of February 18 on legal and moral grounds, and requesting to be heard by counsel, whom he had retained to present his views, in case the subject should come up for consideration before his return.

The opposition of Mr. Fairbanks to the change in the charter, added to the circulars that had been sent out proposing other plans, caused much feeling among the alumni in Boston and led to an "uncompromising opposition" on their part to any other plan than that proposed by their committee, which they came to regard as an ultimatum to the Trustees. The situation was fast becoming what Dr. Tucker had feared, an "ugly one." The Board was not united. Its committee of conference with the alumni was in favor of accepting the act of February 18. Others, opposing this, preferred a Board of Councillors or favored the Williams plan, but were not agreed on its details, some wishing to give the alumni four places on the Board, while others wished to give but three. Again, some wished to have the alumni nominate two candidates for each vacancy so that the Board might choose between them, and some felt that if the alumni should nominate but one, the Board could not legally agree always to elect him, as that would practically be giving up their right of choice by *disuser*.

The committee of the alumni, on the other hand, was united in insisting on its plan and in opposition to any other. At this juncture Mr. Fairbanks's counsel secured conferences with both Trustees and committee and were in the end happily able to bring about an agreement. On June 6 Messrs. Colby, Prouty and Mathewson met the committee (except Mr. G. H. Tucker), together with Mr. I. F. Paul, their secretary, and Mr. G. F. Williams, their attorney, in Boston and found them in a very "belligerent mood," but a working basis was gained by the opening statement of Mr. Colby that they did not appear for the Trustees, but for Mr. Fairbanks. He represented that Mr. Fairbanks "was advised that the act was of doubtful legality, that as a friend of the College he planned to test it, that such test in the courts must delay alumni representation in any form five years, that in that interval a new executive might be elected by the existing Board, and that if the committee shared his doubts of the legality of the act or his belief that the good of the College required them to find some *non litigious* way out of the present difficulties and would describe any plan of securing alumni representation, which would be presumably free from legal objections and capable of immediate adoption and satisfactory to their constituency, his counsel would undertake to get its immediate and favorable consideration by the Board."

After a long and frank conference the committee seemed ready to accept the Williams plan, provided five places were opened to the alumni, and in the absence of its chairman, Judge Richardson, prepared a proposition to that effect. He, however, was from beginning to end opposed to any compromise, and under his influence the committee later withheld its proposition and contented itself with saying that as it had secured the passage of the act "at least with the encouragement of the Board" and had placed the act before the Board it was not ready to say that it was illegal or inexpedient, but if that was the judgment of the Board it devolved on it to make such a statement to the committee.

Three days later, at the suggestion of Mr. Streeter, Messrs. Colby and Prouty had a conference with five Trustees,¹ who did not favor accepting the act, but were willing to support the Williams plan, and to ask the alumni to accept it. The only "rock ahead", as it seemed to Mr. Colby, was the determination to insist upon two nominees for each place in order

¹ President Bartlett, and Messrs. Davis, Prescott, Smith and Chase.

to preserve the spirit of the charter in the matter of choice, or to enable the Trustees "with their inside knowledge the better to supplement the qualities or experience needed in the Board."

An informal meeting of the Trustees was called for the next Saturday, the 13th, at which, however, only five were present.¹ Messrs. Colby, Prouty and Mathewson appeared and were asked to a conference, but the committee of the alumni did not respond to the informal invitation to attend, although it was understood that during the week since the meeting in Boston it had become ready to accept the Williams plan if five places, instead of four, were offered to the alumni and if they were not required to present two nominees for each place; to this the committee was unalterably opposed. The lawyers urged upon the Trustees the desirability of proposing this plan to the alumni, with the concession of five places and without the demand for two nominees, but there was some hesitation, Mr. Hitchcock not wishing to *propose* the plan, Dr. Tucker regarding an agreement to elect the nominee of the alumni as an evasion of the charter, as open to real legal objections as a change would be, and regretting that such an evasion should be presented as a necessary alternative to the defeat of the movement for alumni representation, and Mr. Chase feeling that the agreement was dangerously like *disuser* by the Board of its duty to select.

After much discussion, in which Mr. Mathewson reported that the New York alumni in general favored the Williams plan but were unwilling to express that feeling in advance of the report of the committee, the meeting broke up, leaving the matter to be settled ten days later under the electrical conditions of Hanover during Commencement week. This interval was spent by Mr. Fairbanks's counsel in interviews with members of the committee of the alumni and of the Trustees, and in securing the opinion of Judge Ross, who had been opposed to any change in the charter, as to the legality of the Williams plan. His opinion held that the plan was not illegal, inasmuch as the Trustees parted with no powers, but merely made an arrangement, terminable at will, for availing themselves of the advice of the alumni as to suitable appointees. As far as the Board was concerned persons elected on the nomination of the alumni became members for life, and their retirement at the end of a given term of years was a matter of honor between them and the alumni. As neither Mr. Bingham nor Mr. Prouty could be present at

¹The President and Messrs. Tucker, Prescott, Hitchcock and Chase.

Commencement the other counsel secured the aid of Mr. A. W. Tenney of New York of the class of 1859.

Monday of Commencement week brought to Hanover the Trustees, the committee of the alumni and of Mr. Fairbanks's counsel, Mr. Colby, Mr. Mathewson and Mr. Tenney. As yet there was no certainty of agreement. The proposition to change the charter had lost ground, but still was so much within the range of possibility that Mr. Fairbanks's counsel contemplated securing an injunction in case the Trustees should act favorably upon it. The alumni, too, in anticipation of a suit had informally consulted Senator Edmunds of Vermont, with the expectation that he would appear for them if litigation should follow.¹ The injunction, however, was abandoned and instead there was obtained, to use if need be, a full opinion of Judge Ross against a change in the charter and a letter from Mr. Bingham to the Trustees, asking to be heard in behalf of Mr. Fairbanks if the question of a change should come to a vote.

The first move toward the settlement of the question was made by President Bartlett, who on Monday brought forward a proposition of the Williams type, but offering only four places, two in, and two outside of, New Hampshire, and requiring two nominees for each place, although saying that ordinarily, and, in all probability, invariably, the one having the highest number of votes would be chosen, or, as an alternative, that "the nominee having the highest number will be elected by the Trustees unless they shall have what they deem valid and imperative reasons to the contrary, which they shall declare in writing." This proposal found no favor with the alumni, who would listen to nothing that did not require the acceptance of their first choice.

On the evening of the same day a committee of the Trustees consisting of Dr. Tucker and Judge Chase, giving up the idea of accepting the legislative act, outlined the plan that was later adopted and placed before the committee of the alumni. After a long session, in which Messrs. Mathewson and Tenney were present, the committee adjourned until the next morning, when they had been invited to meet the Trustees. At that meeting the Trustees formally proposed the plan that had been brought forward the day before by their own committee, and the committee of the alumni retired to consider it. The committee invited Messrs. Colby, Mathewson and Tenney to confer

¹ Letter of James F. Colby to Mr. Fairbanks, July 14, 1891.

with them, and the result of their deliberations was embodied in the following answer to the Trustees made in the afternoon, although their chairman, Judge Richardson, remained to the end an opponent of concession:

The committee of the Association of the Alumni of the College have considered the propositions and plan for Alumni representation upon the board of Trustees of the College submitted by the board this day to them in certain resolves proposed to be adopted by said board. This committee hereby submit to the board the plan in the following redraft of said resolutions, which upon the understanding hereinafter stated they will recommend for adoption by said Association.

1. *Resolved.* That the Graduates of the College, the Thayer School and the Chandler School, of at least five years' standing, may nominate a suitable person for election to each of the five trusteeships next becoming vacant on the board of Trustees of the College (other than the Governor and President) and for his successors in such Trusteeship.

2. *And resolved.* That whenever any such vacancy shall occur in such trusteeship or the succession therein, the Trustees will take no action to fill the same until the expiration of three months after notice to the secretary of the Alumni of the occurrence of such vacancy, unless a nomination shall be sooner presented by the Alumni to said Trustees for that vacancy.

It is understood that the Trustees will provide for three vacancies on the board at once, and two more before the next Commencement, in June 1892, to be filled as above provided.

3. *And resolved.* That this plan of nomination shall be taken and held to supersede the plan heretofore adopted in 1876.

The recommendation was adopted by the Trustees, without modification, at a meeting in the evening of the same day, and on the next day was accepted by the alumni, it being understood by both parties that three vacancies in the Board should be provided at once, and two more before the Commencement of 1892. Two of the three vacancies for the year were obtained by the immediate resignations of Doctor Spalding and Dr. Davis. Both of these were in the State and the third, which was outside the State, soon came when Judge Veazey renewed the resignation which had been offered but not accepted on his appointment as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1889.

A new constitution of the association of the alumni, which was necessary to provide machinery for the nomination of trustees, was adopted after being drafted by Mr. Mathewson and carefully discussed in the committee before its presentation. Besides the usual form of organization it provided for the annual appointment of a committee of five members on alumni trustees, to which was given the duty of nominating five candidates for

each vacancy on the Board, open to nominations by the alumni. Its nominations were to be sent to the secretary of the alumni by the first of March of each year and by him transmitted to the alumni of five years' standing, whose ballots were to be returned to him by a fixed hour of the day of the annual meeting of the alumni. The secretary was to count the ballots, report them to the Trustees, and announce them to the alumni at the Commencement dinner. The constitution further provided that the name of no candidate should be sent to the alumni until he had indicated in writing his acceptance of the provisions of the constitution, including the one requiring his resignation at the end of the term for which he was elected. In 1898 the privilege of voting was extended to alumni of three years' standing.

The movement which had extended over several years was thus happily accomplished. It was successful from the start, fulfilling the hopes of its friends and disappointing the fears of those who doubted. It has never suffered from the indifference of the alumni or from a tendency to cabals or parties. In some years appeals have been made in support of particular candidates, but in general the voting has been the expression of the sober judgment of the alumni, unaffected by cliques or special interests. Without exception the men nominated have been conscious of their responsibility, adding effective strength to the Board, and in several cases they have been chosen by their associates as permanent trustees.

The relations of the alumni to the College were immediately improved and have continued to be of the closest, though very fortunately for the success of the plan in this respect, its beginning coincided with that of an administration which everywhere commanded the loyalty and enthusiasm of the alumni. Many calls, financial and otherwise, have been made and all have met with cordial response. The confidence in the conduct of the College has, perhaps, not been more deserved than before, but has been more effective because it has been joined with responsibility.

The first to enter the Board on the nomination of the alumni under the new arrangement, taking their seats at a meeting held October 26, 1891, were Dr. Carlton P. Frost of Hanover, Judge James B. Richardson of Boston and Mr. Charles W. Spalding of Chicago, and at the following Commencement Rev. Dr. Cyrus Richardson and Frank S. Streeter, Esq., took the seats vacated by President Bartlett and Mr. Hiram Hitch-

cock, thus making the five alumni trustees, and since that time there has been one resignation and one election each year, though since the earlier period the term of service of an alumni trustee, through one re-election, has usually been ten years.

In the more than twenty years that alumni representation was advancing many took part, and doubtless many motives had play in the movement. An inflexible charter and a conservative Board stood over against those who desired a loosening of the organization, and the real or supposed strict orthodoxy of the Trustees was an object of antagonism on the part of some of extreme liberal tendencies. It is not strange that a body of conscientious men, who deeply felt the responsibility of their position, should distrust, unduly as the result proved, a movement which many besides themselves, in whose judgment they had confidence, regarded with suspicion. Though most of the Trustees believed in alumni representation, they questioned any particular form of it, and judgment, patience, tact, skill and a spirit of concession were required to harmonize the aggressive demands of a varied constituency with the restrictions of the charter and the conservatism of the Trustees. That it was so successfully accomplished was due to the co-operation of many, but apart from the readiness of members of the Board to yield their individual preferences the credit of the result belongs especially to Mr. Fairbanks's counsel and to Mr. Streeter of the committee of the alumni, who, while representing different interests, were at one in recognizing that the welfare of the College would be best served by moderation and concession.

The establishment of alumni representation was the last important event in the administration of President Bartlett. He was still vigorous in mind and body at the age of seventy-four, having twice suffered in successive winters without apparent loss of vitality the breaking of an arm from falls upon the ice, but he determined to retire from the presidency in order that he might have time, as his letter of resignation stated, for "certain special literary work." He, therefore, presented his resignation at a meeting of the Trustees, February 8, 1892, to take effect at the close of the college year, at the end of full fifteen years from his inauguration.

In accepting his resignation the Trustees, recognizing "the eminent ability, intellectual and executive, which Dr. Bartlett had given to the presidency of the College, his great acquirements in so many departments of learning, his unsurpassed

energy in administration, his untiring and incessant labors and his undoubted love and devotion to the College," summarized the results of his administration as follows:

During his presidency the tone and standard of scholarship has been raised; the range and choice of studies has been broadened and extended. The number of professors in the College and various departments has been increased from twenty-one to thirty-four; new college buildings have been erected; the library has been enlarged from 54,000 to 72,000 volumes; and the friends of the College have contributed to its funds—including that given for lands and buildings—over \$700,000; and during this period all the funds of the College have been scrupulously kept to the purposes for which they were given.

Desiring to retain the connection of Dr. Bartlett with the College the Trustees offered him the Phillips's professorship of divinity or a lectureship, as he should prefer, without any responsibility in the administration of the College. He chose the latter and held the position of lecturer on the Bible and its relations to science and history for six years till his death, which occurred November 16, 1898.

CHAPTER XV.

1893-1909.

THE COLLEGE UNDER PRESIDENT TUCKER.

THE Trustees without delay selected as Dr. Bartlett's successor in the presidency one of their own number, Rev. William Jewett Tucker, D.D., a graduate of the College in 1861, a Trustee of the College for fourteen years, and at that time professor of sacred rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary. Apart from his personal qualities Dr. Tucker's knowledge of educational movements and his intimate acquaintance with the character and needs of the College, gained by his long service as a Trustee, gave him a peculiar fitness for the presidency, but though the alumni united with the Trustees in urging his acceptance, he was so closely identified with the "Andover movement," then in progress, that he felt that he could not consistently abandon either the cause or his associates in it, and he, therefore, declined the election.

As no one had been secured for the position by Commencement, though it had been offered to Rev. Francis Brown, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, a grandson of the former president of the College of the same name, and others had been carefully considered, Professor John K. Lord was asked to serve as acting president, with the expectation that he would perform the duties of the president incident to the vacation and the entrance of a new class, and that by the opening of the fall term a president would be secured. To Dr. Frost, a resident Trustee, was committed the oversight of current expenses. But at the opening of the new college year no president had been secured and Professor Lord continued as acting president throughout the year.

Meantime the Trustees pursued an unavailing search for a president, both among and beyond the alumni, till after nearly a year their thought and that of the alumni again turned to Dr. Tucker as the one best fitted to take up the administration of the College. He was again invited to its presidency and, unable to resist the combined urgency of Trustees, Faculty and alumni, especially in view of the changed conditions at Andover within the year, he recalled his former decision and accepted the invi-



W. F. Tucker.



tation on February 3, 1893. Owing to his duties at Andover he was unable to enter upon his new position till May, and from then till the close of the year, without taking up the immediate administration, he was engaged in perfecting his plans and adjustments for the conduct of the College.

He was inaugurated on Wednesday of Commencement week, June 28, 1893. As had been usual on such occasions the procession formed in front of Dartmouth Hall at 10.30 o'clock in the forenoon and proceeded to the church, with the Rev. Howard F. Hill of the class of 1867 as marshal, and to the music of Baldwin's band. The exercises in the church were presided over by the Rev. Dr. Alonzo H. Quint, of the class of 1846, the senior member of the Board of Trustees, who, after prayer by ex-President Bartlett, presented the charter of the College to the President-elect. Addresses were made in behalf of the alumni by Melvin O. Adams, Esq., of the class of 1871, and in behalf of the Faculty by Professor John K. Lord, to which President Tucker made suitable response. Then followed the inaugural address on "The Historic College: Its Present Place in the Educational System," and the exercises closed with the benediction by the Rev. Davis Foster, D.D.

The administration thus begun was one of the most notable in the history of the College. Its progress was not beset by the peculiar difficulties under which the elder Wheelock labored in the founding of the College, or President Brown in the controversy with the University, but like every other administration it met its own obstacles, in spite of which it brought a development to the College that was proportionally unequalled except in its first years and perhaps in the period between 1828 and 1842. The growth, which began at once, affected every part of the College. The Faculty and students increased in number, the constituency widened, buildings and equipment were multiplied and the finances were enlarged and set on a secure basis. The extraordinary increase of the College, without a parallel in the older colleges of the country, is a conspicuous instance of the part that personality plays in the direction of educational, as of other, movements.

The principles, whose application brought about this result, were set forth by President Tucker, after his retirement, in a report¹ that not merely outlined the course of his administration

¹ The report of President Tucker, Covering His Administration. Issued to the Alumni. Published by Dartmouth College, June 30, 1909.

but was an educational document of the highest value. Recognizing the value of the traditions and the history of the College, he capitalized them for its development and made them effective by awakening among the alumni the consciousness that the past of the College was not more an object of pride than its future of promise, and with that consciousness the sense of their responsibility for its welfare. Taking advantage of their representation on the Board of Trust he took the alumni into his confidence and made them a party in the execution of his plans. The attitude of expectancy with which they watched the early years of his administration changed to one of assurance and co-operation, so that on the burning of Dartmouth Hall they rallied to the support of the College by a general subscription, such as had often been proposed before and had as often failed, sufficient for the erection of Dartmouth and Wheeler Halls and partially of Webster Hall.

President Tucker was met at the outset of his administration by the same difficulty that had confronted previous presidents, the financial one. Notwithstanding the economy of President Bartlett's administration and the many gifts that marked it, deficits in the annual accounts still continued and the debt of the College was large. This difficulty was made more pressing by other facts that affected the educational life of the College. The advances in methods of instruction called for by the extension of the subject matter of the higher education, the new constituency arising from the growth of high schools, and the enlarged scale of expenditure following on the general increase of collegiate endowments, were matters which could not be ignored and which were bound up with the financial condition of the College. It became necessary, therefore, to establish a financial policy, sufficient to meet these conditions and at the same time consistent with the traditions of the College, which, as the President said, "had in most ways stood for self-reliance." This financial policy was a part of a general policy which the President defined as "reconstruction with a view to expansion."

Reconstruction implied putting the college plant upon its most effective basis in relation to its earning capacity, for the President held that this was of the first importance, superior, as well as essential, to the support of its alumni and the gifts of its general constituency. He felt that while a college is an eleemosynary institution, yet to restrict its growth to funds that come only by solicitation puts it at the fortune of charity,

and that as a corporation asking public support it must show that it is making all its resources effective. His plans for such efficiency, contemplated expansion and provided for it. His confidence in the future and his belief that the alumni and friends of the College would respond to its needs, when they felt assured that its resources were all employed to their best advantage, were so strong that he set on foot measures whose justification lay in expected and not in existing conditions, and whose boldness dismayed even some of the Trustees.

An improvement and increase in instruction and equipment and an enlargement in the facilities and the utilities of the college plant were undertaken although special funds were not provided for them. The President had faith in the College and, believing in it as an investment, was ready to employ its funds in its own development, being assured that they would return a fair interest while strengthening the College by the improvements thus secured. A given investment in ordinary securities might bring in a certain income, but when made in the needs of the College, like a dormitory or water supply, it would yield an equal income and also provide something necessary for the college advancement. A part of the existing funds that were unrestricted was, therefore, invested in supplying the wants of the College in the line of water, light, heat and sanitation. Not all needs could be met at once, but gradually provision was made for all, and in such wise that they were made productive.

In the fall of 1893 the College united with the village precinct in introducing an abundant supply of water for all purposes at a cost of \$65,000, the College putting in \$25,000, the precinct \$20,000, the balance being raised by an issue of bonds. A reservoir capable of storing 137,000,000 gallons was constructed about two miles northeast of the village, and has since been protected from pollution by the purchase, at a cost of \$34,000, of all its water shed, comprising a tract of about 1,400 acres. The project has been not only of the highest sanitary value but financially profitable. Five years later a heating plant was established at a cost of \$77,000, afterward increased by enlargements to \$89,000, having eight boilers and heating through 7,900 feet of mains all the college buildings situated around the campus or in the park, and also the gymnasium. In 1904 there was added an electric light plant, costing with its cables \$34,000, since increased to over \$40,000. All the college buildings are lighted from it, and power is furnished to the college carpenter's

shop, and so successful has been its operation that in six years it paid all its running expenses and the entire cost of its construction.

The sanitation of the college buildings was dependent on a sufficient water supply, and after the operation of the new water system, measures to perfect the sanitation were immediately undertaken. Two systems of sewers had already been established by private interests in different parts of the village, but as these could be made serviceable only in part the College constructed two of its own that fully met its requirements, and in course of time it bought out the private interests so as to control its entire system of sewerage. As soon as possible bath rooms and water closets were installed in the older dormitories and all the newer buildings were fully supplied. The development of the dormitory system gave opportunity for close physical inspection, which in 1902 was put under the charge of Dr. Howard N. Kingsford as medical director. Under the system which he inaugurated and has administered, extending to a careful inspection of the dormitories, recitation and lecture rooms of the College and of the rooms and conveniences of private houses occupied by students, and of eating rooms and local sources of food supply, the health of the students has been carefully protected and kept at a high level. Typhoid fever, whose outbreak in the fall was once regarded as an almost inevitable annual scourge, has been eliminated, and other epidemics have likewise been prevented or held in check.¹

The policy of reconstruction and expansion implied the preliminary processes of organization and consolidation. President Tucker prepared at the beginning of his administration to organize all the business of the College. Standing committees were established in the Trustees and the Faculty for the examination and preparation of all matters that would come before them for consideration.² The care of the buildings and grounds, which had heretofore devolved upon a member of the Faculty and which was steadily increasing in importance and responsibility, was made an independent position and given in 1893,

¹ A definite account of the method of inspection is given in the *Dartmouth Bi-Monthly* for October, 1905, and in the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* for June, 1912, in articles by Dr. Kingsford.

² The committees of the Trustees were on exigencies, finance, instruction, equipment, buildings and improvements, degrees, relation of the College to the State, and the relation of the College to the alumni; those of the Faculty were on the catalogue, the library, scholarships, rules, Commencement, athletics, admission and discipline. In course of time these committees were modified both in scope and name to meet changing conditions.

as his whole concern, to Mr. A. A. McKenzie, with the title of "Inspector" which was changed in 1898 to that of "Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds." For the more efficient administration of college discipline, including the keeping of the records of scholarship and the assignment of beneficiary aid, a dean was appointed in 1893. Professor Charles F. Emerson was assigned to the place and combined its duties with those of the professorship of physics till 1899, when he gave up his teaching to devote himself entirely to the increasing demands of the deanship, which in the fourteen years since he has discharged with unfailing fidelity to the great advantage of the College. To provide for the conduct of college business during the repeated and sometimes protracted absences of the President from Hanover, Professor John K. Lord was appointed acting president of the Faculty in the absence of the president, and held the position till 1909.

The movement for consolidation began with the Chandler School. Apart from the friction that had arisen in connection with it, its position called for serious attention. The raising of the requirements for admission above the original standard, already mentioned, the growth of high schools offering greater facilities and range of preparation, and the increasing number of students were demanding more of the School than its slender endowment enabled it to meet. If the School was to keep its relative efficiency under increasing demands and increasing competition of other institutions it was evident that its endowment and equipment must be correspondingly increased, or that some way must be devised whereby its resources and those of the Academic Department could be made mutually helpful. The Trustees recognizing the situation, at their annual meeting, June 29, 1892, appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Quint, Fairbanks, Tucker and J. B. Richardson, to obtain information "with a view to determining whether the policy of the board should be to continue the Chandler School as a separate organization, securing funds for the enlargement of its work in the direction of the 'practical arts of life,' or to unite it more closely with the college, so as to furnish scientific courses parallel with the other courses of the college." Four members of the faculties, Messrs. Colby, J. K. Lord, Ruggles and Fletcher, were asked to co-operate with the committee of the Board in examination of the subject.

All were convinced after conference and separate investigation

that, if it were possible, a union of the College and the School would be desirable, since an increase in the endowments and equipment of the School would involve much duplication of the college plant and also of instruction there given, and in the operation of the School would tend to increase rather than diminish friction with the College. It was also doubtful whether an endowment could be secured sufficient to ensure a technological school of the highest grade. The possibility of a union depended upon the interpretation which the Visitors might give to Mr. Chandler's will upon certain vital points—whether under the will the standard of the School could be so high that its discipline and scholarship would equal that of the College, whether the terms of admission could be made to require such attainments in modern languages and scientific subjects that students at entrance should have a good degree of mental discipline, whether the tuition could be the same as that of the College, as long as it remained “moderate,” whether the condition of the will requiring “a department or school in the college,” would be met by the maintenance of a department and courses of instruction in the College, without such separate classification of students as would require them to be made responsible to a purely separate faculty.¹

These questions in substance were presented by the Trustees to the Visitors, who at that time were both graduates of the School, Messrs. B. A. Kimball, a business man of Concord, N. H., and John Hopkins of Millbury, Mass., a judge of the Superior Court of that State, and to all of them they returned an affirmative reply. Premising that it was not Mr. Chandler's intention to found an independent School, for which his bequest was entirely inadequate, or that students who came to the department should be set off by themselves, but that they should be students of the College and receive all the benefits that could come from being part and parcel of the College, and, therefore, holding that Mr. Chandler intended that there should be “intimate and close relation between that which he was adding and that to which it was added, that is so well expressed by the words ‘department of instruction in the College,’ ” the Visitors favored a closer union with the College and an advance of the standard of admission to the School. Such an advance they believed to

¹ Dartmouth College. *The Relation of the College and the Schools*, May 1, 1893. A pamphlet containing the reports of the committees of the Trustees and the Faculty and the opinion of the Visitors.

be compatible with the requirements of Mr. Chandler's will that no higher studies were to be required for admission than are pursued in "the common schools of New England."

This belief rested upon a careful comparison of the school systems of the New England States as they then were and as they were at the time of Mr. Chandler's death, as defined by the statutes of the different states. It appeared, that in 1851, though the Connecticut statutes spoke of "common schools of different grades," Vermont was the only state that used in its statutes as a distinctive title the expression "common schools," and this included "district," "graded," "central" and "union" schools. Both of these states in later revisions of their statutes abandoned the word "common" for some more general phrase, or for the word "public" in use by the other states. Massachusetts was the only state that defined by statute the subjects to be taught in the public schools, the other states leaving them to the determination of boards or committees, or to special vote. The Visitors, therefore, concluded, in interpreting the words "common schools," "that, at about the time Mr. Chandler's will went into effect, there was no uniformity in the systems of education, in the nomenclature employed to represent the various schools, or in the course of study pursued in them; the only thing they had in common was this: they were all maintained at the public expense."

In considering the subjects taught in the schools the Visitors further said: "In spite of all this diversity, they were common schools in the sense that, in all their grades, they were maintained at the public expense, and were so distinguishable from the academies and other preparatory schools which were not thus maintained, and the purpose of Mr. Chandler was to make the requisites for admission to the department conform to, and be no other or higher than, the standard that might, from time to time, be attained in the public schools of New England, but always within the lines enumerated in his will." This logical identification of the "common schools" of Mr. Chandler's will with the "public schools" of later date made it, as the Visitors said, "competent for the Trustees to require for admission to the Chandler Scientific Department so much French, physics and chemistry as is taught in the public schools of New England, including under that term the high schools that are maintained at the public charge." The Visitors also determined that the tuition might be the same as that for the Academic Department.

The report of the committee of the Trustees, embodying that of the committee of the Faculty and the opinion of the Visitors, was presented to the Board at a meeting held December 5, 1892. In conformity to the interpretation of the Visitors it recommended that the Chandler School become a department of instruction in the College with scientific courses parallel with the other courses, that all the students be classified together under one faculty, that the professors on the Chandler foundation become members of the college faculty, that the tuition be the same for all students thereafter admitted, that the conditions for admission to the Chandler Scientific course be raised to include substantially as much of mathematics, physics and chemistry as was furnished by the better high schools, with one full year of French at once and two a year later, and that the College offer three parallel courses,—the Classical, the Latin-Scientific and the Chandler Scientific, leading respectively to the degrees of A.B., B.L. and B. S.

The classical course, as defined in the report of the committee of the Faculty and accepted by the Trustees, made the study of Greek, Latin and mathematics the greater part of the work of the first two years; in the Latin-Scientific course modern languages, science and mathematics were substituted for Greek, and in the Chandler course both Greek and Latin were replaced by modern languages, science, mathematics and engineering.

To make the consolidation more effective it was recommended that the Thayer School be brought into a closer working relation with the Chandler course, by so arranging the studies of the senior year of the Chandler course in connection with those of the first year of the Thayer course that a student might complete the two courses, and gain the degrees of both courses in five years. To prevent duplication there was also to be an equitable interchange of instruction between the professors of the Thayer School and the Chandler professor of civil engineering.

All these recommendations were at once adopted by the Trustees, the corresponding announcements were made and the changes went into operation at the opening of the next college year. The course of study for the combined departments was carefully prepared, first by the committee of the Faculty already mentioned, and after mature consideration by the Faculty, was adopted by the Trustees. The result, as far as the Faculty was concerned, was the same as that proposed by President Lord in 1859, but in the classification and instruc-

tion of the students there was a closer union, which in the administration of the College was wholly beneficial. The friction between the departments, in either faculty or students, disappeared, as there was now but one faculty for undergraduate students and but one student body. A new sense of oneness arose in the College which became an effective force in its advance. Differences of interest with their inevitable tendency to jealousies and alienations gave way to a common interest and a common purpose. There was no longer a rivalry of departments but a single college spirit that became one of the chief assets of the new administration. It cannot be doubted that this consolidation was an indispensable preliminary of the growth that followed.

Coincident with it was the first movement toward expansion, which appeared in the provision for increased instruction in the fall of 1893. Three professorships were then established, in history, sociology and biology, but the professor of history, though then elected, did not enter upon his duties for another year. In sociology and biology, wholly new departments, the College recognized the progress of modern thought in two distinct fields. In history, which had once been a department occupied by President John Wheelock and afterward by Professor Cogswell, instruction had of late years been given only in a desultory way by occasional lecturers or instructors, or by members of the Faculty who added that subject to the work of their particular chairs, but now the subject resumed its rightful place among the departments. In the spring of that year the Willard fund for a professorship of rhetoric and oratory becoming available, the chair was filled,¹ and within five years there had been large addition to the teaching staff through temporary appointments in the departments of biology, French, Latin, German, oratory, economics, astronomy and physics, of those who afterward became permanent members of the Faculty as professors.

Four years after the consolidation and at the graduation of the first united class, the Medical Department celebrated its hundredth anniversary. The exercises were held on Tuesday of Commencement week, June 29, 1897, at five o'clock in the

¹ Ex-Senator James W. Patterson, at that time Superintendent of Public Instruction in New Hampshire, was appointed to the professorship, but he had scarcely entered on his duties when he died suddenly May 4, 1893. His death occurred as he was attending an evening prayer meeting, and soon after its opening, but he sat so quietly that he seemed asleep and it was only at the close of the meeting that he was found to be dead. Those who sat near him then recalled a slight gasp which probably marked the time of his death, that came from a failure of the heart.

afternoon in the College church. The exercises "observed by the President and Trustees of the College, the medical faculty, the graduates of the Medical College, the Governor and Council and other invited guests," consisted of music, opening of the centennial exercises by President Tucker, a prayer by Rev. Dr. S. P. Leeds, and a historical address by Dr. Phineas S. Conner. These were followed by a banquet in Butterfield Hall, at which Dr. William T. Smith presided and many addresses were made.¹

A movement of the alumni, begun in the fall of 1891 to support the demand for representation on the Board of Trust and having for its object an improvement in the physical education of the students and an increase in their athletic facilities, fell in with the other forms of progress. In November of that year the executive committee of the Alumni Association, after a meeting held in Boston with the alumni of the vicinity, proposed to the Trustees that they would attempt to raise funds for "making repairs and additions to the gymnasium, purchasing apparatus therefor, securing land for an athletic field, employing suitable agents, and using all measures calculated to promote interest in athletics at the College, and improving the physical condition of the undergraduates," if the Trustees would put the management of the gymnasium into the hands of the Alumni Association, subject to the rules of the Trustees. The proposition was accepted by the Trustees at a meeting held February 8, 1892, and the gymnasium and the "immediate care and management of athletics" were given to the alumni, subject to such general regulations as the Trustees might make and with the proviso that the Trustees should always have a fair representation on the committee of management.

After this action of the Trustees a special committee of the alumni, consisting of Dr. J. L. Hildreth of Cambridge, Mass., Mr. Charles F. Mathewson of New York and Mr. C. W. Spalding of Chicago, prepared and presented to the alumni at their meeting at Commencement a plan for the improvement of the gymnasium, the acquisition of an athletic field and the control of athletics in the College. During the next year the plan was only partially carried out in the remodelling of the gymnasium, since it was found impracticable to construct a

¹ An account of the proceedings, with Dr. Conner's address, is given in a model historical pamphlet containing transcripts of documents relating to the College, and entitled, "Dartmouth Medical College Centennial Exercises," Hanover, *Dartmouth Press*, 1897.

swimming tank, as had been recommended, but was made wholly effective in the preparation of an athletic field. For this purpose the Trustees put at the disposal of the committee ten acres of the lot between Crosby and Park Streets purchased of the Agricultural College, and these, by an expenditure of \$17,000, were drained, graded and enclosed, and provided with a cinder running track, with baseball and football fields and with a grand stand, and were henceforth called the "Alumni Oval."

For the control of athletics a plan was recommended and adopted, that, with minor modifications, has been in effective operation to the present. By this plan the control of membership in athletic teams was given to the Faculty as far as it was affected by restrictions in scholarship, but apart from that the direction of athletics was entrusted to the alumni, and their authority was exercised by an athletic council of nine members, consisting of three alumni elected at the annual meeting at Commencement, three members of the Faculty appointed by the Faculty but subject to the approval of the alumni at the same meeting, and three undergraduates who, as managers of the football, baseball and track athletic departments, were *ex-officio* members of the council. Working through an executive officer, who as graduate manager is also its financial and business agent, the council has brought about very beneficial results in excluding professionalism, in systematizing and controlling financial operations and in establishing relations with other institutions.

The financial aid thus given by the alumni was not the only cheer of the kind that brightened the opening years of the new administration, and provided a substantial basis for its plans. In fact, it was the good fortune of the administration that almost at its beginning it had the benefit of several large funds, like the Willard, the Wentworth and the Fayerweather funds, which had previously been received wholly or in part, without being available, or like the Butterfield fund, which came unexpectedly. The Willard fund becoming available in 1894 and the Wentworth in 1896 greatly aided in the work of reconstruction.

Of the Fayerweather fund, the initial payment came in 1891 and later payments were made at intervals till 1901. It was the bequest of Daniel B. Fayerweather, a wealthy merchant of New York City, who, in dividing a large estate among educational institutions, left \$100,000 directly to Dartmouth and also made the College a sharer in a residuary bequest. The

estate was long in litigation, in which the counsel of the College was Judge Horace Russell, a graduate of the class of 1865, but on its conclusion the College received payments amounting in all to \$223,381. As the bequest was without conditions the Trustees devoted it to liquidating the debt of the College, and beyond that point used it as a fund on which to draw in meeting the annual deficits that occurred in the reconstruction and development of the College from 1893 to 1906, when deficits due to this account ceased. "The name of Mr. Fayerweather," wrote President Tucker,¹ "is perpetuated in the Fayerweather row of dormitories, but the effect of his bequest cannot be localized. It made possible the growth of the College since 1893. No fund of many times its value, if it had been restricted in its uses, could have served an equal purpose in the development of the College."

In January of 1893 the news was received that Dr. Ralph Butterfield of the class of 1839, a resident of Kansas City, Mo., who died September 2, 1892, had made the College his residuary legatee, devising his property for the foundation of a professorship or lectureship in paleontology, archæology, ethnology and kindred subjects, and for the erection of a building for the housing of a museum, to which he gave his own cabinet illustrative of these branches. From this bequest the College received, on the settlement of the estate, a little over \$141,000, of which \$87,350 were used in the construction of Butterfield Hall, according to the will of the donor, and the balance was kept as a permanent fund.

Another valuable gift was made in 1897 by Mr. C. T. Wilder of Olcott, Vt., amounting at its full maturity three years later to \$109,000, of which, at the suggestion of Mr. Wilder, \$84,000 were employed in the erection of a physical laboratory, and the balance, except \$10,000 reserved for the use of the Observatory, was kept as a fund for the maintenance of the building and its equipment. The gift was further enlarged by Mr. Wilder by an additional \$75,000, so restricted, however, as not to be immediately productive.

Of more immediate service in meeting current expenses and of greater value as indicating the interest and goodwill of the State was the appropriation by the Legislature in 1893 of \$15,000 covering two years. Four years later the Legislature of 1897 appropriated \$10,000, and that of 1899 \$20,000, in each case

¹ The Resources and Expenditures of Dartmouth College, *Dartmouth Bi-Monthly*.

for two years. Subsequent legislatures have severally made appropriations, amounting since 1903 to \$20,000 a year. The basis of the grant was the recognition of the fact that the College was educating students from New Hampshire at an expense far in excess of any return that the State had ever made.¹

The combination of these various influences for the development of the College was made effective by the increasing interest and activity of the alumni. At the outset of his administration, as has been said, President Tucker took them into his confidence and made it an essential part of his work to go among them, to their annual and special gatherings, telling them of what had been done and explaining his plans for the future. He presented the College to them not as a beggar that demanded and would be satisfied with their gifts, but as an object of their personal interest and responsibility, whose welfare rested upon them as really as upon the college guardians. He did not ask a sentimental regard, valuable as that might be, but a sober and earnest recognition of the worth of the College in what it had done for them and in what it might do for others. This future work, he made clear, depended upon the alumni, which must become for the prosperity of the College an active force in its behalf.

The rapid growth of the belief in the responsibility of the alumni appeared in the large number of local associations established during this period. Between 1864, when the first of such associations was formed at Boston, and 1892 eleven had been established, but from 1893 to 1909, inclusive, twelve new associations, scattered from New England to the Pacific coast, testified to the strength of the activity of the alumni, and in addition to them there arose, again in imitation of a movement originating in Boston in 1892, five "Dartmouth Clubs," with more frequent stated meetings than the associations, some of them as often as once a week, and having as their special object the fostering of alumni fraternity and the dissemination of information concerning the College. Still further to organize the sentiment of the alumni there was formed in 1905, at the suggestion of the President, the association of class secretaries, which has an annual meeting at Hanover in March, and has been

¹ In 1906 the following exhibit was made: Total expense of the College for the year \$230,000; number of undergraduates 950; cost per man \$242; number of men from New Hampshire 235; cost of educating them (235X\$242) \$56,870; receipts from these men through tuition or from scholarship funds, \$23,500; cost to College above such receipts, \$33,470. *Resources and Expenditures of Dartmouth College*, p. 31.

very active in the discussion of matters relating to the College and effective in keeping the graduates in touch with them.

The policy of the new administration was effective from the start in attracting students. The failure to secure a president in 1892 and the uncertainty of the succession were reflected in the smallness of the class entering in the fall of that year, which numbered only seventy-eight, but the satisfaction that was felt at the accession of Dr. Tucker was evidenced by a class of one hundred and twenty in the fall of 1893. From that time the increase in numbers was almost uninterrupted. Every class that entered was not larger than the one before it, but the total enrollment of undergraduates was greater each year.

In a village like Hanover the housing of the increasing number of students offered a constant problem. It could be met only by a sufficient number of quarters in private houses, by private dormitories or by dormitories erected by the College. The first was impossible, the Trustees were opposed to private dormitories and were, therefore, forced to erect their own, and it was in this step that they entered upon the policy of making the College its own investment. The capacity of the old college dormitories, those about the college yard and Hallgarten, was about two hundred, inadequate as things then were, and with the supplement of the village offering scarcely any chance of growth. This state of things, emphasized by the new idea of sanitation and of the oversight of the health of the students, led the Trustees in 1894 to construct a new dormitory to accommodate fifty students, by the reconstruction and enlargement of the house that had long been the residence of Professor Sanborn. From that fact it was called "Sanborn House," and from its superiority to the old buildings it became for some years a favorite dormitory.

The growth of the College in numbers during the administration of President Tucker may fairly be traced in the construction of new dormitories. There was a considerable increase in rooms open to students in the village and in later years in the rise of fraternity houses, but the provision made by the College in the enlargement of the dormitory system about kept pace with the demand. A seeming supply by one construction proved insufficient and one dormitory followed another to meet the growing need. Crosby House, for fifty-five students, was opened in 1896. This fine old brick house built by Professor Z. S. Moore about 1810 had been for many years the home of Dr. Dixie Crosby,

and with additions and improvements was made into a dormitory, which in attractiveness is not surpassed by any of the other dormitories. In the next year provision was made for fifty-five more by the erection of Richardson Hall on the west slope of Observatory Hill, which by the formation of "The Terrace" gave an approach from the college yard to the Medical College in the rear of the main street. That it might not dwarf the chapel from its higher position it was constructed on horizontal lines, a story of brick resting on an ashlar of granite and surmounted by a Mansard roof of shingles, which greatly diminished its apparent height. The dormitory was named in honor of Judge James B. Richardson, one of the Trustees, and was the first of the more expensive dormitories, though in the then favorable conditions of building its cost fell a little under \$50,000.

In 1899 the old home of Professor O. P. Hubbard, occupying the present site of the Parkhurst Administration building, was converted into a small dormitory for twenty men, and in the same year the row in the rear of Dartmouth Hall was begun by the erection, in the same general style as Dartmouth, of Fayerweather Hall. It was built in three distinct sections, which altogether provided for eighty-five students. The next year witnessed the addition of quarters for forty more in a building that was intended primarily as a center of the social life of the College and as a Commons Hall. This building, which was erected at a cost of nearly \$120,000, contained on its first floor not only a living room for the College Club, of which all students were members, a reading room, and a trophy room, with offices, but also a large dining hall beautifully finished in Flemish oak and capable of seating nearly four hundred at table. The growth of the College and the lack of boarding accommodations in the village compelled the renewal of the experiment, never before successful, and abandoned in 1815, of a college commons, which, though it has not been wholly free from criticism, has fairly met the needs of the students, a large majority of whom have patronized it, and has been on the whole self-supporting. In addition to the regular dining room service it includes a restaurant, known as the "grill" room, which is open at all hours of the day and attracts many.

In 1903 the house formerly occupied by Dr. T. R. Crosby at the corner of Elm and College Streets was converted into a small dormitory with accommodations for twenty and from its location called Elm House, and in the next year on the lot

north of the chapel, made vacant by the removal of the house of Professor Emerson, there was built the largest of the dormitories up to that time, with a capacity of ninety-eight, and named Wheeler Hall in honor of the John Wheeler who had given to the College the \$1,000 which enabled it to undertake its contest with the State. After an interval of two years three dormitories in 1904 added accommodations for one hundred and forty-eight. The Fayerweather row was completed by the construction of North and South Fayerweather, and in the rear of the Hubbard House was built the New Hubbard, to hold forty-eight. If fortune may be ascribed to a building, that of the two new Fayerweathers was adverse, for in the winter of 1908 the north building took fire and barely escaped destruction, while the south building was completely burned on the night of February 26, 1910. The latter was fully occupied, and the fire, which arose in the basement from some unexplained cause, gained such headway and burned so rapidly that the roomers, on being awakened, had barely time to make their escape, some being forced to jump from the windows and being saved from injury only by the deep snow into which they fell. The building was immediately restored in fireproof construction.

Two more dormitories completed the work of the administration in the housing of the students. Massachusetts Hall, for eighty-eight occupants, erected in 1907, was the central feature in a second line of buildings in the rear of Tuck Hall, of which the northern one was the New Hubbard, that was afterward removed to the rear of Chandler Hall, and the southern one was the Proctor House, which in 1902 had been moved back to give room for Tuck Hall and made into a small dormitory, and which still later was torn down to open a site for South Massachusetts. In 1908 New Hampshire Hall, the largest of all the dormitories, having rooms for one hundred and seven, was built on the lot between the library and Hallgarten.

These fourteen dormitories, built within fourteen years, and all of brick, except Sanborn, Elm, Proctor and the New Hubbard, added about seven hundred to the housing capacity of the College. The growth thus indicated was further marked by new buildings for other purposes. These were Butterfield, Wilder, Chandler, Tuck, Dartmouth and Webster, besides the Nathan Smith Laboratory, the heating plant and the reconstructed Inn. The first two, built in 1895 and 1897, have already been mentioned as devoted to special departments. Chandler

Hall, which was the enlargement in 1898 of Moor Hall through a bequest of over \$28,000 by Frank W. Daniels of the class of 1868, was set apart for the use of the mathematical department. Tuck Hall, erected in 1902 as a part of the gift of Edward Tuck, of the class of 1862, became the home of the Tuck School and of the departments of history and economics.

The new Dartmouth, completed in 1906, replaced the old Dartmouth that was burned on the morning of February 18, 1904. The destruction of the old hall removed the last visible link with the early days of the College and was an irretrievable loss in sentiment. During the administrations of President Smith and President Bartlett the building had not been highly esteemed and at one time plans had been made to move it back and to enlarge it with an ell, but in later years it had secured its rightful place in the thought of the alumni as a building of beauty as well as of historic sentiment. The grace and simplicity of its architecture, its perfect proportions, its unique and wonderful belfry, and its association with the great names of the college past had made, by contrast with so much that was new, a deep impression of its worth. The sentiment and affection of the alumni gathered rapidly about it as a kind of inherited treasure and historic landmark, so that the news of its burning brought a great sense of loss, as of that which could never be replaced. The report of the fire, telegraphed to Boston and displayed on the bulletin boards, brought dismay to the friends of the College, but while the fire was still in progress the President called a meeting of the Trustees, and Melvin O. Adams, a trustee of the College living in Boston, sent out a call for a meeting of the alumni, which he declared was "not an invitation but a summons."

The fire, which was caused by defective wiring, burned with remarkable rapidity. The alarm was given during the morning chapel exercise, and the students rushing out saw flames issuing from the windows of a room, from which, not more than five minutes before, students had gone to chapel without a suspicion of danger. A dense smoke, in which was mixed the dust that had collected in the attic during a century, filled the upper halls and so completely prevented passage through them that no approach was possible for firemen, and a student in one of the rooms in the third story was taken out by a ladder. The morning was one of the coldest of the winter, 20° below zero, and the fire service, crippled in consequence, had little effect in checking

the flames. Within an hour the supports of the cupola, to whose delicate structure the leaping flames lent an added grace, gave way, and the falling bell was melted in the heat below, and within two hours the whole building, except a few portions of the end walls, was in ashes. The fact that the fire began in the center of the third story and hence burned downward saved the adjoining halls, as the heat was drawn in from them rather than thrown out toward them.

The financial loss was not as great as the loss in sentiment. The old hall, begun a few years after the death of the first Wheelock, covered in its hundred and twenty years of existence almost the whole history of the institution. For many years, except when occupied by the University, it had been the home of nearly all the activities of the College, and though in the increase of buildings it ceased to be "The College," as it was long called, yet it held a proud pre-eminence from its age, its beauty and its history. The determination was at once taken to rebuild it on practically the same lines, but of brick instead of wood, and the new building, when erected, though longer and wider and higher than the old by a few feet, seemed to be a reproduction of it, especially as it was painted white and the new belfry was the replica of the former one.

The enthusiasm of the alumni for the reconstruction of Dartmouth Hall reinforced the appeal of a subscription that was already under way for the construction of Webster Hall. The \$50,000 already pledged were diverted to the more pressing need of the restoration of Dartmouth Hall, and a "building fund" of \$250,000 for Dartmouth and Webster Halls and a new dormitory was set on foot, and in the end was secured.

The laying of the corner stone was the occasion of a great celebration, made notable by a large gathering of the alumni and by the presence of the Earl of Dartmouth, the fourth in descent from the Earl from whom the College was named, who with his Countess and his daughter, Lady Dorothy Legge, came from England to be present at the ceremony as the guests of the College.¹ The Earl reached Hanover on the afternoon of Tuesday, October 25, and was greeted with the cheers of the students gathered on the steps of College Hall. The formal exercises began in the evening with a series of eight tableaux,

¹ A full account is given in "Exercises and Addresses attending the Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Dartmouth Hall, Hanover, N. H., 1905," and also in *The Dartmouth* for October 28, 1904.

given by the students under the direction of a committee of the Faculty, representing scenes and events in the life of Wheelock and the early history of the College.¹ The intervals between the tableaux were enlivened with singing and cheering by the students and with many stereopticon views that, like the tableaux, had to do with Wheelock and the College. All these were exhibited on a temporary stage erected in front of the grand stand on the athletic field.

The exercises of the next day were somewhat marred by rain. Those of the morning were held in the church, which was draped with American and English flags. The chief features of the morning were the historical address on "The Origins of Dartmouth College" by Professor Francis Brown, D.D., the conferring of the degree of LL.D. on Lord Dartmouth and his presentation to the College of the correspondence between Eleazar Wheelock and the second Earl of Dartmouth. The rain continuing in the afternoon, an address by Mr. Charles F. Mathewson and a poem by Mr. Wilder D. Quint that were to have been given in the open air were transferred to the church, but later it was possible for the procession to go to the grave of Eleazar Wheelock, to whom a brief but fitting reference was then made by President Tucker, and then to proceed to the laying of the corner stone. A prayer of dedication was offered by Bishop Ethelbert Talbot, D.D., of the class of 1870, and when Lord Dartmouth, smoothing the mortar, declared the stone well laid the bells on the chapel broke into a loud and joyous peal. The foundations were spanned by an electric arch making brilliant the words, "1791—Dartmouth—1904."

The festivities were closed by a banquet in the evening given by the President and Trustees to Lord Dartmouth. The occasion being regarded as of civic rather than of general academic interest, representatives were invited from four colleges only, Harvard as the oldest of American colleges, William and Mary as the college first to identify great English names with American institutions, Yale as the college of Eleazar Wheelock, and Hamilton as founded by Wheelock's pupil, Samuel Kirkland.

¹ These were: (1) Wheelock receiving Samson Occum at Lebanon, Conn., December 6, 1743; (2) Occum preaching in Whitefield's Tabernacle, London; (3) First meeting of Trustees at Wyman Tavern, Keene, N. H., October 12, 1770; (4) Wheelock and his family at Hanover, (a) ten little Indians, (b) prayers in the forest; (5) The first Commencement at Dartmouth, (a) tub scene, "500 gallons of New England rum," (b) Gov. Wentworth's visit; (6) Return of Capt. John Wheelock and his company after Burgoyne's surrender; (7) Defence of the libraries against the University professors; (8) Daniel Webster pleading the college case at Washington.

The presence of the governor of the State and of Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a graduate of the College and a full-blood Sioux Indian, gave prominence to the relations of the College and the State and to the abiding effect of Wheelock's purpose for the College.

The new building, into which, to give it a physical connection with the old, had been built two of the old windows, saved from the fire, and some of the granite steps, was completed and ready for occupancy and was dedicated February 17, 1906 (as the 18th fell on Sunday), two years almost to the day from the date of the destruction of the first building. The dedication took place in the morning under conditions of weather rivaling those of the day of the fire. After special exercises in Rollins Chapel the Trustees, Faculty, alumni and students marched to the west of the campus and through a path cut through the deep snow directly to the front of the new hall, singing as they approached it Milton's rendering of the 136th Psalm, as used at Commencement. After a few words of dedication by President Tucker, the procession, each class cheering as it advanced, encircled the building, and then entered to inspect it. The interior arrangement was entirely different from that of the former building, as it was wholly given up to recitation and lecture purposes, and in place of the old chapel, which cut the building in two in the first and second stories, there was a large lecture room in the center of the first floor. The old bell was replaced by one from the same makers but of richer tone, weighing 1,854 pounds, the gift of J. W. Peirce of the class of 1905, and in place of the former erratic clock a new and accurate one, with faces on both front and rear gables, the front face being illuminated at night, was given by Dr. William T. Smith.

Webster Hall, a stately structure containing a noble auditorium, was long in building. The original plan included the double purpose of an administration building and an auditorium. The first floor was to contain all the college offices and the second only an extensive hall, but in the long interval after the foundations were laid and before construction began, the plan was changed and the office feature entirely eliminated. The subscription, by which it was proposed to secure funds, was somewhat slow and was delayed by the greater need brought by the burning of Dartmouth Hall and by the construction of Wheeler Hall to meet the demands for increased accommodations for students. The Trustees determined to proceed no faster than actual sub-

scriptions warranted and the building was finally completed only through the gift of \$50,000 by Stephen M. Crosby of the class of 1849, who advanced that sum conditioned on an annuity to himself. The laying of the corner stone, September 25, 1901, was used as an opportunity to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the graduation of Daniel Webster, but in view of his relation to the country this occasion also was treated as of civic rather than academic interest. The gathering of the alumni was large, almost every class from 1841 being represented, and many others came to honor Webster's memory.

The exercises, which extended over two days, began on the afternoon of Tuesday by a gathering in the church, where, besides choral singing by a large body of students who had been trained for these and the exercises of the following day by Mr. Charles H. Morse, the musical director of the College, two addresses were given, one by Professor Charles F. Richardson on "Mr. Webster's College Life," and the other by Professor John K. Lord on "The Development of the College Since the Dartmouth College Case."¹ A game of football followed on the Alumni Oval.

In the evening there was a celebration of "Dartmouth Night" by a torchlight parade, led by the college band. The Faculty and students wore academic gowns, the classes being distinguished by different colors, and the alumni appeared in a Webster costume of blue coat, buff waistcoat, stock, dickey and tall hat. The parade was enlivened by transparencies, and floats on which were carried Webster's carriage and huge plow. A few speeches were made from a platform in the college yard, and were followed by an illumination, fireworks and a bonfire on the campus.

Wednesday was the great day of the occasion and in the morning the crowd again filled the church. Broken by the choral singing of the students the exercises were a brief address by President Tucker on the relation of Webster to the College, a notable oration by Hon. Samuel W. McCall of the class of 1874 on Webster as orator, statesman and man, and the conferring of honorary degrees. Under the same propitious skies which cheered all the exercises, the corner-stone was laid in the afternoon, Lewis A. Armistead, the great-grandson of Webster, performing the rite, after which Bishop Abiel Leonard of Utah, of the class of 1870, offered a prayer, and ex-Governor Frank S.

¹ A complete programme and report of the exercises entitled *The Webster Centennial* was edited by Ernest M. Hopkins and published by the College.

Black of New York, of the class of 1875, gave an address. A later meeting for personal reminiscences of Webster was followed in the evening by a banquet at which speeches relating to Webster and the College were made by prominent alumni and men in public life.

Six years, in which there was a change of plan that necessitated a change in the foundations, elapsed before the hall was completed. It was first used for the opening chapel service of the year, September 26, 1907, but was not formally dedicated till the 18th of October, when "Dartmouth Night" was made to serve as a dedication. Around the walls were hung the portraits of Wheelock and his successors, and of many whose names are great in the history of the College, including two of Webster prominently displayed, and in the apse was his office desk. In his introductory speech President Tucker described the construction and the purpose of the building and in declaring, on behalf of the Trustees, its formal opening said:

I set apart this hall to the uses for which it was designed—to preserve the honorable and inspiring traditions of the College, to bring our illustrious dead into daily fellowship with the living, to quicken within us the sense of a common inheritance and of a common duty, to enlarge our knowledge of men and of the world through the spoken word of scholars, discoverers, patriots and benefactors of their kind, to refine our manners and to stimulate our taste through access to art, to give us the full advantage of quick and ready contact of one with another, of each with all, and of all with those who represent the interests, the intellectual wealth and the moral necessities of the world; and having fulfilled in us these objects of our desire, to send us out year by year inspired by example and fellowship, and charged with the sense of duty.

The buildings which were erected during these years were equally divided between productive and non-productive buildings. The latter were erected wholly with funds that were given for such purpose or with bequests that were unrestricted. The former, including most of the dormitories, were built as investments, and the amount thus invested, including the cost of improvements, like water, heat and electricity, was \$901,000. The College was fortunate in securing as its architect for all of them Mr. Charles A. Rich, a graduate of the class of 1875 and a member of the firm of Lamb and Rich of New York, who to his skill as an architect added the interest of an alumnus. All the buildings were erected according to a plan, that grew as expansion called for it, but that from the beginning related each new structure to existing structures and also made provision



THE COLLEGE, 1910.



for future development. In its expansion the College gradually acquired by purchase all the private holdings about the campus that had not previously come to it, and the advance of its buildings around the campus followed a consistent plan, not fixed in time or details, but steadily progressing as opportunities offered and needs required.

The Nathan Smith Laboratory, which was designed and built by Mr. E. H. Hunter, the superintendent of buildings and grounds, was opened in 1908. It is a brick building two and one half stories high, adapted for the work of the Medical College, standing just north of the old medical building, and containing besides lecture rooms, library and reading rooms, four small laboratories and the laboratory of the State Board of Health. It cost \$20,000 which was secured through subscriptions of the alumni of the School and the gifts of its friends.

It was at this period that the preparations were begun for a new gymnasium. The first suggestion was made by Professor John W. Bowler, the director of the gymnasium, to the undergraduates, and then taken up by a committee of the alumni, which undertook to raise a subscription for its erection. The estimated cost was \$125,000, though it finally reached \$190,000, and the subscription was so far successful that the Trustees began work in 1909, and the corner stone was laid as a part of the ceremonies attending the inauguration of President Nichols.

The increase in the number of students, so clearly indicated by the growth of the dormitories, also made itself manifest in the crowded state of the chapel. In 1903 an additional hundred seats were gained by a gallery in the west end of the nave. The gain thus secured soon proved insufficient and five years later, after the discussion of many plans, it was decided to adopt a plan of Professor H. E. Keyes to move the apse bodily forty feet back and to connect it to the main structure with new walls, thus lengthening the nave and with the addition of bays on either side increasing the seating capacity of the chapel about three hundred.¹

Among the buildings at this time was one that was of great service to the College although not distinctively a college building, the Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital. This was built by Mr. Hiram Hitchcock, a trustee of the College, in memory

¹ The accommodations again proving inadequate, in 1912, again under the plans of Professor Keyes, the transepts were extended, giving an added dignity to the building as well as making it much more commodious with a seating capacity of nearly 1,500. The desk was then removed from the end of the chancel to the side of the nave.

of his wife, Mary Maynard Hitchcock, and opened for use May, 1893. It was put into the charge of a corporation and trustees of its own and yet it had a direct connection with the College, through the provision that its staff of visiting physicians should always be the Medical Faculty of the College, and this assured the largest possible use of its clinical opportunities by the medical students. At the same time the hospital was of inestimable service to the College at large in its provision for the care of the sick. For the former condition of sickness, when students remained in their own rooms with only the attention of kindly but unskillful friends, was substituted the care of trained nurses under the most favorable conditions, and the community likewise came to know the value of a hospital. The site selected for the hospital was a tract of seven acres on the northern side of the village, and no expense was spared to make the construction and appointments of the building as perfect as possible and its appearance architecturally attractive.

Among the gifts which were made to the College during this period for other purposes than the construction of buildings none were more noteworthy than those of Mr. Edward Tuck of the class of 1861. His business relations had for many years required his residence in Paris, but he had kept alive his interest in the College and in the spring of 1899 he made a personal visit of President Tucker the occasion of a gift to the College of \$300,000 in honor of the memory of his father, Amos Tuck, who was also a graduate of the College in 1835 and a trustee from 1857 to 1866. The securities constituting the gift steadily increased in value, so that by 1907 they were worth \$500,000.¹ In indicating the object of his gift Mr. Tuck applied it

First and principally to the maintenance of the salaries of the President and Faculty; second and in minor part to the maintenance and increase of the college library. It is my expectation that the present and future Trustees will apply a portion of the income to the increase of existing salaries whenever the best interests of the College demand it, and a portion of the salaries of additional professorships which may in the future be established in the College proper or in post-graduate departments, should such be added at any time to the regular college course.

In carrying out the wish of Mr. Tuck the Trustees made a special appropriation of \$4,000 to the library in 1900, and at

¹ In December, 1910, Mr. Tuck still further added to his munificent gift to the College by the donation of \$500,000 to its general fund, but with the purpose that its income should be used in advancing the salaries of the Faculty. His total gifts rising above \$1,000,000 more than double that of any other individual benefactor of the College.

the same time added \$200 to the salaries of the full professors, and again a like amount in 1907. But Mr. Tuck's hint of a post-graduate department did not pass unheeded and in considering the matter the attention of the Trustees, so the President wrote,¹

Was arrested by the fact that a largely increasing number of the graduates of the College was entering the more influential kinds of business, banking, foreign commerce, and the like, but without any preparation comparable with that through which others were passing into the professions. This situation, of serious import to the College, as it appeared to the Trustees, was put before Mr. Tuck. Advanced courses of study, especially in economics, which might give in part the preparation called for, were outlined. The example of the Thayer School of Civil Engineering was adduced as an illustration of what could be done to give professional standing to a hitherto unrecognized kind of work. The proposal was made looking to the establishment on similar lines of the Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance.

To the proposal that so honorably linked his father's name with a department of the College Mr. Tuck gave instant and hearty assent by cable and by letter, and, in January of 1900, the Trustees formally established the School. The announcement of it was made in the fall of 1899 and a year later it was opened with an attendance of four students in the advanced and eleven in the lower class.

The faculty of the School, as at first organized, consisted wholly of members of the Academic Faculty, but it was soon given a more independent character by appointments of its own, including those of a director and a secretary. To a limited extent members of the general Faculty still gave instruction, and in addition persons from abroad gave lectures on special subjects. For three years the School occupied the Hubbard house, but in 1902 it removed to its new home in Tuck Hall. This was the gift of Mr. Tuck who, to further the interests of the School by providing it with suitable quarters, put at the disposal of the Trustees in the spring of 1901, for the construction of a building, securities amounting to \$135,000. Its provision for lecture and class rooms, offices and library has been ample for the accommodation of the School and some departments of the College.

The requirement for admission was the possession of a bachelor's degree, but credit was given for advanced electives in undergraduate courses, and, as in the Thayer School, students were allowed to relate the courses of the College and the School

¹ *The Dartmouth Bi-Monthly.*

so as to complete the two in five years. The courses of instruction, requiring eighteen hours in each semester, included, besides modern history, economics, sociology, and the modern languages, diplomacy, finance, accounting, insurance, transportation, administration and law, subjects that were necessary for a business training, though not a substitute for an apprenticeship to any particular kind of business.

The Tuck School was not only an additional department and an increase in the general equipment, it was a part of a general movement looking toward a broadening of the work and the efficiency of the College, and the high standard adopted by it was influential toward that end. The scholarship of the College, especially as affected by the growth in numbers, was a matter of constant and serious consideration, and one made particularly prominent by the union of the Chandler School with the College. The preparation demanded of students entering that School was not as high as that demanded of students entering the College, and a strain was put upon scholarship by having students of different degrees of preparation recite in the same classes.

Candidates for the B.S. degree were not required to present for entrance either Greek or Latin, but in their stead a larger amount of mathematics, modern languages and science. No one of these subjects received in the schools the emphasis that was given to Greek or Latin, which were required of candidates for the A.B. degree. The former occupied at least three years and the latter at least four years, and apart from any question of the relative value of the classics and modern languages or scientific subjects, courses in the classics gave a training that in coherence and continuity was not equalled by courses that were broken and shorter in time. The difficulty of finding a sufficient substitute for the classics for preparation for college in the matter of time still remains, but the attempt to equalize the preparation demanded of candidates for the different degrees was made by successively increasing the requirements for the B.S. degree in 1894, 1895, and 1898, and again in 1905.

Another influence that worked for a time injuriously to scholarship was the extension of the elective system that followed upon the addition of several new departments of instruction. Such departments could of course find room in the curriculum only at the expense of existing departments, and mostly in the shape of electives, so that the work that had been before prescribed was greatly reduced, and by 1896 limited to freshman year, except

as certain subjects, like history, were required as preliminary to so many other subjects as to become practically prescribed. The result of so many free electives, as were now opened, was often a lack of concentration and purpose and of consequent waste, and in 1902 the President brought before the Faculty for consideration the question of scholarship as affected by admission and the curriculum.

After long discussion a "group" system was adopted in the requirements for admission and in the curriculum. The requirements for admission were not increased, except for the B.S. course to take effect three years later, but they were divided into groups, extending the latitude of choice, from which the subjects for admission were to be chosen according to the degree desired. In the curriculum the system required that a student should continue in freshman year the subjects which he presented for admission, as far as they were offered in that year, and that after freshman year he should arrange his electives among three groups in such a way that one subject, called a "major," should be pursued for three years in one group, and that one subject, called a "minor," should be pursued for two years in each of the other two groups. The prescribed studies and those thus restricted by the groups constituted about forty per cent of the college course, and with the prerequisites in certain subjects very materially diminished the range of free electives, giving to the studies of each student a greater definiteness and coherence. A few years later, in order that incentives might be added to restrictions in support of scholarship, the scheme of college honors was greatly enlarged and made prominent by public recognition of those attaining them.

It was at this time that the College, in company with many other institutions, gave up Greek as a requirement for admission and for the bachelor's degree. It was accepted, if offered for admission, and as if to show that the College was still hospitable to the humanities, students were allowed to begin the study of Greek in the freshman year, but the number of those presenting Greek or taking it in college has steadily declined. With the removal of Greek, Latin remained as the one distinctive feature of the A.B. degree, and as there was nothing in the requirements of the course to distinguish that degree from the B.L. degree there was no reason for continuing the two. The B.L. degree was, therefore, given up in 1905, twenty-one years after it was first conferred. Henceforth the College conferred in course

only the degrees of A.B. and B.S., the master's degree in course having been last conferred in 1894.

In 1900 there was a beginning of a summer school. There had previously been an attempt at one in 1881, which as a purely private venture, wholly in scientific subjects, had been conducted by Professors Emerson and Bartlett and their assistants in the departments of astronomy, physics and chemistry during a session of five weeks. The Trustees allowed the use of the laboratories, but assumed no responsibility for the school, and it was not mentioned in the catalogue. It had a creditable history and a fair attendance but continued only three years.

The later school, whose first session opened July 5, 1900, was in charge of members of the Faculty but was not supported by the Trustees, although its announcements found a place in the annual catalogues. Its principal object was "to furnish instruction to teachers in grammar and high schools and academies," but the courses were open to others. The director of the school was Professor T. W. D. Worthen and instruction was given during four weeks in ten departments, and many general lectures given. The school was popular from the beginning and in 1903 attained the dignity of a "Faculty" in the catalogue and the publication of its list of students. Its period was extended at the same time to five weeks, and two years later to six weeks. The large number of students which it attracted for the purpose of doing work in advance of their classes or of making up subjects in which they had failed soon made it desirable for the Faculty to legislate in regard to its conduct, and still later for the Trustees to assume responsibility for it, which they did in 1910.

The most striking feature of the administration of President Tucker was the growth of the College, but other features deserve consideration. The change in the appearance of the college plant was very noticeable. The disappearance of the old hedge about the college yard and of the fence about the campus was more than justified by the neatness with which the grounds were kept. What had been the order of Commencement week was now extended throughout the year. The ragged turf of the campus became smooth under the constant use of the lawn mower, and harmonized with the well kept grounds about all the college buildings. The care with which the buildings and grounds were kept had an influence on college manners. More

comfortable and more esthetic surroundings softened asperities and worked, sometimes in connection with discipline, as in the abolition of horning in 1896, for a less turbulent life. They also had their effect in dress, for at the opening of the commons dining hall the sweater was excluded as a dress for meals, and at the same time it was forbidden as an outer garment at the chapel service. The social life of the College found a new expression and a new impulse in the celebration of "Carnival Week" in May of 1899, which as "Prom Week" later became a fixed feature of the year.

One of the chief characteristics of the College has always been its democracy, but with the growth in numbers, the greater proportion of the students who came from wealthy families, and the increase in the number of fraternities and of chapter houses, many of the alumni began to express fear lest there should be a weakening of the ancient spirit. The situation was one to which the administration was fully alive and measures were taken to preserve not only the democratic spirit but the college spirit against the divisive effect of cliques and fraternities. No one class, not even the senior, was allowed exclusive use of a dormitory, but each dormitory was held open to members of every class, and the rooms were so graded in price that the rich and the poor were brought together.

To prevent the separation of the fraternities from the general interests of the College, the Trustees restricted each chapter house to accommodations for fourteen men and did not allow any one to be used as a boarding place for its members. These restrictions prevented a fraternity from having a life independent of the College, since all its members were obliged to eat, and most were obliged to room, in association with others. The opening of College Hall and of the college club, of which every student was a member, with a living room in which all had equal right, tended to foster the democratic spirit. This was also fostered by an observance begun in 1895 and developed into a custom, known as "Dartmouth Night." A gathering of the college on the evening of September 17 in the old chapel in Dartmouth Hall, around which were hung the portraits of many Dartmouth worthies, was the occasion of speeches by alumni and members of the Faculty in the attempt, in the words of President Tucker, "to capitalize the history of the College," and to make real for the undergraduates its heroic traditions. If in the recurring years the exercises of "Dartmouth Night" have

sometimes been filled with self-laudation, it has been no more than should be true of any college that has a history of which it ought to be proud, and that is proud of the history which it has, and "Dartmouth Night" has not only been effective in arousing the enthusiasm of the students for the College, but, being the first of its kind, it has been an example which many other institutions have followed.

In 1893 there was a change in the relation of the College and the College church. Dr. Leeds, whose pastorate, then extending to thirty-three years, was as remarkable in its strength as in its length, felt the need of help at the same time that it seemed desirable to adopt the system, so advantageously used in other places, of a board of college preachers. Such a board headed by Dr. Leeds and President Tucker, till the resignation of Dr. Leeds in 1900, was established and proved effective, but a return was had to a single pastorate in 1904, when the Rev. Ambrose W. Vernon united the care of the church with the professorship of divinity in the College. Required attendance at church, which had existed from the beginning of the College, was abandoned in 1903. The vesper service of the chapel was still retained as a required exercise, but it always was kept an academic service in charge of the President or of some member of the Faculty. It was in this service that President Tucker came into closest contact with the moral and spiritual life of the College and exercised a powerful influence. His weekly talks, sometimes dealing directly with phases of college life, but more often with the principles underlying character and conduct, were marked by insight and sympathy, not only carrying their own application but widening the intellectual horizon in the appreciation of truth. They were a constant stimulus to a fuller and larger life and to many they proved the means of moral regeneration.

President Tucker had the rare gift of inspiring confidence and the assurance of personal sympathy. Unable from the crowding duties of his office to take part in instruction, he made it his practice at the opening exercise of each college year to address the students on some subject of vital interest in academic life, and also to meet them soon after the opening of each year, and at other times as he thought best, to set before them his plans for the College as far as related to their interests, and to call upon them for such part as they could take toward their execution. The confidence in him as a man and a leader thus secured, and reinforced through the personal interviews of those

who sought his advice or came before him in cases of discipline, gave him a wonderful hold upon the students. His personal and official relations with individuals, especially in the increasing size of the College, were relatively few, but the chapel in the morning service of week days and the vesper service of Sunday gave expression to his personality, and the men were first attentive out of admiration and affection and then because what he said appealed to their manhood, stimulating their minds and awakening their consciences.

The presidency of a large and growing college, entailing the direction of its educational, financial and administrative interests, with constant adjustment of men and measures, was a task that allowed no relief. President Tucker worked easily, but he worked unremittingly. Vacations brought release from the routine of administration but not from the demands of educational leadership and the cares of almost continuous building operations. The imperative need for rest led to a five months' trip to Europe in the winter and spring of 1899, but his other absences from Hanover were to fulfill official or personal obligations. Under such heavy and long continued strain his health gave way, a difficulty with the heart appearing in March of 1907, and under the advice of his physician he resigned the presidency.

Before accepting the resignation, and in order to prevent a break in the succession, if possible, the Trustees unanimously invited Rev. Francis Brown, D.D., to the office, but, as fifteen years before, he was unable to accept the invitation. At the earnest entreaty of the Trustees and in the belief that a successor would soon be found, President Tucker consented to hold his resignation in abeyance, and, while relieved of some of his duties, to continue the guidance of the College. The search of the Trustees for a new president, though many persons were considered and in one or two cases invitations were extended, proved unavailing for a long time. After nearly two years had passed without a successor being found, President Tucker announced that he could no longer remain in office and insisted on the acceptance of his resignation. His last public act as President was to speak at the Commencement dinner of 1909¹ and his official connection ceased with the close of the financial year, July 15, 1909.

¹ He was not able to be present at the Commencement exercises of 1907 or 1909. In the former year his place as presiding officer was taken by Judge W. M. Chase of the Trustees, and in the latter year by Professor Lord.

The progress of the College has been described, but the results of an administration of sixteen years may best be seen by a brief summary. In those years the registration of undergraduate students rose from 315 to 1,107, and the total enrollment of the College, exclusive of the Agricultural College, from 431 to 1,233. In the same years the number of the resident faculty engaged in instruction, exclusive of the Agricultural College, increased from twenty-seven to eighty-four, and the whole number of college officers, resident and non-resident, increased from forty-two to one hundred and seven, besides twenty-five lecturers on special subjects whose connection with the College was only temporary.

In 1893 the College possessed fifteen buildings (including Culver and Hallgarten just taken from the Agricultural College), and several houses in the village. Of these, by 1909, Dartmouth Hall was old only in name and site, it having been built entirely anew after the fire, Rollins chapel and the medical building had been enlarged, Chandler Hall had been remodelled and enlarged, and the interior of the Observatory, the gymnasium, the Inn and Culver Hall had been remodelled. To these fifteen buildings twenty more were added, besides more than a dozen houses in the village, built or bought for residential purposes. Five of these twenty were houses bought and altered and enlarged for occupancy by students, and fifteen were wholly new.¹ Thirteen of them were dormitories, one was a dormitory and commons hall combined, four were recitation halls or laboratories, one was an auditorium and one was a heating and lighting plant. In keeping with this enlargement the invested trust funds of the college rose from \$1,028,929.87 in 1892 to \$2,871,640.61 in 1909, and the additional value of the plant was \$1,318,128.06.

The moral estimate of Dr. Tucker's administration must be left mainly to the perspective of the future. Yet it can now be said that the high ideal of life and conduct, which he steadily and successfully set before the college, resulted in a better *morale*, better conduct and better manners, and in general in a more self-respecting mode of college life, but the true measure of the influences that were dominant during his administration can be taken only when those, whose college days were passed under them, have had time to show in the duties of responsible man-

¹ The five were Sanborn, Crosby, Hubbard (afterward removed to give place to the Parkhurst Administration building), Elm and Proctor Houses.

hood how lasting was the impression which they then received, and how loyal they themselves have continued to be toward the College and the ideals there set before them. Beyond the effect on individuals that measure will also take into consideration the influence that formed the alumni into a highly organized body, enthusiastically loyal to the College and devoted to its advancement, and an administration that found the College small and made it large, that found it weak and made it strong, and that brought its divergent parts into a united whole and established it securely in the hearts of its alumni cannot fail to hold a leading place in the great periods of its history.

The long search of the Trustees for a successor to President Tucker was concluded in June of 1909 by the choice of Ernest Fox Nichols, Sc.D., professor of experimental physics in Columbia University. Though not a graduate of the College, Professor Nichols was happily acquainted with it, for before going to Columbia he had been professor of physics at Dartmouth for five years, from 1898 to 1903, where he not only did distinguished work as an experimenter in physics but highly commended himself as a teacher and a member of the Faculty. That he was willing to give up the position of an investigator, which had already brought him world-wide recognition and still opened great opportunities for future success, and to take up the work of an educator indicated how highly he estimated the value of that work, and inspired confidence that in his new position he would secure results equal to those of the position which he left.

Entering upon his new duties with the new college year he was inaugurated under the happiest auspices, October 10, 1909. The day was one of rare autumnal beauty and the great assembly, consisting of representatives of the leading educational institutions of the country and of the alumni associations of the College and of other eminent men, made the occasion notable. The success of the first years of his administration, giving confidence as well as hope for that which is to come, belongs to the present rather than to the past and must be left to some later historian.

SPECIAL TOPICS.

THE COLLEGE LIBRARY.

While Wheelock's School remained in Connecticut a considerable number of books designed for the religious instruction of its members was in the course of years gathered from various sources. Many were sent from England and Scotland in 1764 and later by the trustees and patrons, among whom mention is especially made of Rev. Dr. A. Gifford of London, and the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge among the Poor. Some of these are still to be found. Many of them were primers and Bibles and text books in theology for the use of the Indian children, now of course valuable only as curiosities.

In 1770 Theodore Atkinson, Senior, gave £100 sterling for the library and hinted that he would do something more in his will, but the first considerable addition made to it after the establishment of the College came in 1772 by the will of Rev. Diodate Johnson of Millington, Ct., who gave to the College his library, besides a generous sum of money for general purposes. In May of that year, Professor, then tutor, Woodward being librarian, the library of the College was housed in the southeast chamber of his house (on the site of the house occupied at present by the Graduates' Club), and this arrangement was confirmed by vote of the Board in August. There Dr. Belknap saw it in 1774, and commended it, though not large, as containing some very good books; and there it remained until 1777, when, Professor Woodward becoming immersed in politics and, doubtless, unable to give attention to the library, the Trustees authorized its removal to some proper place in the College, and the appointment of a librarian by the President with the advice of the tutors. It was placed in the second story of the Old College, at the southeast corner of the Green, in the second room from the north end, looking out to the east. From certain allusions we are led to infer that Dr. Wheelock's library, which was of considerable magnitude, was deposited in the same room, on distinct shelves, and it would seem probable that with clerical assistance, as in other branches, he personally directed the administration of it until his death in 1779.

Professor Smith was then regularly appointed librarian, and in connection with the general codification that occurred the library regulations also were reduced to form. The use of the library was restricted to the officers and students of the college and resident graduates.

In 1783 the library was, for some reason (perhaps the ruinous state of the old building), removed to President John Wheelock's house; and in connection with the plans for the new college building, in 1784, it was earnestly hoped to secure another building expressly for the library and apparatus, to stand northwest of Dartmouth Hall, corresponding to the position of the chapel (built in 1790) at the south. But nothing was accomplished beyond instructing Professor Woodward, who was then master builder, to see what could be done, and to build it when means could be obtained. As soon as Dartmouth Hall was in condition for it, probably not before 1791 (though voted in 1790), the library was arranged in a narrow room in the second story of the front projection, extending over the middle of the building, afterward taken into the chapel. The books were hastily removed to the President's on the occasion of the fire in 1798, but immediately returned and there remained until Dartmouth Hall was remodelled in 1828-1829. The books were then transferred to a large room on the lower floor extending quite across the north end of the building.

The system of library charges had become so odious at this period that it was common pastime to abuse the books by throwing them down stairs, and by other indignities. It was sarcastically allowed by the students as a point gained for the authorities that the books were by this move got down stairs in a body rather than piecemeal according to the other fashion.

In 1840, on the completion of Reed Hall, the library was located in the eastern half of the second story of that building, where it remained until the erection of Wilson Hall in 1885.

For the support of the library the students were charged at the first according to the use each one made of it. The rates established in 1774 (already given in the laws), based upon the number and kind of books taken from the library, were replaced in 1793 by a stated charge of two shillings a quarter (\$1.33 per year) upon each student, increased to \$1.50 a year in 1802, and to \$2 in 1819, and reduced to \$1 in 1825. In 1828 a return was made to the old system, with a rate of ten cents for each folio, eight cents for a quarto, six cents for an octavo and four cents

for a duodecimo. These rates remained nominally unchanged until about 1855, when all special exactions on account of the library (and some other things equally odious) disappeared into the general tuition charge.

During the earlier years the annual product of these charges was considerable. By the vote of 1793 (in force certainly until 1820) one quarter of the proceeds was given to the librarian for the services of himself and an assistant whom he was permitted to employ, and the remaining three fourths were appropriated for the enlargement of the library. During Professor Smith's administration, from 1779 to 1809, the annual amount was from £40 to £60 (\$130 to \$200) and afterwards sometimes greater still.

Professor Smith himself kept, with the aid of his wife, a book store in his house, and was enabled thus to purchase for the College at favorable discounts, which one sees always faithfully credited. He made journeys on horseback to Boston to make these purchases, one being specially noticed in January, 1795, when he made that trip and spent three days in Boston upon college business at a total cost to the College of £1-6-0. In 1796 the library took a chance in the college lottery, first class, but like other adventurers in that field drew a blank, and we do not find the attempt repeated. The library was opened in 1793 to the two upper classes on Monday, and to the others on Tuesday, of each week from one o'clock to two. In 1796 the arrangement was changed so as to admit seniors and sophomores on Mondays, alternately, and the juniors and freshmen on the corresponding Tuesdays, between the hours of two and three. No more than five were admitted to the library chamber at once, and no one was permitted to handle a book except by permission from the librarian.

These hours remained unchanged until 1828, when the hours were reduced to one day in the week, and the librarian's salary from \$50 to \$25, but in 1849 the library was ordered opened weekly at the same hours as before, to the seniors on Monday, to the juniors on Tuesday, to the sophomores on Wednesday and to the freshmen on Friday. But long before this, on account of the growth of the society libraries, together with the antiquated character of much of the college library, and of the rules governing its use, there had ceased to be any general use of the college library by the students. During all this period the limit of time for retaining books, fixed in 1796, remained unchanged,



Chapel

Dartmouth Hall

THE COLLEGE IN 1790.

Commons



viz., two weeks for any book except a folio or quarto, for which four weeks were allowed.

From a manuscript catalogue of 1775 we learn that the library then contained 75 folios, 40 quartos, 112 large octavos and 80 small octavos, an aggregate of 305 volumes, besides a large number of duplicates, including Bibles and Testaments in French and English, hymn books and school text books, of some as many as fifty each. After the Revolution additions began to come in from without. Thus in 1783 books were given by Dr. Oliver, and a polyglot Bible by Rev. J. Murray of Newburyport. The expenditure of the legacy of £100 for books from Theodore Atkinson, in 1784, was entrusted to Dr. Rose of London. In 1788 Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton gave St. Athanasius's works in two volumes folio, and "Harwood's Classicks octavo." In 1795 James Hughes gave Chambers' Dictionary, and in 1796 a donation came from Dr. Waterhouse. In 1799 a considerable number of books was given by Moses Fiske, late tutor and editor of the village paper. In 1800 Rev. Mr. Bonner gave £50, and in 1803 Noah Webster received thanks for the gift of the Spectator, referring, I suppose, to the New York newspaper of that name which began to arrive in 1799. In 1805 Caleb Brigham and Elisha Ticknor gave each £100 in books, and obtained as many more from other persons in Boston, and in 1807 Joel Barlow presented a copy of his "Columbiad."

A manuscript catalogue was prepared in 1802 by Cyrus Perkins which involved the purchase of a half quire of paper, but it is not now extant. The first printed catalogue was issued by direction of the Board in 1809, immediately after the death of Professor Smith, by his successor Professor John Hubbard. It was printed in Hanover by Spear at a cost of \$30. Therein are set down 2,900 volumes, nearly 1,000, however, being duplicates of the character already indicated, of which 262 were adapted to children.

In 1817 the library was seized by the University party and detained two years. During this period it not only made no growth but suffered loss. The library taxes collected by the College (in all about \$400) were not of course expended upon it, as the money was more urgently needed for another purpose, and the University, still more embarrassed, was not in a condition to do any thing for it.

One considerable donation was made to the library during this period by Thomas Walcott, Esq., of Boston, the same who

was in his boyhood a protégé of Wheelock and scholar in the Moor's School here. The donation consisted of 450 volumes, of considerable value, including the better part of a collection of antiquities which he had been long gathering, among them being a folio Latin Testament printed in 1487.¹ But these books were given on a pledge of secrecy as to the name of the donor, and upon the condition that they should be returned to him in case the University should be ruled out by the courts. Immediately upon the happening of that event in 1819, President Allen with Mr. Walcott's consent, removed the books from the library before its surrender, and in January, 1820, took them with him to Bowdoin College, where they fill one of the most valuable alcoves in the library. The only other additions made to the library under the University were the Poems of Ossian given by Professor Carter, and four or five other volumes purchased, all of which were removed before the library was given up.

While the University was still in possession, in order to lay a foundation for one of the subsidiary actions which it was deemed necessary in 1818 to begin, so that the case might be presented to the Courts in all its aspects, efforts were made to negotiate a sale of the library to Andover Theological Seminary, and elsewhere, and in that connection ostensible reasons for wishing to part with it were assigned, such as that "many of the books were ancient, injured and defaced and not suited to the existing needs," but we may readily believe that the case was not so bad that in other circumstances a sale would have been thought of. The price demanded was \$2,100, but a purchaser could not be found willing to incur the annoyance of a contest over the title, and the plan failed. As soon as the library was restored to the ancient jurisdiction it was made the recipient of a handsome addition of 470 volumes from Isaiah Thomas, the eminent publisher of Worcester, Mass., who had been for many years an earnest friend. These books bear a special label.

The library when recovered by the College was found to have suffered much, not only from injury and defacement of the books but from the loss of several hundred volumes, so that in 1820, with the addition of Mr. Thomas's donation, the numbers were no greater than they were in 1815, but by 1822, through the purchase of books, \$400 having been appropriated for classical works, and many having come by gift (Judge Story

being among the donors), the library was as large as that of the two societies, but as many of the books were duplicates and many others were antiquated, it was of far less service.

In 1828 thanks were given to Daniel Raymond for two volumes of political economy. In 1830 President Lord, in acknowledging to the Earl of Dartmouth the receipt of the portrait of his grandfather, spoke of the library as very deficient in works on natural science and English literature. The Earl replied in 1831 saying that he had in his library a cyclopædia which his grandfather had intended to give to the College, now of course out of date, and offered to send in its place other books such as the President would suggest. He was told that anything in the department of natural science would be acceptable, but I find no evidence that anything came of it.

In 1831 \$1,000 were appropriated for the increase of the library, mostly in foreign books, purchased of Mr. Rich in London. In 1838 \$2,000 were expended in medical books, mostly foreign, for the library, of which sum \$1,000 was a private donation of Doctors Mussey and Oliver, and the remainder derived from matriculation fees since 1831.

In 1846 Professors Haddock and Young, a committee of the Faculty, at the desire of the Board reported upon the condition of the library that it was "deficient in every branch of learning." They estimated that no less than \$10,000 would be needed to "place us upon a standing, in reference to books, corresponding with our position in other respects when compared with similar institutions." It was in this year that Messrs. Joel, Edmund, and Isaac Parker gave \$1,000 to the library, to which Mr. Isaac Parker added \$500 in 1859. In 1850 the Faculty, through Professors Haddock and Brown, made to the Board a special representation of the unsatisfactory condition of the college library, and urged some systematic effort toward improvement. The books were unclassified and hard to find, and many valuable sets were mutilated and incomplete, and the whole in every department far short of the collections to be found at even our second and third rate institutions.

This deplorable state of affairs was somewhat relieved by the gifts of Dr. Shattuck and Professor Shurtleff in 1852, which, as we have earlier seen, were expended in Europe by Professor Young, who went there in the following year to purchase books and apparatus. His report shows that \$4,000 were committed to him for books, of which \$3,750 were spent for books and

binding (the balance going for freight and expense), distributed among several departments in the following shares: astronomy and natural philosophy \$940, Latin \$840, intellectual philosophy \$550, mathematics \$180, chemistry \$100, and English literature \$1,140.

Seventeen years elapsed before any further gift of importance came to the library, for though a residuary bequest, including a portion of his library, was made by Henry Bond of Philadelphia in 1859, it was forty years before it became available. In 1869 Senator Grimes, in making a gift of \$5,000 to the College, assigned \$1,000 of it for the library, and in the same year Miss Mary C. Bryant of Boston, in memory of her grandfather, Professor John Smith, so prominent in the early days of the College, gave \$6,000 in bonds, which, as they depreciated in value, she subsequently replaced by \$5,000 in cash, as a fund whose income should be used in "the purchase of books and an alcove devoted to them." A fund of \$5,000 was established in 1883 by the legacy of Hon. George G. Fogg of Concord, N. H., and one of \$6,000 in 1898 by the legacy of Mrs. Charlotte M. Haven of Portsmouth, N. H. In 1899 the reversion of the Bond legacy fell in, amounting to over \$12,000, and two years later Mrs. Susan A. Brown of Hanover left \$10,000, subject to an annuity, to establish a special library fund to be known as the "Roswell Shurtleff Memorial fund."

By the will of Mellen Chamberlain of Chelsea, Mass., of the class of 1844, who died June 25, 1900, the College was given his library and a fund for the library amounting to \$2,700. In 1905 Mrs. Addie E. Kenerson of Boston gave, in memory of her husband, A. H. Kenerson of the class of 1876, \$3,000 as a fund, of which the income was to be spent in the "purchase of unusual and rare books." The general library fund was increased by a bequest in 1910 of \$1,000 by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter of the class of 1840, but the next year witnessed the largest addition to the support of the library in the completion of the Parker fund. The terms of the will of Judge Joel Parker and of the settlement of his estate by agreement with his heirs have been heretofore given. The property, assigned for the benefit of the library by that settlement, became available in 1911 and with its accumulations raised the Parker fund to \$37,500, making the total funds for library use at that time about \$83,000.

The account of the removal of the library to Reed Hall in 1840 and from there to Wilson Hall in 1885 and of the union

of the libraries of the literary societies with that of the College under the management of the Trustees in 1874, and of the absorption of those libraries by the College in 1903 has been elsewhere given. Down to 1874 the librarian was always a member of the Faculty who added the oversight of the library to his other duties, and received a small stipend for it. In that year, on the union of the libraries, Mr. C. W. Scott, who was largely responsible for the change, became librarian and gave his whole time to the administration of the library. After four years the office was given to Louis Pollens, who was also professor of French. During eight years his ardent love of good literature, his knowledge of books and his efficiency of administration made themselves manifest in the development of the library and in the rapid increase of its usefulness. In 1886 he was taken from the library to become the head of the combined departments of French and German, and the Rev. Marvin D. Bisbee was appointed in his place and remained at the head of the library for twenty-four years.

THE LITERARY SOCIETIES AND THE FRATERNITIES.

No mention has come down to us of any students' society existing in the College during the life of the first Wheelock. The atmosphere of the time was hardly suited to the freedom from restraint which the existence of such a society would imply, especially if it affected secrecy. During the decade which followed three great societies grew up, which dominated the life of the College for more than two generations. The idea of a society of this kind first appears here, in practice, some four years after the death of the first President, and (what may or may not be significant) during the long absence of his successor in Europe, while the reins of government rested in the hands of the genial and kindly Professor Woodward.

The Society of *Social Friends* was the first to be formed in 1783. Owing to the entire loss of its records for the first ten years, it is impossible to ascertain the particulars of its origin. That it was formed with the tacit or active assent of the college officers then on the ground is unquestionable, and we hear nothing of disapprobation from the President on his return. One can but imagine that the idea of the society may have been derived from the *Linonian*, then thirty years old at Yale. A rival, denominated the *United Fraternity*, was organized some time in the summer of 1786, by nineteen undergraduates.¹ This was no doubt an offshoot from the other, induced by some jealousy of the nature of which, however, we have at this day no hint.

Its existing records, down to November, 1787, are mere copies from pre-existing memoranda; the constitution bears date August 29, 1786, and the earliest record informs us that the first public meeting of the Fraternity was held that day, "at which time, the Society being convened, an oration was exhibited by Elihu Palmer, and Peter Roots was initiated as a member of s^d Society." The next week there was also an oration, and Messrs. Nash, Palmer, Smith and Storrs were appointed a committee to procure a library, and we cannot doubt that this was

¹ Elihu Palmer of the class of 1787, ten of the class of 1788, viz., Oliver Ayer, B. C. Curtis, E. Dudley, J. Huse, A. Hyde, J. Montague, A. Parish, C. Smith, W. Storrs and J. Wilder, and eight of the class of 1789, viz., John Bush, M. Chittenden, J. K. Guarnsey, M. Morey, J. Nash, J. Smith, J. W. Thompson and J. West.

a feature already of the Social Friends. It appears to have been in both at first merely an incident to the primary objects of the association, which were literary composition, oratory and debate, but from the force of circumstances it soon grew to be in both the central point of existence, and at last the only element of life.

Membership in both was originally open, by election, to persons in any undergraduate class. Indeed, it was not by the constitutions restricted even to members of college. Students of medicine and of law and other persons were occasionally admitted,¹ but members of either of the societies were not eligible to the other. Absolute unanimity of election was not required, though three to seven might interpose a qualified negative.

The struggle for members in the lower classes became so violent that articles respecting the initiation of members were at length framed by a joint committee, accepted by the societies, and formally ratified at a joint assembly held in the chapel August 21, 1790. Additional regulations were agreed on in the course of the same college year for a joint administration of the libraries, whereby the books of both societies were brought together into a "Federal Library," open to all. It was agreed "that in order for the convenient keeping of the library a bookcase be procured at the joint expense of both societies."

The librarians were to attend weekly on Saturday from two to three o'clock; earlier the hours had been from five to seven. The regulations though few and crude were in general tenor similar to those of modern times. Except by seniors, who could take two books, only one book could in general be taken at a time, but it could be retained two weeks. Failure duly to return it involved a fine of sixpence a week, and damages done to books were charged for at the discretion of the librarian, while non-payment of fines debarred one from library privileges, and, if persisted in, subjected one to expulsion.

These two societies were purely local in character, and never sought relations with any similar bodies elsewhere. But in the summer of 1787 there was added a third, the *Phi Beta Kappa*, having the same objects and methods of literary and forensic improvement, but different from the others in being avowedly a branch or "chapter" of a foreign organization, and in having

¹ In 1825 the Socials refused to receive medical students. The Fraters at the same period "to avoid imposition," excluded all medical students except those who had graduated from the College. In 1853 both Societies after some hesitation, declined to admit students of the Scientific Department.

no library. The two elder societies were inclined at first to regard it with distrust, but seeing that its membership was limited in number and drawn exclusively from the two upper classes mainly on the basis of scholarship, they agreed, after some hesitation, in declaring its membership to be not incompatible with their own. An account of this society is given farther on.

The articles regulating selection of members by the Socials and Fraters proving "defective, and not answering their original design," which was "to preserve the strictest equality," they were reformed, August, 1793, in fifteen articles. It was provided that neither society should admit more than half of any class; that all the classes should be enumerated on the fourth Monday after the fall vacation by a standing joint committee; and that freshmen should not be admitted into either society until after the enumeration, with other details intended to preserve at all times an equality of numbers. The agreement was to remain in force until repealed by a majority of each society, and upon any violation of it a forfeit of £18 was demanded, to be appropriated to enlarge the federal library. In 1796 it was further agreed that no candidate should be solicited in behalf of either society except by joint committees from both who should convey the invitations together. In April, 1799, the articles were again revised, but in October of the same year, in consequence of violations of the agreement in electioneering, etc., they were by mutual consent totally abrogated and the federal library was divided. The result was an unusual rivalry, which before the end of the year made each library larger than the united library had been before.¹

Thenceforth the library of each was kept separately in the study room of some member. That of the Socials was kept in the southwest corner room of Dartmouth Hall, second story, then distinguished as No. 1, middle section. In 1805 the College allowed the societies to fit up two small rooms out of the unoccupied spaceways on the second floor of that building, to be exclusively devoted to their books. The Socials received the space over the southwest front entrance, adjoining the room where their books were then kept; and the Fraters, the corresponding space over the northwest entrance. These rooms had each a window, but were little more than large closets. Books were delivered through a half door opening waist-high into the entry, and students wishing to inspect the books on the shelves

¹ *The Dartmouth*, 1872, p. 402.

were admitted two or three at a time, according to special regulations governing the privilege. In 1810 the Socials voted to allow no more than two students at a time to enter their room. Shelving was the same year ordered for the south side of it and a curtain for the window. It was here that the libraries were kept at the time of the excitement of 1817. The year 1825 brought a great increase of interest in the libraries. The sophomore members of the Social Friends, among whom were Alpheus Crosby and Charles D. Cleveland, obtained from the Faculty the room adjoining their library on the north and furnished it as a reference room for classical study, which they called the "Philological room": "the object being to procure the best aids to a critical study of the Greek and Latin classics. For this the members taxed themselves to the utmost of their means. The books were procured in the fall of 1824, and placed in this room in the following spring. As soon as the room was opened it was largely resorted to, and a new impetus given to study."¹ It was at first in charge of a member of the class who occupied it. In 1826 it was regularly accepted as an enlargement of the Social Friends' library, and used as a reference and reading room.

The Fraters, not to be outdone, obtained at about the same time for a reading room, the room adjoining their library toward the south which they called their "Athenaeum." The vote to establish it was passed in April, 1825. In 1826 this and the library room were thrown together. With this new life and expansion came the need of greater stability, and acts of incorporation were obtained by the Socials in 1826, and by the Fraters in 1827. Each had then about 3,000 volumes. In 1828 rooms were allowed by the College to the librarians, and the library of the Socials increased so much that in 1831 they ordered their librarian's room to be taken into the library, which seems at that time to have extended quite across the south end of Dartmouth Hall on that floor. In October of that year this Society ordered insurance to be effected, and eight large baskets to be prepared for the removal of the books in case of fire. The libraries remained in these rooms until their removal to Reed Hall on its completion at Commencement in 1840. There they found quarters comparatively palatial, filling the west half of the second floor, where they had the same relative position as before, the Socials having the southern section and the Fraters the north-

¹ Crosby Memorial, etc., p. 21.

ern. The eastern half of the floor was devoted to the College library, the three together then numbering 15,000 volumes.

The reading rooms were of course removed with their respective libraries to Reed Hall, but, being found inconvenient there, the College in 1843 appropriated the "west junior recitation room" in Dartmouth Hall (understood to be the southwest corner, lower floor) to the joint use of the societies for that purpose, but they tired of the additional burden and in 1845 gave it up to an "Athenaeum Company," which itself soon died out. Notwithstanding abrogation of the federal relations in 1799, a mutual interchange of library privileges, so evidently advantageous to all parties, was generally enjoyed, more and more fully as the lapse of years softened old animosities and rivalries.

The earliest regulations of the Fraternity library provided that folios and Guthrie's history in quarto might be retained three weeks; quartos and Blair's lectures in folio, two weeks; octavos and pamphlets, one week; members could take at one time no more than one bound volume and a pamphlet, and no one was permitted to take a book for any person not a member of the Society, unless for a member of the Faculty. Violations of these rules were punished by deprivation of library privileges (in later years called a "veto") and by fines. Modern regulations have been little more than an expansion of this germ.

The Fraternity library in July, 1787, comprised thirty-four volumes of books and twenty-three of magazines:¹ Blair's lectures, 2 vols.; Sheridan's dictionary, 1 vol.; Sheridan's lectures, 1 vol.; Guthrie's history, 13 vols.; Gibbon's history, 6 vols.; Robertson's history, 3 vols.; Moore's Views in France, 2 vols.; Moore's Views in Italy, 2 vols.; Citizen of the World, 2 vols.; Persian Letters, 2 vols. Besides donations, the enlargement and preservation of the library were secured by an initiation fee of twelve shillings, which was gradually increased until it amounted in modern times to five dollars.

The societies were early subject to internal dissensions that repeatedly threatened their existence. The Socials, as it happened, were the chief sufferers. In an outbreak of this spirit in June, 1793, their constitution and early records were stolen and wholly destroyed. The constitution was at once reproduced as nearly as possible from recollection by juniors Riddle, Bailey and Spar-

¹ U. F. Records, July 10, 1787.

hawk. In 1795 committees were appointed to make up anew the record of the members, and of the early history of the society, and to draft an account of these disturbances, but of the result of their labors nothing now remains but a fragment of report of the latter committee.

It informs us that "the causes of the commotion were both internal and external"; that "a general spirit of revolution pervaded the members of college, the heads of most teemed with new projects. Here you might see two or three in deep consultation, there walked others no less zealous, and in their own apprehension plotting profoundly, within the Society reigned coldness and distrust. Exercises were ill performed, a multiplicity of excuses for neglect were invented," and discipline was attempted. It happened that several juniors, members of the Society, received invitations to join the Phi Beta Kappa, "the rage of a considerable part of College became if possible greater than ever, their enmity against the Phi Beta Kappa was transferred to societies in general. As soon as the initiation of these was performed, what was before shown as transient gleams and sudden flashes, was now like a torrent of fire from the top of Etna. The occupants of the room which contained the sacred deposit were absent; their room was entered; the constitution and records of the Society were taken. The deed was soon known. The discontented now shouted on all sides, they thought the ruin complete. . . . The officers of College interposed, but what could be done—equivocation and falsehood made a prominent feature in the character of those who were called on to give evidence."

Some members were arraigned before the Society and after examination at several meetings five were expelled. Six others were dismissed with their own consent. The United Fraternity also, in June, expelled five of its members for "using their endeavors to overthrow that Society by various scandalous and perfidious methods." Mr. Dewey, in a published column of reminiscences, gives an account of the manner in which they were foiled.¹ He says that there was at this time in College a clique of about a dozen exceptionally dissipated and reckless boys, sons of wealthy and prominent parents, that were constantly in some desperate plot and clung firmly together. They wished to break up all the societies in College. Their plan with the Fraters was to station themselves close to the secretary's desk at the time of meeting and at a signal to make a rush and seize the constitution and records and carry them off and destroy them. The secretary suspecting some violence slipped the book unperceived under his coat and making an excuse for a moment's absence hastened to deposit it with one of the professors, with whom it remained more than three months.

¹ W. W. Dewey in *Parent's Monitor*, March, 1850, a paper published in Hanover.

In 1799 there was renewed agitation directed against secret societies in general. As to freemasonry the Board of Trust declared itself in a decree that any student becoming a mason should thereby cease to be a member of College. Ten years after the first disturbance, in May, 1803, like scenes were enacted. The constitution of the Social Friends was once more stolen, and had again to be drafted from memory, "as nearly resembling the lost one as recollection could dictate," by Thomas A. Merrill and seniors Joseph A. Marshall and Thaddeus Osgood.¹ Two members were expelled, and the secretary (Paul Tenney), from whose room the records were taken, fell under suspicion, and narrowly escaped a similar fate. The new constitution besides the affirmation of secrecy was reinforced with the following obligation: "We the subscribers solemnly promise that we will never unite ourselves with any association whose interests are in any way incompatible with the interests of the Society of Social Friends, and that we will never enter into any combination for its abolition or its division, its union, or the union of its property, with any other Society." Several refused to subscribe to this and were, in consequence, suspended from membership, but in the course of a few weeks most of these returned to their allegiance.

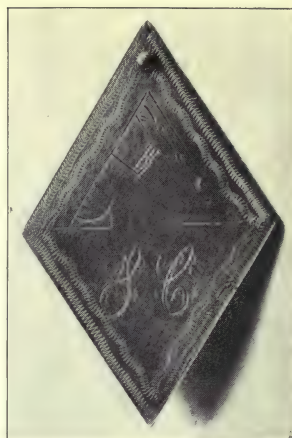
The United Fraternity was at this time involved in difficulties more deeply than before, though its records were again saved. Ezekiel Webster, a member of the junior class, gives this account of it to his brother, Daniel, May 28: ²

DEAR DANIEL,—In my last letter (May 21) I informed you that a little affair had taken place which so discomposed me that I had neither control of my thoughts nor the command of my pen. The affair was nothing less than the discovery of a plot which had for its object the destruction of the Fraternity, and not merely the Fraternity, but the conspirators aimed at the abolition of every Society in College. With the secrecy of jesuits they drew up a paper to that effect, and used all their influence to procure signers, and they were but too successful. A solitary few, *apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, remained unshaken: but one in the Freshman class, one in the Sophomore and three in mine, many of our best members however were absent. By a little exertion we procured more than a fourth, a number sufficient to prevent the alteration of any article in the constitution. The conspirators

¹ These were all members of the Phi Beta Kappa, of which Merrill was vice-president, and Marshall, secretary. The records of that society show that on May 23 a special meeting was called by the order of the president, "the present interest of the Alpha of N.H. rendering it necessary," and these three gentlemen with F. Hall, B. Kimball, R. D. Mussey, A. Peabody, G. C. Shattuck, S. Farley, S. Gile and A. Greeley, all Socials and some of them initiated but four days before, received at their own request an honorable dismissal, and on June 2 were by unanimous vote restored to their membership.

² Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster, Vol. I, p. 138.





SOCIAL FRIENDS.



UNITED FRATERNITY.



LITERARY ADELPHI.

driven to despair by this measure, and conscious of possessing a large majority, made an effort to expel those members who were opposed to them and then they could alter the constitution or destroy it at their pleasure. Seaver was designated as the first victim of their cursed policy, but the attempt failed and we are yet members. I am sorry to tell you that every fellow from Salisbury but myself enlisted under the banner of the conspirators. . . . This conspiracy I believe is unparalleled. . . . If it has a parallel it is the conspiracy of the Pazzi against Lorenzo the Magnificent. It is not like Catiline's, for Catiline himself was a saint compared with some of the fellows who plotted this scheme.

Owing to these double disasters it is impossible now to name the foundation members of the Social Friends, or to determine the original form of its constitution, which is said to have been written in cypher. From extrinsic sources we learn that the latter was very crude and imperfect, that there was no provision for clerk or treasurer, no stated time of meeting, and that the function of president was to be exercised by the members in rotation in alphabetical order. These defects were of course soon remedied. The draft of 1803, though characterized by greater brevity and simplicity than that of the Fraters, is still clear and complete. In addition to other usual officers both societies from a very early date elected from the graduate members near the College, generally from the Faculty, a *primarius* or "prime president," to whom reference was made in cases of difficulty. The societies both exacted a solemn pledge of secrecy. That of the Socials, in 1803, was as follows: "You solemnly affirm you will never divulge anything respecting the constitution, the transactions, or any other secrets of this Society, So help you God." The appeal to Deity was omitted in the constitution of 1810. The affirmation exacted by the Fraternity in its original form (1786) was to like effect but appealed simply to the sacred ties of honor and friendship, and added a promise not to withdraw from the society without its unanimous consent, or to unite with any other until legally dismissed. To this last condition the Phi Beta Kappa, as already noted, was soon after its formation made an exception.

The feature of secrecy died out by degrees. It had already fallen into neglect, when from some special provocation in 1826 the Socials ordered that any member divulging secrets should be expelled, and likewise if, knowing another to be guilty, he refused to expose him. In 1830 the penalty was reduced to a fine of \$5. In 1833 the Fraternity, upon a proposition to abolish the rule as useless, confined the obligation of secrecy to the sole

particulars of the meaning of the symbols on the medal, and after a preliminary vote October 25, 1836, the Socials abrogated, September 6, 1837, their rule altogether.

The following extracts from the Fraternity's first constitution show how carefully it inculcated friendship and morality:

Art. 2d. We agree mutually to proffer our friendship to each other, and engage as a firm, united and indissoluble fraternity to promote each other's prosperity and welfare.

Art. 3d. That nothing immoral or profane, nothing that is detrimental to friendship, benevolence or good order shall be countenanced by the Society.

Art. 4. If any member shall be found guilty of any indecent behavior, or of any thing that is uncharacteristical of a gentleman he shall upon conviction make immediate satisfaction to the Society or be expelled.

Art. 5. That each member shall at all times and places address and treat each brother with that affability, complaisance and respect as shall be productive of peace, harmony and unanimity throughout the whole Society.

Art. 6. That it shall be a duty incumbent on every member of the Society to promote and maintain the laws and order of this institution. . . .

Art. 7. That all classical distinctions (so far as respects the Society) shall entirely be eradicated from between the different classes when convened.

The Socials declared in a word, that "no person of immoral character shall be admitted," and in the draft of 1810 that "no spirituous liquors shall be purchased with the monies of the Society, or drunk in it."

For a distinguishing badge each member of the societies was provided with a medal hung by a ribbon. That of the Socials was of silver, one and seven eighths inches long and one and three sixteenths inches wide, while that of the Fraters was oval and not so large. The secret of the symbols is lost. These were in common use from the very earliest period for about fifty years, in later times they were disused. There were also secret signs and a grip, now forgotten, and a cypher for correspondence too cumbersome for use. The motto of the Socials was *Sol Sapientiae Nunquam Occidet*, that of the Fraters *Amicitia Sit Sempiterna*.

Diplomas were in early days given at graduation and upon honorable dismission. A plate was after a time engraved for the joint use of the societies, and parchment diplomas from it were in use certainly as late as 1840. Although the ordinary administration of the societies was in general in the hands of the undergraduates, graduated members have always been held to retain the privileges of membership, and the right to vote upon any matters relating to the general welfare of the society, as was expressly determined in the critical periods of 1817.

The revised form of diploma established by the Social Friends in 1796 was:

AMICORUM SOCIALIUM
SOCIETAS
*Omnibus has literas perlecturis
Amicitiam et Salutem*

Notum sit quod nobis placuit . . . A.B. pro moribus probis, virtute, eruditione, ingenioque suo Sociali, hoc *diploma* conferre; et eum omnium bonorum amicitiae et hospitii praesertim Fratrum nostrorum commendare.

Cuius Sigillum Societatis nomenque nostri primarii testimonio sint.

Datum ex Collegio Dartmuthensi anno Salutis humanae et Societatis institutae. . . .

The stated meetings of the societies were held weekly during term time, that of the Fraters from first to last on Tuesday, and that of the Socials on Wednesday, in the evening or afternoon. Thursdays belonged to the Phi Beta Kappa, Monday to the Theological, and Friday to the Handel Society. The place was at first, doubtless, in the old College Hall, but after its destruction in 1789 other quarters had to be found. We find the Fraternity in 1790 charging a committee with the duty of securing accommodations for this purpose. In succeeding years we find occasional mention by both of the place of meeting, generally at Graves's (afterwards Alden's) hall, a room in the second story of the building that stood where the Dartmouth Bookstore now is, but sometimes in the chapel. On June 24, 1800, the Fraternity was unable to hold its regular meeting, since the Masonic lodge was celebrating St. John's day and "both halls in the village were occupied." In 1812, "it being found that the expense of attending the meetings in the hall is exorbitant," the government of College offered to the rival societies the use of the lecture room, to be fitted up at their expense and occupied by them free of rent, as a "Society Hall." This was the eastern room south of the middle entry on the lower floor of Dartmouth Hall, just then vacated by the medical department on the completion of its new building. To this, as numbers increased, was perhaps added the room adjoining it on the south and extending through to the southern transverse passage. At all events when the northern one of the two was absorbed into the chapel in the improvements of 1828-1829 the societies were accommodated in the southern one until it was enlarged in 1836 at their solicitation so as to extend quite across the building. This was the "Society Hall" of modern days, until about 1870 it was given up and appropriated for the "north Latin" recitation room.

The ordinary weekly meetings were designed primarily for the performance of literary exercises. The Fraternity constitution prescribed the "exhibition" of an oration and a dispute, besides occasional dialogues and declamations. That of the Socials left the character of the exercises to be "such as the society should think proper." While the number and character of the exercises varied greatly in both societies from time to time, a debate and one or more orations seem to have been during all their existence uniformly required. The questions of course took a wide range; among those early discussed by the Fraternity may be noted (July 1, 1788), "whether the time spent in studying Greek (excepting the Testament) would not be spent more profitably in studying the French language?" Another, May 24, 1791, "whether the Society known by the name of Phi Beta Kappa is advantageous to this University?" The only restriction in subjects that has been observed is a vote of the Socials, October, 1827, excluding those of a theological character.

The scheme that had been devised for preserving an equality of members between the two rival societies was lamentably deficient. Indeed, after its abrogation in 1799, we do not know that any treaty existed for a considerable period, although matters came to such a pass that the college Faculty was obliged to interfere. The state of things was thus rehearsed by a member of one of the societies to his fellows:

"Should any one ask what are those evils so much to be deprecated, I would beg leave to direct him to the degrading scenes of a *fishing campaign*. Let him look on with an unprejudiced eye and he will witness practices that strike at the root of our social enjoyment, corrupt our morals and call into exercise the vilest passions. Slander and personal abuse are indulged, without bounds; the meanest arts of deception are practiced without shame." Another said: "Private characters are often involved, the most bitter animosities are created and an implacable hatred which attends them not only at College but through life."

This rivalry, which had existed in one way or another since the commencement of the societies, was now, as the Faculty justly declared, causing "extensive detriment to the College." They accordingly in October, 1814, "recommended and enjoined" a system of alphabetical assignment. To this the "rival societies objected as having a tendency to destroy that emulation which is necessary for their improvement in literature," and proposed other measures, directed to the same end, based upon a prohibition of electioneering, but the Faculty adhered

to their resolution, and in November, 1815, soon after the accession of President Brown, promulgated an amended set of rules:

"The students of College shall be assigned according to the odd or even places which their names shall hold on an alphabetical list of the members of each successive class, *i. e.* the first, third and fifth, etc. shall be assigned to one society; the second, fourth, sixth, etc. to the other. The assignment shall be made in the fall term on the first Monday of November. If any shall enter after this time, they shall take their places alphabetically at the foot of their class and shall be assigned in the manner above stated on the first Monday of the ensuing May. In case of future additions of members they shall be assigned in the same manner on the first Monday of November and May annually. . . . The individuals holding the odd or even places shall fall to the Societies alternately during each year. Of the members thus assigned each society may elect all or so many as it shall think proper, but neither society shall elect any of those assigned to the other; nor shall any member solicit admission into the Society to which he shall not be assigned." It was provided however, that "in case any individual should have a strong predilection for the Society to which he shall not be assigned . . . he might be received into that society after the lapse of one year, but neither society should ever have in any class a greater number than that assigned to it."

These last clauses were found still to leave room "for that detestable practice called *fishing* whereby the societies suffer much degradation," and in November, 1825, the plan was so far modified, on motion of the societies themselves and with the approval of the Faculty, as to abrogate elections and make the assignments absolute, and to include all the students without exception. No person refusing to join the society to which he was assigned could ever be admitted to the other, or have any privilege of either library, and no person dismissed or expelled from either society could thereafter enjoy any privilege of either library. The first assignment in 1825 was determined by lot and was to be enjoyed thereafter alternately.

This system, with occasional friction, was enforced as long as the societies had any active life, and even after the societies practically ceased to exist, assignments were still made, in order to carry out the agreement between the College and the societies.

Besides their ordinary weekly meetings both of the societies had from the first stated anniversaries, commenced as a birthday celebration and annually observed for many years by public exercises at Commencement. The first record we have is of an oration and an original tragic dialogue by the Fraternity, at the end of the first year of its existence, in the College Hall, on Tuesday, the day preceding Commencement, 1787. The next

year there was a dialogue by ten members of the Fraternity, an epilogue and an oration. In 1790 they exhibited an original drama, entitled "The French Revolution," which was printed and publicly exhibited also at Windsor, Vt. The dramatic feature was original with the Fraters, but the Socials, we know, took care not to be behind their rivals, though the record is wanting until 1792, when they were on hand with an oration and an "entertaining comedy," at five and seven o'clock on Monday evening preceding Commencement. The same hours on Tuesday were appropriated to similar exercises by the Fraternity. This order was preserved for several years, but, the theatrical performances being found to intensify the rivalry, it was agreed in 1796 to discontinue the practice for two years, and thereafter to give one another nine months' notice of any purpose to revive it. In 1800 it was suspended *sine die*.

In 1811, however, upon a general change of arrangements, the practice was revived, the Fraternity exhibiting a tragedy written by Nathaniel Wright, and the Socials another written by Amos Kendall. These affording another opportunity for rivalry, a dispute arose as to the right to occupy Tuesday evening, the Fraternity claiming it by prescription as having originated the fashion of dramatic exhibition and having from the first occupied that evening, but for the sake of peace the Fraters on this occasion yielded. "On both evenings the College edifice was illuminated which made a brilliant and enchanting appearance. The tragedies were performed before crowded houses with much applause." The societies were unable to agree for the future and, thereafter, the anniversary exercises of each were confined by the Faculty to an oration on Tuesday, in the order of their seniority. Down to 1832 these orations were delivered by members of the graduating class and, thereafter, by speakers from abroad till 1837, when the societies united in having a single orator. From 1874 till their dissolution the societies held their public exercises but once in three years, and with one orator for the two societies.

During the College troubles of 1816-1819, the societies were involved, as we have seen, in difficulty with the authorities of the University, but were able to preserve their organization and their libraries without serious loss. All their bickerings were for the time swallowed up in a harmonious resistance to the common enemy.

After the rise of the Greek letter societies interest in the literary

exercises of the United Societies, subject before that to violent fluctuations, fell into a permanent decline, though the weekly meetings were nominally held, and exercises ostensibly required down to the close of the year 1860. In their decay as debating clubs, the societies permitted at times a degree of license that was destructive of dignity and good order, though the records are generally silent on that point. Sometimes we find in comparatively early times note of a question like this: "Where does the fire go, when it goes out?" and in 1828 a minute like this: "The whole meeting was a scene of disorder and confusion."

Scenes of this kind were not infrequent in the later years of the societies' activity at initiations and especially at elections, which were hotly contested, with all the arts of the politician, between parties formed by combinations among the Greek letter societies, whereby the whole College was kept in an uproar for a considerable period, and lasting animosities engendered. Legal questions of great nicety often arose on these occasions. For example, at the spring election of the Fraternity in 1842, Tyler and Fessenden were the candidates for the presidency. The existing president, Akerman, declared Tyler elected by ruling out as illegal some of the votes that had been cast for one who was ineligible to office. A tremendous excitement arose and the question was finally determined by a solemn reference to Hon. Charles Marsh, and Judge Coolidge, and Judge Kellogg of the Vermont Supreme Court, who upheld the ruling of Akerman.

From 1861 the meetings occurred only on the last Tuesday and Wednesday of each month in term time and purely for business purposes connected with the library and the annual Commencement anniversary. In 1864, by request of President Smith and led by some of the "oudens," the societies joined in a public anniversary celebration in November, at which a number of literary exercises were performed. They continued the custom annually until 1870. In 1867 an effort was made by both societies to revive the ordinary literary exercises at monthly meetings, but after seven or eight occasions running through about two years the attempt died out in March, 1869.

The method of growth adopted for both libraries was mainly that of annual donations from the graduating class. Much generosity was often displayed, stimulated, of course, by the spirit of rivalry between the two societies. In 1869 Hon. James W. Grimes of Iowa, a member of the Social Friends in the class

of 1838, gave to the College \$1,000 in trust to apply the income for the increase of the library of that society.

Beginning with 1850 statements of the number of books claimed by each library were printed in the annual college catalogue. Prior to that the official catalogue took no notice of the libraries. They were first mentioned in that connection in a catalogue issued in 1849 by the students, who were displeased with the appearance of the official edition. The statements of number so made from year to year were misleading, as they took no account of losses which were sometimes heavy, as all the libraries at all periods suffered much from theft. Protection was sought by making an annual count and by holding each librarian chargeable under bonds for all books delivered to him, but as the librarians were each year elected by the members from among themselves out of the senior class, and received but small pay, the hardship of holding them accountable for thefts, often heavy, was evident. Sometimes the donations would hardly make good the losses, and sometimes one tenth of the catalogue would be missing.

Members were at different times in early years expelled for this stealing, and their names published in the newspapers. Up to 1830 the Fraternity had been the greatest sufferer, and a special effort was then made to bring it up to an equal standing with the Socials. In 1832 the Socials raised a committee to propose some plan for protection. In 1845 a student at the point of graduation was exposed as a wholesale robber of books here and in the college library, and was expelled from the societies and from college. In 1851 the Socials lost nearly 150 very valuable books, and committees were again raised by both societies to devise a way of prevention. The plan proposed was to put glass doors before the cases but the objections to these were so obvious that the Socials returned to the early method of massing their books in one end of their room, protected by a counter across the room over which deliveries were made.

The Fraters solved the problem by using doors covered with wire netting instead of glass. These worked so well that the Socials in 1854 refitted their cases in the same fashion at a cost of about \$400. This system gave excellent satisfaction and was extended to the College library on the union of the libraries in 1874. It continued in use until the libraries were removed from Reed Hall in 1885. General catalogues of the Socials' library were printed in 1810, 1817, 1824, 1831, 1841 and 1857,

and of the Frater's in 1812, 1820, 1824, 1835, 1840 and 1852, and there were several catalogues of members published.

Prior to 1824 it was forbidden to carry books out of town for use in vacation. In that year the rule was changed and a system established by which members could "draw" and carry away a number of books proportioned to the number of weeks of the vacation, which might extend in the winter, for seniors, to fourteen. To most this was an idle farce, and it brought great damage to the books, which, it was complained, "were thumbed by every old farmer and snuff-taking maiden till the contents (if any remained) were rendered as brown as the ingredients of her box."¹

When the Chandler Scientific Department went into operation the question arose as to admitting its students to the literary societies and to the privilege of the libraries, and was in September, 1853, determined adversely in both points, contrary to the recommendation of at least the majority of the committee of the Socials. There was in consequence a new society organized on a similar plan in the Scientific Department, October, 1853, under the style of the Philotechnic Society, which was incorporated the following June by the New Hampshire legislature, and by October, 1854, its library numbered 300 volumes. The southeast room on the first floor of the Chandler building was devoted to this library, and the society meetings were held in the adjoining recitation room. At the time of the union in 1874 the library numbered 1,200 volumes.

The union of the libraries of the societies with that of the College, mentioned on a previous page, was made possible by a change in the constitutions of the Socials and the Fraters adopted December 17, 1873 (that of the Philotechnic Society calling for no change), and voted by the societies July 24, 1874, on the condition that the Faculty (for which the Trustees were substituted in 1879) should appoint a librarian and three assistants and fix their salaries, that the students of the Academic and Scientific Departments should pay to the college treasurer \$6 a year for the use of the library, that the College should pay the anniversary expenses of the societies (including an orator at Commencement every third year) and \$150 annually for the increase of each of the libraries of the Socials and Fraters, and for the Philotechnic Society a proportionate amount according to the number of the students paying taxes, and that the College

¹ U. F. Records, May 15, 1832.

should maintain a reading room. The librarian was to assign each incoming class to the societies according to the existing alphabetical method, and was to request the president of the senior class to secure the appointment of a committee from each society to select the books for purchase with the annual appropriation.

The system was a great improvement upon the old diversity of interest, but in course of time developed essential weaknesses. For several years the different libraries were kept distinct in their separate rooms as before, but the necessity of better classification of books growing more and more apparent, a beginning was made about 1879 of distributing the books without regard to ownership, the societies by special vote having given their consent, provided that care should be taken by distinctive labels to preserve in each the evidence of its rightful ownership. When in 1885 the whole library was transferred to the new building, where no provision existed for any separation except by subjects, the new system was put into complete operation.

The transfer of the administration of the libraries to the Trustees and the lack of any meetings of the societies soon made their existence wholly artificial. Many of the students so far from signing the constitution, the one requirement for membership, did not even know to which society they had been assigned. The triennial securing of an orator for the anniversary devolved upon resident members of the Faculty, and the committees for the purchase of books, ignorant of the history of the societies or the character of their libraries, were often wholly indifferent in their selections. Duplicates and even triplicates were numerous; many books were valueless, which the Trustees, having only the care of the libraries, had no authority to sell or exchange. Large numbers of worn-out books called for rebinding, though the cost of the work would exceed the value of the books, and it was also difficult to preserve the proof of distinct ownership.

Under these conditions, which were steadily growing worse and hampering the successful administration of the library, the Trustees on May 24, 1901, asked Professor James F. Colby to investigate the power of the societies "to modify their agreements with the College concerning their respective libraries," with a view to vesting the ownership absolutely in the Trustees. The report of Professor Colby, made in the following November, showed that a change of ownership could be made only by the "express approbation, in person or by proxy, of a

majority of the existing members of a Society at the time of passing the vote." There was no existing record of those who might have joined the societies, after assignment, since 1874, and much of the record for the previous time was missing. It was, therefore, determined to secure a special act of the Legislature authorizing the sale or gift to the Trustees of the libraries of the societies. This was approved March 25, 1903, and in accordance with its terms special meetings of the Socials and Fraters were called for Tuesday, June 23, of Commencement week.

A circular letter had been addressed by President Tucker to the members of the societies, explaining the reasons why a single ownership of all the libraries was desirable, and asking the proxies of those members who could not be present. The proxies of the Fraters ran to Charles F. Richardson and those of the Socials to John K. Lord, who, however, on account of illness, appointed George H. Evans in his place. All of the societies voted unanimously to transfer by formal sale their property to the Trustees of the College, and appointed as agents for the transfer, Edward K. Woodworth for the Socials and Fraters and Frank A. Sherman and John V. Hazen for the Philotechnic Society.

The conveyances were formally made June 27, 1904, and on the next day occurred the adjourned and final meetings of the Social Friends and the United Fraternity. That of the former was called to order in Room D, Reed Hall, in the absence of David Cross of the class of 1841, the last president of the society, by John K. Lord as president *pro tem*, and James F. Colby was chosen secretary *pro tem*. After the announcement that Mr. Woodworth had conveyed to the College all the property of the Society, except its record and account books and its seal, which were to be deposited in the library of the College for perpetual safe keeping, and that the Trustees had accepted the trust, the society adjourned, to assemble five minutes later on the steps of Dartmouth Hall, which, though the building was burned, were still in their original position, and on the steps of that building, begun one year after the organization of the society and burned the very year of its dissolution, within whose walls the society was long housed, the vote was passed and declared by which the oldest of the literary societies of the College, after an existence of a hundred and twenty-one years, was brought to an end. The record of the last meeting of the United

Fraternity, of which Charles F. Richardson was the last secretary, has disappeared, as also that of the final meeting of the Philotechnic Society.

The library of the Northern Academy was also transferred to the College by a similar process. The vote to close its corporate existence and give its possessions to the Colleges was taken at a meeting held in Wilson Hall October 31, 1903. Mr. Woodworth was also its agent for the transfer, which was formally completed September 12, 1904, and the dissolution of the society was duly brought about at a meeting held in the same place, December 1, 1904, Professor Richardson being the secretary to make the final record.

The cumbersome size of the great societies and certain defects in their original plan and management led to the formation after a while of other smaller and less unwieldy bodies for more effective training in public debate. Among them was a society styled the "Independent Confederacy," which was established in 1792 and continued in active operation some fifteen years, but none of its official records survive, the fragmentary accounts which we have of it being drawn from collateral sources. On July 4, 1796, this society "celebrated the birth of Independence [their own anniversary] by an elegant supper"¹ at "Graves's Hall," at which sixteen toasts were given. It is perhaps not unfair to infer that it was in part a convivial association.² At Commencement in 1799, besides the usual anniversaries of the three other literary societies, there was also an oration before the Independent Confederacy. Whether they had enjoyed that dignity before cannot as yet be determined.

In the autumn of that year an effort was made to unite with the United Fraternity. An agreement was concluded between committees of the two societies (the Confederacy being represented by Cyrus Perkins, A. Hilliard and Simeon Lyman), that the societies should "coalesce and unite, and become a society one and indivisible," that the constitutions should be revised, the libraries of both societies united and made to constitute one library indivisible, that each society should initiate the members of the other, that they should assume the general title of "Dartmouth Adelphi," and that notice of the arrangement should be published in the *Dartmouth Gazette*. The

¹ *Dartmouth Eagle*, July 11, 1796.

² Samuel Swift in his reminiscences seems to refer to this society, and says that it was originally composed of those who did not secure membership in the other societies, and that it was currently known as the "Potmetal" society. *The Dartmouth*, 1872, p. 401.

Gazette of November 4, 1799, contains a notice substantially as follows:

Advice is hereby given to those who have left this University members of the *Independent Confederacy* that said Society has assumed the name of the DARTMOUTH LITERARY ADELPHI, and is in the future to consist of members of the Junior Sophister and Senior Classes.

Regular meetings will be held on the first Friday of every month when such exercises will be attended to as shall be thought best calculated for useful improvement. A public oration will be pronounced annually on the Tuesday preceding Commencement.

The library will be attended to weekly as usual.

Per order

CYRUS PERKINS.

HANOVER, DART. COLLEGE, Oct. 26, 1799.

The Social Friends seem to have been disturbed by this move of their rival, the Fraternity. Their records show that on October 30, 1799, after some debate, they elected to their own membership seniors Perkins and Hilliard and juniors Dutton, Fuller, Loveland and Lyman, "of the Dartmouth Literary Adelphi formerly the Independent Confederacy," but Perkins and Fuller joined the Fraternity in April, 1800. That the "Literary Adelphi," however, retained an independent existence several years longer is shown by the fact that it enjoyed the distinction in common with the other societies of having its special orator at Commencement, but it has left no other memorials, except as we find it incidentally mentioned in the records of the other societies and in the village newspaper.

A third society, styled the "Philoï Euphradias," first comes to our knowledge as the recipient of an oration by Levi Woodbury on Monday before Commencement, 1809. Again in 1811 it was addressed by Jonathan Curtis under the name of the "Oratorical Society." Amos Kendall tells us that it was composed of members selected early in junior year at large from both the great societies, on account of supposed superior scholarship, and comprised the flower of both.¹ It became thus an object of envy to the rest, and in June, 1811, a conspiracy was formed to break it down, by forbidding members of the Social Friends and United Fraternity to join it. The matter was first broached in a meeting of the Socials, which was numerically much the larger, and a prohibitory vote was carried according to the programme. Daniel Poor, president of the Socials was a *Philoï*, and immediately demanded a dismissal from the

¹ Autobiography of Amos Kendall, p. 62.

Socials, which, not being voted, he declared that he would then dismiss himself, and left the chair and the hall; Shepley and Kendall and others followed with the same demand. This unexpected turn of events broke up the scheme and the Society forthwith rescinded its vote and Poor on invitation returned to the chair. In November a prohibitory by-law was again enacted and in March, 1812, after vain efforts to expel the troublesome members, they were punished by a loss of library privileges, whereupon eight or ten asked and received a dismissal, but the next month, the parent society coming to its senses, all were restored, and we find no further trace of the new organization.

From 1821 to 1828 there existed once more a society called *The Literary Adelphi*, or *Adelphian*, or *Alpha Delta Society*, for the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking, the only memorial of which appears in the fact that Commencement orations were addressed to it from 1823 to 1828 inclusive, and in its medal which was a pendant of silver, a little more than an inch square.

There was also a little later the *Phi Sigma*, having the same object as the preceding, an "assembly of debaters," which originated with the class of 1827 as a class society. This also enjoyed the dignity of a public oration at Commencement in 1828 and 1829, having in 1827 united with similar associations in the other classes forming a general college society with four branches.¹ There was also at this period, sustained for several years by the sophomore class, a burlesque moot court, which afforded great amusement and also much improvement in debate and the knowledge of the forms of law. The procedure was generally criminal, for offences against the common law, as of manslaughter appearing in a case of gallantry toward a young lady. There is an allusion in the records of the Phi Beta Kappa Society in September, 1838, to a freshman society, but it cannot be identified.

The *Antinomian Society* was organized for literary objects in 1841, and met weekly Thursday evenings. Its exercises were an oral dissertation of eight minutes, an extempore debate by four disputants, to each of whom was allowed fifteen minutes, and to volunteers ten minutes, followed by an oration of eight minutes. The first meeting recorded was "according to adjournment" September 2, 1841, and the last November 10, 1842. The presidency was held by members of the Faculty, Professor

¹ A Crosby, Memorial of class of 1827, p. 17.

Young first, succeeded by Professor Crosby. The members were of the senior class exclusively. This society was given a place at Commencement, 1842, and was addressed by Rev. J. B. Cheever.

The Antinomian Society was merged in the *Gamma Sigma* (Γνωθι σεαυτόν) whose first recorded meeting was held (agreeably to adjournment) March 9, 1843. Its constitution and its exercises were similar to those of its predecessor. Professor Crosby and President Lord were successively its presiding officers. Its members were from the senior class, and juniors were admitted in June and July. It was apparently open to any who pleased to come in. Twenty-nine were admitted in 1843, forty-three in 1844, and but nine in 1845. Its last recorded meeting was held November 6, 1845. It took a place at Commencement with an oration from Rev. O. A. Bronson in 1843, and one from Rev. John K. Lord in 1844, both of which were published. An orator was engaged for 1845, but failed to appear.

These were all local societies, but following them came the modern Greek letter societies that now occupy the field under the chapter system, after the same fashion as the Phi Beta Kappa, and still adhering to the plan of secrecy. Except in one or two instances at the beginning, they were alike in receiving new members only from the three upper classes, until 1884, when they all admitted freshmen.

The first society was the Psi Upsilon, the Zeta chapter, which was established in 1841. In the next year the Kappa Kappa Kappa Society was founded, largely by the efforts of Professor Haddock, and has continued to be strictly local. The third in order was the Alpha Delta Phi Society, which was established in 1847 by the members of the defunct Gamma Sigma Society. Seven years later, in 1853, was established the Pi chapter of the Delta Kappa Epsilon Society, which for the first year admitted freshmen. In the same year the Zeta Psi Society obtained a foothold in the formation of the Psi chapter, but it had a checkered existence. At first it was prosperous, but declined later and practically ceased to exist in 1863. It was revived in 1871, but only again, after a brief struggle, to come to an end with the graduation of the class of 1873.

The Kappa Sigma Epsilon, Eta chapter, was a freshman society established in 1857. Three years later the Zeta chapter of the Delta Kappa, also a freshman society, sprang up as a rival, and these two in varying proportions divided the freshman

class between them. They served as a testing ground for the "upper societies," as the others were called, and also afforded an opportunity to upper classmen to turn the initiations into occasions for organized hazing. Both societies fell into disrepute, which was partly the occasion of the admission of the freshmen into the upper societies in 1884, as above stated, when the freshmen societies went out of existence.

The students of the Chandler School were not admitted to the college societies, but under the stimulus of association and example soon formed societies of their own. In 1857 they founded the Phi Zeta Mu, which continued as a local society till it was absorbed in 1893 as the Eta Eta chapter of the Sigma Chi Society. This society was followed in 1858 by the Sigma Delta Pi, which under a charter of the legislature changed its name in 1871 to "Vitruvian." It was ambitious to become a chartered organization and established two chapters, one at Cornell and one at Wooster University, Ohio, but both are extinct. In 1889 it was itself absorbed by becoming the Alpha Omega chapter of the Beta Theta Pi Society. In 1884 a chapter of the Phi Delta Theta was established entirely by outside influence and not, as is usual, by the absorption of a local organization.

The growth of the College in numbers under President Tucker was the occasion of the coming in of many new fraternities. In 1896 the New Hampshire Alpha of the Phi Kappa Psi took its place among the fraternities by absorbing a local association, formed within a year, and known as the Beta Psi. Two years later another local fraternity was formed under the name of Alpha Alpha Omega, but in 1902 this became the Chi chapter of the Chi Phi Society. In 1901 two more fraternities were added to the list by the establishment of the Gamma Gamma chapter of the Delta Tau Delta, and the Delta Upsilon chapter of the Phi Gamma Delta, both of them being organized directly as chapters of the general societies. Again in 1905 two fraternities were established, the Tau chapter of the Phi Sigma Kappa, and the Gamma Epsilon chapter of the Kappa Sigma, the latter arising out of a local organization, the Beta Gamma, which was formed for the express purpose of becoming a chapter of Kappa Sigma. Two years later a local society called the Pukwana, organized in 1901, was absorbed as the Delta Beta chapter of the Sigma Nu, and in 1908 the Sigma Alpha Epsilon took in as its New Hampshire Alpha a local society, the Chi Tau Kappa

which had been formed in 1903-1904. Another local society, the Gamma Delta Epsilon, was founded in 1908 but disbanded in 1912. The latest of the existing undergraduate fraternities to be formed is the New Hampshire Alpha of the Sigma Phi Epsilon, which in 1909 absorbed the Omicron Pi Sigma, that had been organized the year before.

Not to be behind the undergraduates, the students of the Medical College organized in 1888 a fraternity called the Alpha Kappa Kappa, which has become the parent of thirty-six chapters in other institutions. A rival, called the Ace of Spades, arose in 1893, but it lasted only seven years.

In the earlier years these organizations were always spoken of as the "societies," but of late they have been called "fraternities," and the term "societies" has been applied to the class organizations. These made their first appearance in 1886, when a society was formed, called the "Sphinx," which was followed in the next year by the "Casque and Gauntlet," both being composed of seniors. A third senior society, the "Tiger," had a brief existence from 1892 to 1894, and was followed four years later, in 1898, by the "Dragon." A junior society, known as the "Turtle," was formed in 1901, but died in 1912. A chapter of a sophomore society, the Theta Nu Epsilon, was established in 1893, but after ten years of uncertain value came to an end in 1903.

In 1900 a society called the Palaeopitus, secret in everything except name, was formed by members of the senior class. Secrecy, however, was contrary to the purpose for which it was formed and in 1902 it became an open society with a published constitution and a membership largely *ex officio*. Its announced object was "to bring into close touch and working harmony the various branches of college activity, to preserve the customs and traditions of Dartmouth, to promote her welfare and protect her good name and to bestow merited recognition upon such of her sons as have shown exceptional effort in her behalf." By its reorganization it was to consist of fifteen members, of whom the captains and managers of the football, baseball and track teams, the president of the debating union, the president of the Dartmouth Christian Association and the editor-in-chief of *The Dartmouth* were to be *ex officio*, and six others were to be elected by the junior class from their own number. Four years later the number was increased to seventeen by the addition as *ex officio* members, of the captain and the manager of the

basket ball team. The president of the College is an honorary member.

In 1909 a second reorganization reduced the number of members to eleven, of which six are first chosen from the junior class at large by the class, and five from the same class are afterward chosen by the outgoing Palaeopitus. The initiation of the new members takes place at the old pine, on the evening of the "sing-out," after the "wet-down." The function of the Palaeopitus, naturally somewhat vague and ill-defined, is practically to stir and invigorate the sense of undergraduate responsibility in the promotion and preservation of whatever tends to the welfare of the College in sentiment and conduct. In this endeavor it has had good success and has a growing influence.

In addition to these societies and fraternities many organizations, some with Greek letter and some with fanciful names, have arisen and had a brief existence. They have expressed different purposes, social, literary, forensic, athletic, and convivial, but none have been the expression of any important sentiment or special need. They have come and gone, adding to the temporary pleasure or value of college life, but have had no lasting significance.

THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY.¹

The chapter of this society at Dartmouth, called the Alpha of New Hampshire, was established in 1787, being four years younger than the Social Friends and one year younger than the United Fraternity. The fierce rivalry that existed between those two societies, which had an unlimited membership, may have led to the desire on the part of some, particularly in the upper classes, for a more select organization and a consequent turning to the *Phi Beta Kappa* Society, which had already been organized at Harvard and Yale.

In December of 1779 one Elisha Parmelee, a graduate of Harvard in 1778, who had also been a student at Yale, and was then pursuing post-graduate studies at William and Mary,—a person, we may infer, of a restless, ardent temperament, who afterward became a preacher, and died in 1784,—becoming a member of the society, and conceiving a still more ambitious scheme, was, upon his own solicitation, empowered to set up branches of the same at Harvard and at Yale. After a little delay, occasioned by the necessity of introducing some modifications suited to the latitude (the charter as first granted having reserved to the parent society a jurisdiction unpalatable to the New England students), the society was formally instituted at Yale in November, 1780, and at Harvard in September, 1781, designated as the Alpha of Connecticut and the Alpha of Massachusetts, instead of being (as first intended) the Epsilon and Zeta of the Virginia series.

The parent society in the meantime, in January, 1781, succumbed, with its Virginia branches and the College itself, to the confusions of war. Its records were hidden away and lost, and the memory of it rested nearly a century in tradition. For want of authentic knowledge, many fanciful accounts of its origin were invented later to gratify the pride and the curiosity of its children. We find set down at length in the records of this chapter an exceedingly interesting account (if it only were true) communicated by Professor Chamberlain, the President, in 1827. Indifferent to anachronisms the account declared that the Virginia society was the descendant of a literary con-

¹ This account of the society is largely taken from Mr. Chase's historical address at its centennial in 1887, and, with some enlargement, has appeared in the *Phi Beta Kappa Key* for March, 1913.

vivial club at Oxford in the time of James II, which he did it the honor for political reasons to suppress; that afterward several of its members came to Virginia and established the society at William and Mary, that about 1741 the Alpha of Massachusetts was established at Harvard, and that soon after an application was made for a chapter at Yale, which the Massachusetts Alpha refused, but Bishop Berkeley, an eminent patron of Yale, having been one of the members of the original society, communicated such of the secrets as were in his possession, and the Alpha of Connecticut was formed.

The lost Virginia records were in 1814 a special source of interest to the Dartmouth chapter. A brother, Thomas C. Searles, then a divinity student at Princeton, reported that he thought himself in the way, through Dr. Alexander, of getting possession of them (to be deposited here) from their supposed custodian, William Cabbel, in Amherst County, Virginia. It is needless to say they were not obtained. But the later discovery of them in the files of the Virginia Historical Society, where they had lain forgotten some forty years, dissipated the romantic dreams concerning the origin of the fraternity and disclosed the prosaic fact.

After the society was domiciled at Yale and Harvard, six years elapsed without further expansion. But in the summer of 1787, when the United Fraternity scarcely reckoned its age at a year, the two existing Alphas of the Phi Beta Kappa united in erecting a third at Dartmouth. Of the influences that brought it here we are not informed, except that Charles Marsh of the class of 1786 was the medium through whom the negotiations were conducted, and that he went to Cambridge for that purpose. We know only that a rigid policy of exclusiveness, which prevailed in the society for many years, both before and after, was in this single instance relaxed, and on application by Aaron Kinsman, of the class about to graduate, in the early part of 1787, a charter, dated the first day of June, was granted to the same Kinsman by the Alpha of Massachusetts, confirmed on the 14th of August by the Alpha of Connecticut, authorizing him, with two other "persons of honor, probity, and good demeanor," to institute the society at Dartmouth. Kinsman forthwith "proceeded to admit to the secrets of the Society, as the law directs," four of his classmates, Simon Backus, Ebenezer Brown, Jonas Hartwell and Pierson Thurston, and on Monday, August 20, 1787, the five met and declared that this "was to

be considered as the foundation meeting of the Alpha of New Hampshire at the University at Hanover, and by this 20th day of August, the day on which our foundation meeting was held, the anniversary of this Society is ever to be regulated."

A few days later, four members of the Junior class were admitted and the first permanent board of officers chosen, consisting of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and a judge of composition. Annually thereafter, between the first day of May and Commencement, the society was replenished from the Juniors to a number not exceeding one third of the class, who should constitute the active society for the ensuing year. The presidents, except for the year 1789, the vice-presidents after 1793, and the secretaries after 1799 were graduate members.

The chapter, here as elsewhere, was governed by a code of laws transmitted at first from the parent, and alterable in essential points only by consent of all the chapters. An intimate correspondence between the chapters was strictly enjoined, and a secret cypher, made in the manner then current by a transposition of the ordinary alphabet, was prescribed for that purpose, but it was not long, if ever, in actual use. Correspondence was also neglected, and by degrees each chapter assumed a good degree of independence in amending its own constitution and laws. As early as 1806 there was a discussion of radical changes in the constitution of the Harvard chapter to which Yale and Dartmouth were not ready to consent. In 1825 the Dartmouth chapter appears for the first time to have taken the responsibility of avowedly making important changes in its own codes. Like all the other societies, this also enforced secrecy under the most solemn sanctions, with an appeal to the Deity in an "oath of initiation." The form was afterward softened to a mere "solemn and sincere declaration," and again to an assurance based on "the honor of a gentleman," and in 1826 (ten years in advance of the local societies, and five years before the Harvard chapter gave up its secrets under compulsion) the Dartmouth chapter, which, as already said, had by that time assumed to legislate for itself, removed the injunction of secrecy save as to the symbols on the medal,—which, though sufficiently idle, remained for twenty-five years more a nominal mystery, till on the motion of Professor E. D. Sanborn, "as the Society had no longer any secrets," the pledge of secrecy was omitted; notwithstanding which the mystery remains, since

the sure interpretation of some of the symbols has been in the meantime long since forgotten.

The medal with which each member was expected to provide himself was of gold, rectangular in form and hung with a ribbon of red. The earliest known medal of the chapter was, however, of silver and belonged to Joseph Goffe of the class of 1791. It was seven eighths of an inch square, rather heavy, having three stars on the face in the upper corner, with Φ . B. K. across the middle and the hand in the lower right-hand corner pointing diagonally to the stars. On the reverse were the letters S. P. at the top and December 5, 1776, below. In 1798 a seal was devised by brother Jeremiah Noyes and was purchased for seven dollars.

The stated meetings of the chapter were held every alternate Thursday afternoon in the term, at an hour varying from four o'clock to six; and the usual exercises comprised a dispute by four persons, two speaking from manuscript and two *ex tempore*, on the same question, and in winter a declamation. The place of meeting was at first the private room of some member, afterward a public hall, and then the common Society Hall provided by the government in the college building. These exercises were performed with a good degree of regularity, sometimes bi-weekly and sometimes weekly, during many years, though often, especially in the summer term, much interrupted by the initiation of members, and sometimes, unhappily, by wrangling over elections.

The subjects of discussion are not often recorded, but it seems that they were of a worthy character and that the meetings never issued in the farce and disorder which characterized the later meetings of the other local societies. The nearest approach that we are able to find to levity in its proceedings was the solemn discussion of a constitutional question as to the heating and lighting of the hall, when it was decided, after long debate, that the treasurer might, without endangering the constitution, furnish the requisite fire and candles.

New members were admitted only by the unanimous voice of all present, though a single dissenter was bound to assign his reasons, and might be overruled. Later the rule was relaxed still more. In 1847 it was voted that a two-thirds vote should be sufficient to override objections, and in 1851 the proportion necessary to defeat an election (unless overruled by a two-thirds

vote) was fixed at two voted in fifteen, three in twenty-five, and four in thirty-five.

The earliest initiation fee was six shillings, equal to one dollar, increased in 1826 to four dollars, later to five, reduced to three in 1876 and again raised to five in 1909. Graduates and other persons not members of College, were received to honorary membership with increasing freedom, which being sometimes abused to evade the stringency of ordinary rules, it was ordered in 1812 that no graduate should be received without the express recommendation of one or more of his classmates, except in cases purely honorary, or in consequence of some peculiar merit; and from 1825 to 1849 all such nominations were made to lie over a year. In 1899 an article was adopted forbidding the election of a graduate of any other college, at which a chapter has been established, and providing for a "committee on nominations," to which must be referred all nominations to honorary membership, and these must be made in writing, and without the recommendation of the committee no election is to be made. Nominations must be received not later than the first of June next preceding the annual meeting.

Schemes of more enlarged usefulness were at different times agitated. In 1797 it was proposed by the other chapters to establish a fund for the encouragement of genius and the relief of indigent members. In 1798 the formation of a library of natural history and chemistry was seriously undertaken, but was four years later abandoned. In 1804 this chapter assented to a plan proposed by Harvard for a joint publication of a periodical to be entitled the *Literary Miscellany*, and the next year a committee was here from Cambridge to complete the arrangements. At the same time, three graduate members (D. Webster, J. Noyes and T. A. Merrill) were named a committee to arrange for an independent periodical to be issued by the Dartmouth chapter. It does not appear that either scheme was made effectual, unless the *Literary Tablet*, edited at Hanover anonymously at that period every alternate week for several years, indicates something of the kind.

The two older societies, the Socials and the Fraters, themselves rivals, were for a short time at the first uncertain how to regard the Phi Beta Kappa. One of the questions formally debated by the United Fraternity in 1791 was "whether the society known by the name of the Phi Beta Kappa is advantageous to

this University." Unfortunately, the records do not inform us of the decision in the case.

But as the Phi Beta Kappa made no pretensions to rivalry in regard to a library, and drew its few members on the basis of personal merit indiscriminately from both the other societies near the end of the course, and by its aristocratic position and connections abroad held out hopes of both honor and advantage, it was with little delay received by the others into fellowship; and yet the same reasons that made it tolerable by the older societies gave occasion for individual jealousies and rancor, that repeatedly came near destroying the entire system. Before the expiration of its second year, in July, 1789, three members of the Phi Beta Kappa itself conspired together, and, as the record runs, "in a clandestine and scandalous manner" broke into the chest, abstracted a portion of the records, and disclosed their contents here and at Cambridge. The culprits, being detected, made written confession, renewed their oaths, and were forgiven.

The Phi Beta Kappa never suffered from the severe jealousies and factions that disturbed the other societies, and that have been elsewhere described, but it did not wholly escape them and, about 1800, its numbers were much reduced by a combination against it, which almost prevented an election from the class of 1801. In three instances only, as far as its records show, has it had occasion to discipline its members. Expulsion was visited upon one who was exposed as a common thief, upon another for gross and habitual intemperance, and upon a third in 1812, who "by several infamous and overt acts had forfeited all pretensions to moral character." He had been a secret agent of the British government, but, thinking himself neglected, had afterward sold his correspondence to President Madison. For which of these treacheries he was expelled the record does not disclose.

With the Phi Beta Kappa, as with other societies, the chief event was the celebration of the anniversary, at which time, by the organic law, officers were to be chosen and an oration delivered by some one selected in the preceding autumn, and "the exercises of the day concluded with some refreshment if the Society think proper." The first of these "anniversary elections" was thus celebrated with all the honors, though a little late, on September 5, 1788, two weeks before the college Commencement. The oration on this occasion was delivered to the society in private by Daniel Chipman of the graduating class. There-

after the anniversary oration was always in public and by some graduate or distinguished stranger. In 1790, 1793, and 1796 there were no public exercises. In 1791 these exercises took place on Commencement day, the record being that on August 24th the society convened and proceeded in regular order to the chapel, where, in the presence of a numerous and respectable audience, an elegant oration was delivered by President Josiah Dunham, after which it repaired to Holden's chamber and partook of a splendid entertainment while every heart was "filled with friendship." This anniversary has ever since been held on the day preceding Commencement, excepting in 1819, 1820, and 1822 to 1838, when it was held on Thursday, the day after Commencement. From 1872 it was held only every third year, in rotation with other organizations, till 1902.

The anniversary dinner was an occasion of high festivity. It was held in the hall of one of the village taverns or in that of the Commons Hall, and was frequently enlivened by singing of original odes. In 1810 there was a dinner but no literary exercises. The effect was disastrous for from 1811, confirmed by a standing vote in 1812, the dinner was omitted, although in 1819, in honor of the happy result of the college suits and of brother Daniel Webster who was present in high spirits, it was revived with great *éclat*. There were occasional dinners in later years. The fashion of publication of the anniversary oration began in 1800 with a sermon by the Rev. Asa Burton. Quite generally, after that, copies of addresses were solicited for that purpose, but were not infrequently refused. Catalogues of the members were published in 1806 and irregularly thereafter, but often at intervals of three years. From early times there was music at the anniversary, for which in 1805 a tax of fifty cents, and in 1814 a tax of one dollar, was levied. A procession is spoken of in 1812, though a marshal first appears in 1816, and in 1824 it was voted henceforward to have the procession preceded by music.

Like its fellow societies, the Phi Beta Kappa had clung loyally to the College in its time of danger, and scorned the University that would supplant it. The students of the University were held ineligible to membership; and four years after the contest was ended, a distinguished citizen of New Hampshire who had been prominent in support of the pretensions of the University, on being proposed for honorary membership in the society was without ceremony and without a division rejected.

But as the College recovered itself, the Phi Beta Kappa of the old régime began its decline. Till then the stated literary exercises had been attended with general regularity and often with enthusiasm, notwithstanding, of course, repeated fluctuations of interest, but with the recovery of the College after the decision of 1819 and the development of the department of rhetoric under Professor Haddock, interest turned away from the Phi Beta Kappa. There was a spasmodic revival in 1824 and an attempt in the next year to remodel the society by a revision of its constitution. Again in 1833 there was an effort to restore the activity of the society under the influence of Professor Hale and then of Professor Haddock, but it was after all a sort of galvanized existence that could not last. The old enthusiasm was gone, and when the modern Greek-letter societies took the field, beginning in 1841, the Phi Beta Kappa definitely surrendered it, by a resolution of 1845 confirmed by a two-thirds vote in 1846, and by a radical amendment of the constitution in 1852, which tacitly excluded thenceforth from membership all undergraduates, by postponing elections until the last day of the senior year, the close of college life. The last of the stated literary exercises were performed November 10, 1845.

But while the effect of the Greek-letter societies was slowly but surely to crush out the life of all the older societies of the College, the Phi Beta Kappa, thanks to an accident which evolved a new life in a different sphere out of the old, still remains, though much changed. The vote of 1845 marked the final stage in a transformation, that had been some time in progress, from an undergraduate society adapted to perform a special part in college education, to an honorary post-graduate brotherhood of scholars, having no college function except to award a measure of distinction in place of the usual college honors, which were at that period disused and forbidden at Dartmouth. By the original constitution of the Phi Beta Kappa the senior class had the principal agency in the election of members, and scholarship alone did not necessarily or actually govern the selection; but under the new dispensation the actual selection fell to the graduated members resident at the College—in other words to the college Faculty, who were by a large majority out of sympathy with the system symbolized by the lot, and glad to avail themselves of an expedient, however mild, to evade it by conferring this distinction solely as a badge of scholarship.

In the absence of this motive for its preservation, it is probable that the society would at that time have ceased to exist.

The election of members after the revision of 1846 was at first made according to the merit roll of the Faculty for the whole college course, the marks on which the election was based being first recorded in 1852, but later, in 1876, after preliminary discussion, the method was adopted of giving greater weight to the later part of the college course by counting the freshman and sophomore years twice each, and the junior and senior years thrice each and dividing the sum by ten. The number of those elected to membership was, by the first laws, one third of the junior class, and this continued to be the proportion elected from the senior class after the revision till 1896, when a fixed standard was adopted, and all receiving a rank of 85 on a scale of 100 were eligible, if the number did not exceed one third of the class, a proportion which has never been reached.

Of late years there has been much discussion at Dartmouth over the possibility of reviving an interest in Phi Beta Kappa, and several plans have been proposed to that end, but none of them was put into operation till 1909, when an attempt was made to stimulate the interest of undergraduates in the society by associating, to some degree, entrance into it with the "honor night" of the College. That is the occasion of the public announcement of the scholarship honors gained by the students during the previous college year, and with the exercises of the "night" is connected the initiation into Phi Beta Kappa of those members of the senior class, who for the three completed years of their college life have held a rank considerably above that which is required for admission at graduation. The plan further provides for two meetings during the year before the annual meeting at Commencement.

THE NORTHERN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

The Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences is to be classed as a college society only as the promoters of it were members of the college Faculty, and as its valuable library has been incorporated with the consolidated libraries as a part of a comprehensive scheme of enlargement in the College.

This society was organized on June 24, 1841, at a pre-arranged meeting of twenty-one gentlemen, including eight from neighboring towns, at the study of President Lord, to consider the expediency of forming a society for promoting the knowledge of the arts and sciences. Professor Ebenezer Adams being in the chair, and Professor Alpheus Crosby acting as scribe, a constitution was adopted, officers chosen¹ and forty-five persons were enrolled at their request as organic members, including among seventeen not resident at Hanover, Joel Parker, Carleton Chase, Nathaniel G. Upham and Samuel D. Bell. At the same time 137 others were elected to membership in the various grades recognized by the constitution, and at subsequent meetings, up to 1845, as many more, including many of the most distinguished men of science and literature in New England and New York and Pennsylvania.

The object of the society, according to its constitution, was "the cultivation of the arts and sciences, with a view to the happiness of mankind," and it was composed of "Fellows, Corresponding Members, and Honorary Members." Besides the usual officers it had twelve "curators," who had immediate charge of its government. A code of laws was adopted by the curators and approved by the society, which laid out an elaborate plan, too ambitious, as it proved, for the resources at command. It contemplated the establishment of a library and a museum, the prosecution of literary and scientific researches, and the publication of their results in an annual or quarterly periodical. At the end of the first year, in 1842, the curators published a report in a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, and a

¹ The officers were: Joel Parker, President; Nathan Lord, vice-president; Roswell Shurtleff, Charles B. Haddock, Phineas Cooke, Ira Young, Ebenezer C. Tracy, Dixie Crosby, Amos Blanchard, Edwin D. Sanborn, David Pierce, Oliver P. Hubbard, William H. Duncan, William Cogswell, curators; William Cogswell, corresponding secretary and librarian; Samuel G. Brown, recording secretary; Daniel Blaisdell, treasurer; William Cogswell, Charles B. Haddock, Ira Young, publishing committee.

second of eighteen pages in 1843. A draft of a charter of incorporation was prepared in 1843 and a petition to the legislature signed by direction of the society, but the journals of the House do not show that it was ever actually presented.

A handsome beginning was made during the first two years toward a historical library by the acquisition of some eleven hundred bound volumes, upward of four thousand pamphlets, and a large number of files of newspapers, some quite ancient and of great historical value, also a considerable number of interesting and valuable manuscripts. Toward a museum nothing was done beyond the reception of a few boxes of curiosities. As to the periodical that had been contemplated, the curators deemed it so important that they declared at the end of the first year that if there had been a suitable printing office in this vicinity they would have already attempted it.

The affair did not, however, advance much farther on the scale on which it had been planned. Though there would have been, no doubt, ample material for the maintenance of the periodical, it was, owing mainly to the lack of funds, never actually begun. Neither museum nor library made any further considerable advance, except by the addition to the latter in 1845 of an exceedingly valuable collection of local newspapers, collected and arranged by Samuel Smith of Peterborough.

The originator and soul of the enterprise was the Rev. Dr. William Cogswell, then professor of history in the College. Early in 1844, he removed to Gilmanton to take charge of the Theological Seminary there established, and later to Boston where he edited the first volume of that most successful of historical publications, the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*. Among the members of a small, hard worked and poorly paid Faculty no one was found having the leisure and the peculiar talents requisite to carry along the extensive plans of the society. Dr. Cogswell with his characteristic enthusiasm hoped that the society might take rank with the great literary, scientific and historical associations of the world, of which in the first printed report he presented elaborate sketches. Although the scheme, in its fullness, was no doubt somewhat visionary, it is not impossible that if Dr. Cogswell had remained at Hanover something approaching the ideal might have been built up.

Historical material, at least, was then abundant, but comparatively little interest was taken in it, and much even in this

immediate region that would now be invaluable in that department and that could then by a little effort have been obtained, has, as the writer has more than once to his grief had occasion to know, since passed from unexplored attics to the flames or to the all-destroying hands of the paper makers. The library, so wonderfully favored at the outset, might easily have taken high rank in that direction, and if means could have been provided, something creditable could undoubtedly have been done with a periodical, the need of which has been many times since keenly felt. But with the departure of Dr. Cogswell from Hanover, and finally with his death in 1850, all attempts toward the realizing of the project in its fullness ceased. The library had been placed by permission of the College in the southeast corner of the second story of Reed Hall, where it remained many years, until in 1864 the newspapers and pamphlets were removed to a place of storage in Thornton Hall, and in 1885 to a large room in the basement of the new library building, placed by the college Trustees at the service of the society. Most of the bound books of value found, by tacit consent at the time of the first removal, a temporary place in the alcoves of the college library.

The society retained an intermittent life as late as 1903. Until 1850 the annual meetings and elections, which occurred on Tuesday of Commencement week, were held with regularity, after that they were of the most perfunctory character, or wholly neglected. Professor Brown continued to serve as recording secretary of the society from its organization, and at various times exerted himself to revive an interest in it. Professor Sanborn succeeded Dr. Cogswell as librarian; later Rev. Dr. Richards, an ardent antiquarian, officiated in that capacity from 1849 until his death in 1859; afterward Professor Sanborn resumed his charge.

As a literary club the society preserved a more active life. Until the autumn of 1850 meetings were held with considerable frequency at the "Academy Hall," or at the house of President Lord, and essays were read and discussed. During that period of ten years more than forty such meetings are recorded. Subordinate to these, but not included in the records, were other occasional meetings, under the familiar name of the *Pickwick Club*, at private houses, where the ladies were present, and essays of more popular interest were read and discussed. The subjects treated were of great variety, and often of much inter-

est; discussion was free and often earnest and protracted. In April, 1861, for example, Professor Long read an essay in derogation of the right of slavery, followed the next week by Dr. Lord in defence of that institution. There was sometimes relief to the gravity of the subjects treated. We find record of a "Semi-serious divertissement" by Rev. L. S. Coburn (a graduate of 1831, then an instructor at Norwich University) on Doctorates of Divinity, wherein he took for his text Matthew 23:28, and enumerated as the grounds of fitness for the degree of D.D., "doubly damaged"—1, Notoriety; 2, Caponiety or Satiety, and 3, Selfsufficiency. It is recollected that on one occasion, at the house of one of the professors, who himself read a paper in the *Pickwick*, Dr. Richards fell asleep. Being taken to task by his wife, also present, for his discourtesy to the professor, he retorted in his gruffest tones "Humph! he sleeps when *I* preach."

From 1850 there was a cessation of interest. No meetings are recorded until March, 1853, and but four until March, 1855, when for two or three years the old activity revived, only to die out again in spite of several attempts made especially by Professor Brown in 1861, 1864, and 1865 and 1866 to renew the interest.

In February, 1870, under the lead of Professor C. A. Young, a scientific association was formed to meet the special needs of quite a number of gentlemen connected with the Faculty of the College, and it has been kept up till the present time.

The eminent success of this attempt in scientific subjects occasioned in 1874 a renewed interest in the old Northern Academy among those whose tastes led in other directions. At the request of the Scientific Association its members were taken into the Northern Academy, and the Association was regarded as a branch of the Academy. Meetings of the literary members were then held with considerable regularity during nearly three years, when for the sake of convenience there was formed in February, 1877, an association, corresponding to the scientific association, entitled the "Dartmouth Literary and Philosophical Association," which till 1902 maintained monthly meetings (during term time) with fair regularity on the same plan as the literary meetings of the Academy. Since that time, as the Faculty has enlarged, several organizations have sprung up, such as the "Ticknor Club" devoted mainly to modern languages, and the "Social Science Club."

The Northern Academy was formally disbanded and its property delivered to the Trustees of the College in 1903, at the same time that the literary societies came to an end.

THE HANDEL SOCIETY.

It is probable that the earliest voluntary organization connected with the College, next to the church, was some sort of a musical society, but there is little from which to draw any very definite conclusion about it. The most that is known is derived from the Commencement programmes. It is recorded that at the first Commencement, in August, 1771, there were performed several anthems, one of which was "composed and set to music by the young gentlemen, candidates for a degree." The poet was Frisbie and the musical composer, Ripley.

For the next ten or twelve years we have no records, but from 1785 we hear of music, both vocal and instrumental, as a regular exercise on Commencement days. The record is that "some pieces of vocal and instrumental music closed the exercises," or, as in 1787, "an agreeable concert of music was then exhibited," just before the degrees were conferred. The year 1792 brings in the earliest complete account, now extant, of the exercises presented to the public on the several days of Commencement week. We learn that at one o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, August 20, 1792, "the Musical Society convened in the chapel, where was delivered an excellent and well composed oration by George W. Kirkland, on music and the fine arts; likewise were performed several pieces of music." Kirkland, a son of Dr. Wheelock's Indian missionary, was a member of the graduating class, and received from the Trustees a special testimonial of his musical talents and proficiency.

This is the type of subsequent anniversaries. The "Musical Society," sometimes denominated simply "the Choir," had its day and oration every year till 1802. We miss it first in 1803, though even then music figured in a small way as a part of the entertainment of Commencement day. That it was still cultivated with success is testified by President Dwight, who in the course of his travels in October, 1803, attended divine service at the college church in Hanover and declared¹ that "never (unless in a few instances at Wethersfield many years before) had he heard sacred music rendered with so much taste and skill as were here displayed."

But there was evidently no longer any enthusiasm in the

¹ Dwight's Travels, II, 117.

society itself. Not only was the annual oration dropped, but in 1805 "the richest of music" was brought in from abroad and headed the procession. In 1807 it is styled a "band of the best music," and the innovation became established. The old "Musical Choir," nevertheless, still existed, for current every day use in chapel and church. There arose, however, just at this time a general movement all over New England in opposition to the prevalent style of church music typified by the "fugue." Numerous societies were formed for the express object of restoring to popularity the more grand and solemn measures of the best sacred music, including especially the works of the most eminent European composers.¹

In connection with this movement and under the influence of Professor John Hubbard and Tutor Francis Brown, certain members of the old musical choir joined in the formation of "The Handel Society of Dartmouth College." It was organized July 23, 1807, its declared object being, "to improve and cultivate the taste, and promote true and genuine music and discountenance trifling unfinished pieces." Its special object was sacred music, and it was, like the other college societies, nominally a secret society, but "in order to be established on a firm and sure foundation" it solicited "the patronage and protection of Dartmouth University." Its original undergraduate members were Amos Holbrook, John Walker, Alexander Read and George Newton of the class of 1808, and Levi Woodbury of the class of 1809. Professor John Hubbard accepted the presidency, and Tutor Francis Brown and Esquire W. H. Woodward joined as active members at its organization. Every member was required to provide himself with a blank book and transcribe, or procure a copy of, every tune that was ordered to be sung at a future meeting.

The old musical choir made still a struggle for existence, but the new society gaining rapidly, and disagreements arising between them, the old one was disbanded and its books were sold at vendue. A portion of them was bought by the Handel Society which had already begun a library by private gifts and by appropriation of initiation fees, which in 1809 were increased to \$1.50. Professor Hubbard himself had what was reputed to be the best musical library in the country. "He had in his possession more means for acquiring a musical education than any other man in America, having more English

¹ Ritter's *Music in America*, pp. 94f; A. Kendall's *Autobiography*, p. 54.

publications and treatises on the science of music than any other individual."¹ The bulk of this collection was, after Professor Hubbard's death, in 1810, purchased by the Handel Society at a cost of \$90. Other valuable additions of the best description of music were made from time to time, so that the society boasted a library of rare excellence in its special department, the whole of which has faded away, nobody knows how, since the decay of the society, within the last forty or fifty years.

The society had at its origin, besides the usual executive officers and primarius, three choristers, and three councillors afterward styled censors. Regular meetings were held every Friday evening for exercise in singing, at the Academy Hall, and later in Alden's Hall, but more often in a social way at the houses of Professor Hubbard, Esquire Woodward and other citizens, of whom a considerable number were admitted to membership. Honorary membership was also conferred upon numerous persons not resident in town, and, beginning in 1811, upon several ladies of the village. After 1812 this society enjoyed with the others the privileges of the common Society Hall, but most of its meetings were for a good many years, down at least to 1820, still held at private houses.

Vocal music was the primary object, but in the summer of 1808 a bassoon was purchased by subscription, and as in April, 1809, it was determined to admit "members of college who are skilled in instrumental music," an orchestra thenceforth became an essential feature of the organization. The presence of Esquire Hutchinson with his violin and Deacon Long with his viol is noted in 1820; a bass viol was bought by the society in 1829 at a cost of \$27.75, and a double bass was procured in some way a little later. This was played in the meeting house by Dr. Mussey and is said to have been the only instrument of the kind in the state at that time, and Dr. Mussey the only person in the state competent to play it. He carried it on one occasion from Hanover to Portsmouth to exhibit it for the gratification of the New Hampshire Medical Society of which he was a prominent member.²

In 1839 a trombone was purchased, to be played by Tyler of the class of 1842, and a second was for a time in use. There were, of course, flutes and violins and other minor instruments adapted to the varying character of the current talent among

¹ Ritter's Music in America, p. 94, quoted from Gould's History of Church Music in America.

² Ritter's Music in America, p. 108.

the students. In August, 1842, the record speaks of two flutes, two trombones and a single and a double bass viol and in March, 1843, a post horn is mentioned.

In 1838 Hemenway of the freshman class having brought from Lunenburg, Vt., an organ in the hope of obtaining pupils, was allowed by the college authorities "the privilege of putting his organ into the chapel for the use of the Society." It was used down to about 1856 in aid of the orchestra, but not to its exclusion. On the graduation of Hemenway in 1842, his organ was purchased by the college for \$500, and it remained in the chapel until 1868, when being entirely "played out" it was put aside for a melodeon and in March, 1869, replaced by a new organ. In 1839 a room in Thornton Hall was given to the society for its library and instruments.

From its formation the musical part of the chapel and church services was in the keeping of this society. The Sabbath services in the meeting house were conducted with the aid of the orchestra until 1852. In March of that year a melodeon, which the society had hired two years before, was brought into use in the meeting house and near the close of the same month a subscription of \$1,000 was obtained by Professor Brown among the Faculty and citizens for the purchase of the organ which continued in use till the renovation of the church in 1893. It was set up in the gallery at the south end of the house in July ready for Commencement, and, of course, supplanted the orchestra in that place.

Launched, as it was, at a period of intense activity and interest in musical circles, the society under the leadership of Professor Hubbard was brought into intimate association with several other prominent societies. In July, 1809, a connection, proposed in August, 1808, was formed in furtherance of the common object, with the "Middlesex Musical Society" of New Ipswich, N. H., (where Professor Hubbard formerly resided), whereby the societies mutually admitted the members of the other to honorary membership and established a correspondence on musical topics. Their plan contemplated an extension of the combination to other similar bodies, and periodical joint public meetings.

Their first meeting of this kind was at Concord, September 19, 1810, when they gave a public concert with about forty performers and listened to an oration from Rev. Samuel Worcester, which was published. Though the day was rainy there

was a large audience. Of the Handel Society performers Jonathan Curtis, of the class of 1811, and Misses Mary and Annette Woodward, daughters of Hon. William H. Woodward, "attracted particular attention and applause." The next joint meeting, September 24, 1811, was at Merriam's Hall in Amherst, on another rainy day, where these societies were joined by the long established "Handelian Society" of Amherst, and by the "Central Musical Society" of Concord. Rev. Asa McFarland, president of the latter, delivered the oration.¹

On August 27, 1812, Thursday of Commencement week, the associated societies met in Hanover, where they were addressed by Levi Woodbury, and performed various pieces that "good judges pronounced unequivocally excellent." In September, 1813, the joint meeting appears to have been held at Groton, Mass. It is not certain that this stated connection much longer subsisted, but the interest in music continued yet for many years in effect unabated. After Professor Hubbard's death in 1810, Judge Woodward accepted the presidency and after him, in 1815, Dr. R. D. Mussey, who led the society devotedly for many subsequent years, being with some periodical intermissions its president until his removal to Ohio in 1838. He and Deacon Samuel Long habitually assisted with voice and instrument in the regular Sabbath services. Subsequent to the time of Dr. Mussey the graduate presidents took no active part in the society.

The fourth of July, 1818, as has elsewhere been told, was celebrated by a joint meeting in Hanover, with the "Hubbard" musical society of Orford and Piermont which had been incorporated in 1816. There were at that time in the state upward of twenty incorporated societies devoted to sacred music, including a New Hampshire State society incorporated in 1818 in which Dr. Mussey was very prominent. Beginning with 1808 the Hanover society had annually, with scarce an exception down to 1831, a public musical performance and an oration during some part of Commencement week; after that year the oration disappears. In general it occupied the evening or the morning of Tuesday. In 1811 it took place on Wednesday evening, followed by "an elegant and splendid ball," not (it is needless to say) under the auspices of the society.

On November 9, 1821, the Handel Society gave an oratorio, to which the citizens were invited, and "sang before a numerous

¹ A. Kendall's Autobiography, p. 54.

audience." At the inauguration of President Tyler, March 27, 1822, they sang two choruses, "The Great Jehovah," and the "Hallelujah Chorus," and "everything went well." For Commencement that year they planned a grand "Oratorio," with an admittance fee of twenty-five cents, but promised assistants from Boston failed and it was given up. The fourth of July, 1823, was celebrated by an "Oratorio" of which the following was the programme:

1, Old Hundred; 2, Prayer by President Tyler; 3, after which was sung, The Lord sitteth above the water floods; 4, Declaration of Independence read by Esq. Olcott; 5, Song, Strike the Cymbals; 6, Oration by Bro. Samuel Delano; 7, Anthem, Holy Lord God; Intercession, and Handel's Grand Hallelujah. The exercises throughout were excellent and appropriate, highly creditable to the performers, and satisfactory to a numerous and splendid audience.

The term "Oratorio," as this illustrates, was then commonly applied to a sacred concert of any kind, including, of course, the Society's Commencement anniversary. In 1828 we first read of an admittance fee actually collected on such an occasion. The tickets were twenty-five cents each, and the sale of them realized \$88.86. Students of the College were admitted free, and each member of the society had the privilege of inviting two ladies. "The performances," says the record, "were rather boisterous and, therefore, were acceptable to the multitude." To show the character of these exhibitions one or two programmes are reproduced. October 28, 1836, the society gave a concert of sacred music in the college chapel.

Chant—Our Father who art in Heaven.....*Anon*
Prayer

Address by Tutor Adams

Chorus—The Multitude of Angels.....*M. P. King*

Solo and Chorus—Go forth to the Mount.....*Stevens*

Trio—The Bright Bird.....*Mozart*

Chorus—He sees and he believes.....*Bishop*

Solo—Source of Light—Power Divine.....*Mozart*

Chorus—With Angels and Archangels.....*Anon*

Trio—I would not live alway.....*Kingsley*

Solo and Chorus—Lift up your stately heads, ye doors.....*Anon*

Trio—How sweet is the song of the lark.....*Anon*

Solo and Chorus—Lo, He cometh.....*Haydn*

Duet—Arrayed in clouds of golden light.....*Shaw*

Anthem—Rejoice, O ye righteous.....*Chapple*

Duet—All things fair and bright are thine.....*Shaw*

Chorus—Wake the song of jubilee.....*Haydn*

Chorus—Glory be to God on high.....*Mozart*

On Tuesday evening preceding Commencement, July 24, 1838, the society with help of the band gave a concert in the meeting house. The next year on Wednesday evening, July 24, they gave a similar concert of sacred music on their own responsibility, assisted by Messrs. Kendall, Pushee and Post. The price of admission as before was twenty-five cents. Preparatory to this concert there was a warm discussion in the society as to the propriety of mingling secular music with sacred. By a majority of 22 to 8 the decision was in favor of the innovation, and two members of the committee resigned in consequence. The society in spite of its decision was doubtful of the result, but made a distinguished success. Though the evening was very warm the lower part of the meeting house was full, both aisles and slips, and many were in the galleries. The words of all the songs in the following programme were printed in full in a four-page leaflet for the occasion:

1. Duet and Chorus—O Lord, our Governor.....*Stevens*
2. Duet—Who's this that on tempest rides.....*Shaw*
3. Chorus—Child of Mortality.....*Bray*
4. Duet—Arrayed in clouds of golden light.....*Shaw*
5. Chorus—Awake, put on thy strength, O arm of the Lord,
Neukomm
6. Chorus—He sees and believes.....*Bishop*
7. Chorus—The Heavens are telling the Glory of the Lord..*Haydn*
8. Chorus—O Father, whose almighty power.....*Handel*
9. Trio—The May Fly.....*Dr. Calcott*
10. Chorus—When winds breathe soft.....*Webb*
11. Trio—Fly on bright bird.....*Mozart*
12. Solo and Chorus—Rejoice in the Lord.....*Chapple*
13. Trio—The Skylark.....*Anon*
14. Chorus—The Nativity.....*Whitaker*

On July 27, 1842, the society gave its last Commencement concert. It was principally from the Oratorio of David, introduced with Handel's Hailstone Chorus and closed with the Grand Hallelujah Chorus of Beethoven. The libretto covers twelve printed pages.

During all these earlier years, and to a great extent down to more recent times, the Handel Society regularly furnished music for the annual Commencement anniversary of the Theological Society, for which they made careful preparation, and for all other special occasions, such as the oratorical quarter-days, the annual medical Commencement in November, and occasional eulogies, etc. In May, 1841, in connection with a

eulogy of President Harrison by Professor Haddock, the society among other things sang an original dirge composed by Leonard Swain of the class of 1841.

This period was distinguished in the College, among other things, by an unusual array of musical talent, and the Handel Society shone out with peculiar brilliancy. Concerts were given in many neighboring towns, and for a short time a custom was observed of obtaining each year a public address on music from the Prime President, in connection with a concert by the society. Among these were addresses from Rev. John Richards in 1842, from Professor S. G. Brown in June, 1843, and from Professor Alpheus Crosby in July, 1847. This was also the period, under the influence of Lowell Mason and others, of a general revival in sacred music through the medium of conventions. In many of these the Handel Society took active part; at Lyme, October, 1844, at Haverhill, August, 1845, at Orford, June, 1847, at Windsor, June, 1848, at Montpelier, May, 1850, at Lebanon, November, 1853 (conducted for three days by Lowell Mason), and at Woodstock, June, 1854. In September, 1849, it furnished music at the agricultural fair held in this village in connection with an oration by Professor Sanborn, and a concert in the evening in the chapel.

About 1850, however, the society suffered a serious decline. Afterward, at different times, it enjoyed periods of flattering revival, but never resumed its ancient importance. Its existence was prolonged for many years for the sake of the musical part of the services in the chapel and church, for which from 1855 it received an annual allowance from the college treasury, but the change in the musical interests of the students from the classical and serious to the lighter expressed itself through the organization of a glee club, which appeared in the seventies, and finally the Handel Society gradually retired into the background. Its last recorded meeting was held June 19, 1888, at which, as if to emphasize the change in the organization, instead of noting a musical programme, as in earlier years, the only vote passed was one "to leave the matter of a banquet to the Censors to report at an early date." No report seems to have been made and we do not know whether the banquet came off or not; if it did, it seems to have been fatal, for within four years all trace of the society disappears except its name, and even its library and its instruments have been wholly lost.

There is every reason to be proud of the record which this

society made. Ritter in his history of "Music in America"¹ awards it the highest praise. "Among those musical societies," says he, "which at the early part of this century were formed throughout New England, I consider the above-mentioned Handel Society of Dartmouth College—next to the Boston Handel and Haydn Society—the one that was in many respects most beneficial in its influence. . . . It is claimed, with much justice, that some of the best vocal and instrumental musicians have been sent forth from the Dartmouth Handel Society to various parts of the country." To a member of this society, graduated in 1842, Dr. Jabez B. Upham, and afterward President of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society, has been ascribed, in large degree, the building of the Boston Music Hall, the great organ, the musical festivals and the musical instruction in the schools.

¹ Pp. 105, 106.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

It is not possible to say with confidence when a religious society was first organized in the College. The church gathered by the first President, January 1, 1771, was itself essentially a college society presided over by Wheelock himself; and there is no reason to suppose that any other was for a considerable time thought to be necessary. But it would be expected that societies of this character should arise as early as any, and that they would be encouraged by the college authorities.

The earliest society of this nature whereof any certain memorial exists, appears to have been organized in 1801, and to have been styled simply, "The Religious Society of Dartmouth College." All that we know of it is derived from mere chance allusions. We learn from a newspaper announcement of the exercises at Commencement in August, 1804, that on the preceding Saturday evening at five o'clock an oration on "Charity" was delivered by Daniel Thurston before "the Religious Society." Similar exercises are noted as occurring in honor of a society of that name on Monday afternoon of Commencement week in 1805 and 1806. In 1807 the oration was before the "Theological Society," which finds like mention under that name each succeeding year, excepting in 1809, when the body is styled "the Society of the Religiosi."

The first official record we have of the Theological Society of modern times bears date April 24, 1808, and is in these words, "Resolved that the Constitution denominated the Constitution of the Religiosi of Dartmouth College commencing with the first page of this volume has been and is accepted and substituted instead of the Constitution of the Religious Society of Dartmouth College organized A.D. 1801."

From these various allusions we are permitted to infer that the old "Religious Society," founded in 1801, was transformed in 1806 or 1807 into the new Theological Society which in 1808 coalesced with another society, having similar objects, styled the "Religiosi," that had for an uncertain period co-existed with the first, in an organic form more generally acceptable. That alongside the new title the society still retained the more generic designation of "Religiosi," is evident from the occasional but persistent recurrence of that name from time to time even

after the passage of a unanimous vote in August, 1815, with consent of the primarius, definitely "to change the name of the society from the Religiosi, to the Theological."

It is the only ancient society connected with the College that has preserved its activity unimpaired, and essentially unchanged in form, without interruption to the present day, though its constitution has been subjected to innumerable changes in matters of detail and the society has accepted a change of name and new relationships. Its records are complete from 1808, excepting one volume covering the period between 1838 and 1845, which has been lost. In 1868 an admirable historical account of it was prepared by Charles H. Chandler of the senior class, under the direction of the society, and published in a pamphlet, which had been of great assistance in the preparation of this chapter.

The original members in 1808 are said to have numbered but ten. Seven more were added before the ensuing Commencement. There have been, of course, great fluctuations in numbers. An addition of four in 1812 occasioned great rejoicing, as did eight more in 1813, and eighteen in 1815. The procession at Commencement in 1816 numbered more than sixty. In 1826 there appears to have been about thirty. In 1834 eighty are recorded as present and voting, eighty-four in 1836 and seventy-two in 1868. The class of 1842 furnished fifty, the class of 1845 nine, and classes till recent times from ten to twenty-eight. Up to 1868 the grand total was twelve hundred, including four hundred and fifty ministers, sixty professors, sixteen presidents. Members were drawn without distinction from all the undergraduate classes.

In October, 1814, and for some years afterward (certainly till 1822), invitations were extended to medical students, and in 1868 to members of the Scientific Department, a proposition of that sort respecting the latter having been before ineffectually moved in 1852. The first constitution restricted membership to persons giving "evidence of experimental acquaintance with the religion of the gospel." In 1832 invitation was given to all freshmen that were "members in good standing of an orthodox Christian church." The constitution in its later forms admitted "any member of the institution who is a member of any Christian church in regular standing, believing in man's entire depravity, the Divinity of Christ, the atonement, regeneration and future rewards and punishments."

At first two adverse votes excluded a candidate, later a unanimous election was necessary at a regular meeting where more than half of the society should be present. In 1869 the door was opened to "any member of College who is interested in the objects of the society," and it is to be inferred that a majority vote was sufficient for an election, but later a return was had to church membership as a basis of admission.

As to officers, the society has never thought it necessary to be very elaborately equipped. The President of the College was from the first perpetual primarius, and the members of the senior class presided at the meetings in rotation. There was of course a recording secretary, and the affairs of the society, including the assignment of duties, were from first to last managed by a committee. By the constitution of 1808 three absences from stated meetings subjected a member to expulsion, a rule never enforced in its stringency. The same constitution denounced expulsion upon any member who should "indulge himself in scenes of revelry and intemperance or in any species of gambling, or (as added a few years later) in attendance at balls and assemblies or in any sense tolerate them."

In 1811 a member of the graduating class was expelled for "countenancing a scene of revelry," insulting a tutor, listening unmoved to profanity and imitating the behavior of a drunken man. He retorted with charges of shutting up cattle against two other members, who confessed and were forgiven. The secretary adds to the record with a genuine burst of feeling, "We all felt moved—God grant we may use new solicitude to support the honor of the Christian name."

In 1824 a member, likewise of the graduating class, was expelled for consenting to be a manager at the Commencement ball, and again, with the approbation of the President of the College and the pastor, another for the same cause in 1847.

But the most fertile occasion of discipline was, for many years, intemperance. No wonder that the "moral society" drew hearty support from the "Religiosi." In 1827 the members of this society signed and circulated a pledge "to abstain from the use of wine and to withhold patronage from those who sell it," and sent a committee to "inform the traders on the plain." The temperance pledge was renewed in 1832 and 1833, and, in consequence of some indiscretion of that sort indulged in by some of the members on occasion of being elected to office, the practice of treating was condemned. In 1836 it was again

voted that "the practice of treating on election to office and other occasions is inconsistent with a reputable profession of religion," though in the specific instance which gave rise to the condemnation "palliating circumstances" and contrition saved the offender. In April, 1815, at one of the meetings, a "conversation was held on the propriety, or rather impropriety, of professed [Christians] joining in the common amusement of ball-playing with the students for exercise," and a few weeks later "there were many spirited remarks on the subject of nocturnal *cowhunting*, and the society was unanimous in condemning it, and in voting to render it improper and contemptible." This is not the only time that the same subject came up. It ought to be mentioned as a "palliating circumstance" that the occasion of the practice was the fact that the college green or common, being yet unfenced, the village cows were habitually pastured thereon, much to the inconvenience of the students in their sports. At about the same period the habit of going to the post office on Sabbath days for letters and papers was condemned.¹ Indeed, one cannot fail to be impressed, on reading these memorials of the past, with the uniform, sincere and earnest purpose of the members to keep their Christian character above the shadow of reproach, and the general moderation and wisdom of their measures to that end.

The regular meetings of the society have always been held weekly. At first they fell on Sundays, in the morning. The transaction of secular business, such as election of officers, etc., was, when the necessity arose, adjourned to the following day. In December, 1813, the time was changed to Thursday evening, and in September, 1814, to Monday evening, where it regularly remained, sometimes before supper, as in 1822, but generally after it. It was then for the first time voted to hire the bell rung every Monday evening, and a committee of two was appointed to prepare wood and candles. This need arose from their occupancy of the public room known as "Society Hall," a room in Dartmouth Hall about this time devoted by the college authorities to the use of all the societies in rotation. The ordinary meetings of this society had been until then held at the rooms of the members. Thereafter (excepting about a year in 1818 and 1819 when they were excluded by the "would

¹ October 26, 1835.

be University,"¹ and a time in 1828-1829 while Dartmouth Hall was being remodeled when they were held in the "Academy"), the meetings were statedly in the common Society Hall until November, 1867, when they were transferred to the room of the Society of Inquiry, and in January, 1868, to a "Theological Hall," which was fitted up by the College, aided by a subscription among students, Faculty and townspeople, in the northeast corner of the ground floor of Thornton Hall for the joint use of the two societies, and which continued still in the occupancy of these societies till the opening of Bartlett Hall.

The exercises, at first perhaps purely devotional, were from June, 1808, made to include one or more dissertations on religious or theological topics, carefully and designedly eschewing, for the most part, debate; though for a while, beginning in April, 1824, and perhaps for other brief periods afterward, a discussion formed a part of the regular programme. The dissertations were to be "exhibited by the members according to classical and alphabetical order," upon subjects selected by the standing committee. While never secret, attendance at the stated society meetings has in general been confined to members. In 1812 a vote was recorded after some hesitation allowing members to invite other religious friends to accompany them.

In April, 1815, it was voted to appropriate the first Monday evening in each month to "prayer for the spread of the gospel among the heathen," and this was, thenceforward, a permanent arrangement. Meetings for a similar object began (at about the same time, we suppose) to be held by the village people at the school house, and the society for short periods united with them (viz., May, 1816, June, 1816, December, 1817, but in June, 1818, the society refused to join). In April, 1835, these meetings were ordered to be at the old chapel and public, but in general the society preferred to meet by itself, and in October, 1822, laid it down as the *duty* of its members to attend the monthly concert at the hall instead of going to the villagers' meeting at the school house. In October, 1826, after conference with President Tyler it was voted to unite in monthly concerts with the church, but the vote was rescinded at the next meeting.

¹ The loyalty of the society to the old College is evidenced by the following record, made March 8, 1819, on the occasion of its restoration to the privileges of the hall: "Thanks to God, the College is re-established in the possession of its rights and privileges. We believe it to be by the kind interposition of Providence that Dartmouth College has withstood the flood of evil doers that has risen up against it."

Among the outside duties assumed by the society was a public Saturday evening conference meeting conducted by its members and under its control, which began with the great revival of 1815 and continued until 1893. In May, 1815, it was ordered that the senior members of the society preside on Saturday evenings as in the meetings of the society. In April, 1817, it was voted to attend Saturday evening conference at the school house, and in 1826 a committee was chosen to make fires for the meetings there. In July, 1828, it was voted to give up the Saturday evening meetings usually held in the school house, and have, instead, a prayer meeting in the Society Hall. In September, 1828, this meeting was in the Academy, but it was resumed in the school house in February, 1829. In 1833 it appears in the chapel in Dartmouth Hall, and from August, 1835, it was statedly in the old chapel, which then stood temporarily near where the Administration Building now stands, but in 1846 it was finally removed to the vestry, where it was held until 1869, when it was taken to the society room.

In April, 1817, the rule was inaugurated of requiring at each monthly concert a contribution of at least one cent from each member for foreign missions. In 1819 on motion of Brother William T. Haddock it was voted that the society "raise annually money sufficient to support at school a native boy of Ceylon, who shall be named Francis Brown." This was faithfully carried out until, on October 13, 1828, "the society having received intelligence of the misconduct of Francis Brown, the heathen child supported by them, and that he had left the missionary school and obstinately persisted in this course of conduct regardless of the exhortations of the missionaries," it was "voted that whereas it may have a beneficial effect on his mind to address an affectionate letter to him, Brother Asa D. Smith be appointed a committee to perform this duty." The future President's persuasive powers must have been yet undeveloped, for we find no further mention of this Francis Brown, and the contributions were thenceforward given unrestricted to the Foreign Missionary Society. The subscriptions recorded during a period of twenty-two years amounted to nearly \$300.

A third weekly prayer and conference meeting was pretty constantly maintained by members of the society for many years, on Sunday at some convenient room in the College, for the special benefit of all the students. Being outside the regular scheme of society duty, it finds but occasional mention in the records.

We first hear of it there in November, 1818, again in 1832, and again in 1846. It has been frequently held in recent years as a neighborhood meeting in some private house in the village.

There have been at times set on foot by the society other local enterprises of a missionary character, and in May, 1827, it was seriously but ineffectually proposed to make the society a branch of a tract society, not specifically indicated. In 1832 and again in 1850, a systematic distribution of tracts was undertaken in the near neighborhood, and at times religious canvassing throughout the village and the town has been practised. Meetings in the fall and spring were often specially devoted to conferences for the benefit of those who taught school during the winter, upon the means of Christian usefulness in that capacity. Active correspondence was for many years carried on with similar societies at other institutions, and with missionaries in China and India. The custom was begun with an exchange of letters with brothers at the Theological Seminary in Andover, at the request of graduate members there, communicated by Daniel Poor in March, 1813. It was extended to Middlebury College in 1814, to Yale and to the "Praying Society" at Brown University in 1815, and to Bowdoin in 1816, afterwards to Waterville, Amherst, Williams and Harvard, and to the Seminary at Auburn, N. Y., to that at Bangor, Me., and to Meriden Academy. The correspondence was at first carried on by special committees who presented each letter for approval before sending it, and afterward by a corresponding secretary.

In June, 1813, this society began to gather a library by subscribing for the *Christian Observer* and the *Panoplist*, and soon after for Scott's Bible, then in course of publication in numbers. In 1819 an inventory disclosed little else besides pamphlets and thirteen bound volumes of the periodicals above mentioned. In March, 1838, the library was divided between the Social Friends and the United Fraternity, but the subscriptions to four religious periodicals were continued, the numbers being placed for convenience in the reading rooms of the same two societies until 1846, when they were withdrawn. The book case belonging to the society in 1838 was given to the Society of Inquiry.

Like all the earlier societies the Theological Society too, was accustomed from its birth to celebrate that event each year at the college Commencement, with an oration or a sermon, and generally the service of the Handel Society was obtained to

furnish appropriate music. Sometimes band music has been substituted, but not without frequent objection. From 1804 until 1837 with two exceptions, 1815 and 1827, the oration, when it occurred (as it generally did), was from some member of the society in the graduating class. Ever since, to the present time, it has been by some person invited from abroad. In 1815 a brother had been designated, but, being sick, the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood of the class of 1803 consented to supply the sermon. In 1846 fourteen gentlemen in turn declined the honor. While the duty was discharged by one of the brethren, it was customary to require him to read his piece to the society (toward the last to a committee) for approbation a few days before delivery.

In 1804 the anniversary was held on Saturday preceding Commencement at five o'clock P. M. Thereafter it occurred on Monday afternoon until 1829 when it became the first exercise on Tuesday morning, and ten years later, when Commencement was changed to Thursday, it was transferred to Wednesday morning. In 1841 it became the last thing in the afternoon, but from 1853 to 1871 it was held Tuesday evening; the attendance, however, fell off to such an extent that in the latter year it was again transferred to Sunday evening, where it continued till it was finally abandoned in 1907. From 1813 to 1819 there was delivered on the evening of Tuesday, by some clergyman from abroad, what was called the "*concio ad clerum*."

The Society of Inquiry grew out of the special interest in missions on the part of the Theological Society already referred to, and was formed in March, 1821, by several members of that society specially interested in the subject. It had for its object "to inquire into the state of the Heathen, the importance of missions, the best means of conducting them and the most eligible places for their establishment; and also to disseminate information relative to these objects, with a view to excite the attention of Christians to their importance." Members were admitted only by unanimous vote, and ceased to be such by absenting themselves from two successive meetings without sufficient excuse. None were admitted unless conscious of a special interest in the subject.

Meetings were first held on the first Sunday evening of each month in term time, and, after a few months, after morning prayers on Monday. The ordinary exercises, assigned three months in advance, comprised dissertations on missionary sub-

jects (for a time two in number, afterward but one), and criticisms thereon. In the autumn of 1826 negotiations were opened with the Theological Society, which resulted in a cessation of activity in the Society of Inquiry, and in a formal vote of dissolution in March, 1827. But five weeks later a portion of its members with other Christian students renewed the organization upon the same basis as before. In 1831 the exercises were made to include, besides an essay, the presentation of a summary of the contents of the *Missionary Herald* and the *Home Missionary Monthly*, and the day of meeting was changed to the last Monday of the month. Soon after this the meetings were held fortnightly, and from March, 1839, weekly. From 1849 the meetings on the last Friday evening of each month were devoted to prayers for missions.

A fee of twenty-five cents was paid on admission, and expended in subscriptions for missionary periodicals, which being preserved and bound formed the nucleus of a library devoted to this subject. To this was added a cabinet of heathen curiosities, begun about 1840 by gifts from Ira Tracy of the China, and Stephen Tracy of the Siam, Mission, and from W. C. Jackson at Constantinople. Until May, 1823, the meetings were held at the private rooms of the members. In the spring of 1841 a room in the second story of Dartmouth Hall was appropriated by the College to the use of the society for its meetings, and for the safe keeping of its property.

The constitution underwent several revisions till in July, 1869, the society coalesced with the Theological Society under a new constitution and the title of the "Theological and Missionary Society," but in 1875, from the belief that the existing name did not properly represent the purposes of the society, the name was changed to the "Christian Fraternity." Seven years later, in order to bring itself into closer relations with other similar organizations, the Fraternity took the title of the Dartmouth Young Men's Christian Association. It was warmly supported by President Bartlett, who, as has been told, was largely instrumental in securing a building for its exclusive use, but the impulse that came from its new home was not lasting and within a few years it became evident that the Association was not maintaining itself as a strong influence in the College.

In examining the situation President Tucker felt that it was important to put the Association under the direction of a graduate secretary, and with the help of a generous and confidential gift

he secured, in the fall of 1896, Henry O. Aiken of the class of 1887 for that place. Mr. Aiken possessed extraordinary qualities for the work. To sympathy, insight and appreciation he added clear judgment and executive force, by which he gained the good will and assumed the leadership of those with whom he worked. In the short space of a few months he vitalized the Association and gave it a promise of great effectiveness, but in June of 1897 he was stricken with a sudden illness and died within two days.

Since his death the Association has been fortunate in having for a part of the time graduate secretaries who have been able leaders. At other times it has worked through its own undergraduate organization. In order to give itself a somewhat greater latitude of membership and to associate itself as closely as possible with the other interests of the College it changed its name in 1905 to the Dartmouth Christian Association, and the basis of membership from membership in an evangelical church to "any Dartmouth man who was willing to support its object," although the privilege of voting and holding office was restricted to members of evangelical churches. Under this system and with the growth of the College the membership of the Association increased in successive classes three or fourfold. To its neighborhood activities, which have been continued, it has of late years added evangelizing tours by groups of its members to different parts of the state, and within the College itself has made efforts, by the formation of classes, to promote the systematic study of the Bible and the discussion of religious interests.

COMMENCEMENTS.

The college Commencement has been at Hanover, as in other college towns, the notable day of the year, bringing a concourse of distinguished and learned men from abroad, and, until recently, a general holiday for all the country within a radius of twenty miles or more around. Of late its importance in all particulars, except socially for the alumni, has greatly diminished. The graduate or the visitor of today gets no conception of what the occasion was even a half century ago. A clergyman, a graduate of Edinburgh, present here at that period remarked that there was "more ado over the anniversary of that little College in America, than at all the universities of Europe."¹

In the height of its glory, and within the memory of the older alumni, this occasion combined with the genuine and refined pleasures of a great literary gathering all the external attractions appropriate to a fair or a general muster of the olden time. The din of preparation for these began with the break of day on Monday by the construction of booths in choice spots about the southwestern corner of the Green. During that day and the next every public conveyance brought its contribution till all the houses of the village, both public and private, were filled with guests. On the morning of Wednesday all approaches to the village were crowded with vehicles of every description, and numerous foot passengers as well, all hurrying in to see the fun. By this time every available spot along the southern extremity of the square would be occupied with a booth of a trader, and, as the day passed, travelling adventurers swarmed in with their carts and bivouacked on the spot. The night that followed was enlivened with their lamps and the buzz of preparation, and sometimes with the persuasions of the students, who, not relishing their presence, attempted to induce them to depart. The surrounding country was emptied into Hanover. Instances are not wanting of persons who have attended fifty consecutive Commencements.

The peddlers, the auctioneers, the jugglers and the shows with their attendant throngs would spread far up toward the meeting house, and with the cider, the strong beer openly sold, and the

¹ An interesting picture of Commencement is given in J. G. Holland's story, "Miss Gilbert's Career," chapter XXIII.

stronger drink scarcely concealed, toward evening the crowds would wax ruder and the turmoil more furious, until it not seldom resulted in a brawl, so that all orderly people breathed freer if the usual thunder shower dispersed the noisy and profane rabble.

A newspaper correspondent, writing August 21, 1833, said:¹ "I was sorry to see such a host of peddlars, gamblers, drunkards and shows. I was never more astonished than to find at such an anniversary and at such a place the unaccountable degree of immorality and vice that I have witnessed today. I should think there were in sight of one another thirty places of gambling. During the performances in the meeting house the vociferations of a dozen auctioneers were distinctly to be heard in the house." The fashion began with the first Commencement in 1771 when the whole country gathered to welcome Governor Wentworth and his suite, and were regaled on the Green by his order with a barbecued ox, and a barrel of rum.² The example thus set was easily followed and led to such excess that in 1775 the students resolved to "discountenance all vain frolicking" on this occasion, and presented a petition to the Trustees for their help against the "fashionable vices" and "to discredit all appearance of dissipation, licentiousness, prophaneness and irreligion, especially on that day of public rejoicing."

In 1801 a visitor from abroad, Rev. Archibald Alexander,³ returning from a call on the President to his room in one of the taverns (there were then two in the place), "was surprised to find the whole house filled with a strange and motley multitude. My own room," he wrote, "was occupied by a company of gamblers and the usual circle of lookers on. I loudly asserted my claim to the room and made appeal to the host. He declared himself unable to turn the people out. The Green Mountain boys appeared to be good natured but perfectly unpracticable." Mr. William Dewey, writing of it in 1835, says that from time immemorial "noise tumult and revelry, gambling, tipling and profaneness prevailed."

This condition of things, somewhat amended by the stringency of the liquor laws and by the gradual change in public sentiment, continued with some fluctuations till nearly 1860, when determined and persistent efforts on the part of the authorities aided

¹ *Portsmouth Journal*, August 31, 1833.

² *Life of Rev. Dr. A. Alexander*, p. 259.

³ Vol. I, p. 230.

by a change in the time of holding the anniversary gradually brought these evils almost to an end.

The same causes that made possible this most desirable reform also brought about a decided change in the character and importance of the occasion in other respects. The gathering of *literati* is no longer the same, and the interest once general is now confined to those immediately concerned in the exercises, and to graduates whom class reunions or other special circumstances draw together. The imposing array of numerous processions and the sword and sash of the high sheriff marshal have passed away, no doubt forever, as well as the overpowering abundance of literary entertainment that at its maximum was simply appalling.

For about fifteen years, until the societies came into the field with their anniversaries, the exercises at Commencement were confined to a single day. The earliest record we have of enlargement is in 1787 when the United Fraternity celebrated its first anniversary on Tuesday preceding Commencement day "in the hall,"—the College Hall no doubt—with a dialogue and an oration. Whether the Social Friends had done the same after their formation in 1783 we do not know, as their early records are lost. They certainly were not behind the Fraters thereafter, and claimed precedence by reason of seniority; so that, as early at least as 1792, both Monday and Tuesday were occupied. There was an address to the Musical Society on Monday at one o'clock, followed at five by an oration to the Social Friends, and at seven by an entertaining original comedy by its members.

On Tuesday morning came the Phi Beta Kappa oration, followed by the United Fraternity with an oration at five, and in the evening with "a pleasing dialogue." This was the basis of subsequent arrangements. By way of exception, in 1804, the Religious Society held its anniversary on Saturday preceding Commencement, and in 1812 Thursday, the day after Commencement, was for once occupied by a joint meeting of the Handel Society and other musical societies from abroad. From that time also the exercises of the literary societies were simplified and Monday was left exclusively to the Theological Society. In 1819 the enthusiasm bred by the successful end of litigation again carried the celebration over to Thursday with a grand jubilee and dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa. This society, thenceforth, retained that day until the rearrangements of 1835. Prize speaking began in 1821 with an exhibition on Wednesday, the

evening of Commencement day. From 1822 to its discontinuance in 1834 the prize exhibition took place at eight o'clock A.M. on Thursday, the Phi Beta Kappas following at eleven.

The number of society anniversaries after a time greatly diminished, and in 1837 the burdens of Commencement were still further relieved by the union, under pressure from the Faculty, of the two literary societies in a single joint celebration. In 1839 the Commencement exercises being themselves permanently transferred to Thursday, the society anniversaries fell for the future on Wednesday. But there was still an abundance of oratory. In 1840 there were on Wednesday of Commencement week four addresses, one at ten A. M. by Dr. Beecher before the Theological Society on "Defence of Edwards against Fatalism," followed immediately by one two hours long by Rev. Dr. Henry before the Phi Beta Kappa Society on "The Demands of the Age on Educated Men." After a recess Rev. Mr. Lunt gave an address before the literary societies, which "some called very fine, others thought his subject was buried in the rubbish of words," and in the evening Professor Samuel G. Brown gave his inaugural address on "Oratory."¹

The time of holding the Commencement has, since the death of the founder, been subjected to a gradual but constant precession. The first two occasions were celebrated on the last Wednesday of August. In 1776 it was held for special reasons on July 24, but with that exception until 1779, inclusive, it occurred on the last Thursday in August. It was then changed (for what reason we do not know) to the third Wednesday of September and so held from 1780 to 1788. From then till 1835, "the reason for the change in 1779 having now ceased," it was held on the fourth Wednesday of August, excepting 1818, 1819, 1828-1830, 1833 and 1834, when it was on the third Wednesday of the month. In 1835 the day was changed to the last Wednesday of July, with the result of a much smaller attendance than usual and "an unusual degree of decorum," and in 1839 to the last Thursday of the same month. In 1864 it was again changed to the last Thursday but one of July, and in 1872 to the last Thursday of June. In 1893 it was put one day earlier, on the last Wednesday of June, which is the present date.

The place in which the exercises were held at the first was a booth or tent near the old college building on the southeast corner of the Green. In 1772 it is spoken of as a building, 40 by 55 feet,

¹ *Vermont Chronicle*, August 5, 1840.

which was too small to hold the people. In 1774 Dr. Belknap says the exercises were held in a tent erected in the open air on the eastern [western?] side of the College,¹ and covered with boards. They were undoubtedly transferred the next year to the recently enlarged "College Hall." We hear of them there in 1785. From 1787 to 1789 they were held in the unfinished Dartmouth Hall; after that in the then new chapel until the meeting house was ready for them in 1795. Here all the exercises were afterward held, excepting a part of the day in 1799, and excepting also the centennial year 1869, when the great concourse made necessary larger accommodations in a mammoth tent on the Common, until the erection of Webster Hall, where the exercises of Commencement day have been held since 1908.

The nature of the exercises has of course often varied greatly. They invariably opened and closed with prayer, which was characterized in early years as "solemn and well adapted," "able and pertinent," etc. The programme for the two earliest years was, as elsewhere shown, quite simple, occupying a single session for a part of the day, and conducted chiefly in Latin. Beginning with 1773 there were two sessions, with an intermission. This fashion, offering six or seven parts in each session, many of them, however, dialogues and disputations with sometimes six or eight speakers in each, continued apparently without change, until the close of the century. In 1801, owing to class dissensions, the whole was shortened into a single sitting with but six parts, beginning at eleven o'clock, with the dinner at the close. In 1802 there were seven parts, in 1803, nine, in 1804, eleven, and in 1808 it was ordered that all the class should prepare parts, but that no more than fifteen, nor less than eight, should speak. In 1823 the number of speakers rose to seventeen, and to nineteen in 1828. In 1835 the abolition of the honor system led to the attempt to bring all of the graduating class impartially upon the stage. This occupied the entire day and necessitated a resort once more to an intermission for rest and refreshment. Under this short-lived arrangement the speakers were divided into four sections, or "departments" entitled respectively the chemical, mathematical and physical, rhetorical, and the department of moral and intellectual philosophy. In 1835 there were forty-six speakers, in 1836 there were forty-seven, in 1837 thirty-six, and in 1838 forty-three, of whom, however, quite a number were "excused." The poet Longfellow, who chanced to be here at Commencement in

¹ See Volume I, p. 290.

1837 as companion of Mr. Hilliard, the societies' orator, wrote to a friend: "Of the thirty-five orations I heard twenty-five this forenoon. A greater part of the afternoon I have passed on the balcony of the hotel, looking at the great crowd assembled round the carts of the peddlers who are selling their wares at auction."¹

Relief was found in 1839 in the use of the lot by which the number of speakers was reduced to twenty-seven, seventeen before and ten after the intermission. The intermission was discontinued in 1843. The number of speakers remained substantially unchanged until 1880 when they were reduced to seventeen, and in later years they have been brought down by successive changes to the present number of six.

A procession has ever been one of the prominent features of the exercises. Until 1819 it was regularly formed at the President's house, since then at the chapel. The order of march in September, 1785, was this: "At ten o'clock the undergraduates formed themselves into a double line reaching from the President's gate [where Reed Hall now is] to the College Hall, nearly opposite, on the Green. The procession passed between the lines, uncovered, in this order—The President, the Rev. and Hon. Trustees, the Professors, Librarian and Secretary, and the Rev. Clergy, two and two, and the students falling in closed the procession." With the clergy are mentioned in 1792 "other respectable characters," and in 1799, "gentlemen of a public character."

The office next in importance to the President was the "Bedle," the modern "Marshal," to order the movements aright. While Governor Wentworth attended, the duty devolved upon the provincial high sheriff from Portsmouth. It was afterward generally entrusted to such gentlemen of a military character as Col. James Wheelock in 1791, Capt. Josiah Dunham, 1794–1798 and Capt. George Woodward, 1800–1807. Some still living may remember the imposing grandeur in this character of the Grafton high sheriff, Col. Amos. A. Brewster, between 1820 and 1844, with his pompous manner and stentorian voice, his cocked hat and sword, his gold lace and sash, and his lisping invitation, with his hand upon his heart, to the fair sex for the evening levee.

Music was an essential part of the Commencement from the very beginning. The exercises in 1771 were begun with an anthem, and closed by another. Anthems and other sacred music were, thereafter, habitually employed to break the monotony of the exercises. The musical society, as soon as formed,

¹ *Life of Longfellow*, Volume I, p. 257.

had the responsibility of this part of the performances. The music for a long time was chiefly vocal, though instruments of some kind were quite early introduced. A band for marching, first introduced, so far as we know, in 1805, and regularly mentioned till 1810 as heading the procession, was paid for in the main by voluntary contributions of the literary societies. The innovation was not acceptable to many, and repeated attempts were made to curtail or abolish the practice, but it is needless to say that these efforts were not permanently effective.

In 1822 the Trustees determined to discourage the great expense which the band occasioned, and the next year appointed Messrs. Ezekiel Webster and M. P. Payson a special committee for that object. In 1832 the Trustees again urged the students, in imitation of the "laudable example" at Yale, to dispense with a band altogether, and in 1838 the clerical and other gentlemen present at Commencement, in a public meeting in the chapel, expressed disapproval of the use of bands on these occasions, and requested the Trustees to use their influence to have the custom immediately cease. The Board has repeatedly in more recent years vainly urged reduction of expenditure in this direction.

The band by no means wholly supplanted the musical society. We not only find vocal and sacred music expressly mentioned as being a part of the exercises of Commencement day from 1813 to 1820, but the special musical performances of the Handel Society, after its formation in 1808, in connection with the annual oration, rose to a high degree of excellence and prominence. They were the lineal progenitors of the later Commencement concert, which in turn gave way to a dramatic presentation by the students. From 1822 they were generally held on the evening preceding Commencement day. The first suggestion of a Commencement concert on the modern plan, independent of the society's oration, appears in 1827 in the performance of an oratorio by the Handel Society on the evening before Commencement. A similar and final entertainment was given in 1842. In 1843, in the presence of Frank Johnson and Company's negro band from Philadelphia, we have the first instance of a concert wholly by talent from abroad.

The custom of a public dinner on Commencement day began with the first anniversary. To this "gentlemen of a liberal education or public character" were invited, the most distinguished being entertained at the President's table, the others at the Commons Hall. In later years all dined together, and the

hospitality of the College has been exercised sometimes at the hotel, sometimes in booths and latterly in the new commons or in the gymnasium. The graduating class was first admitted to the dinner by vote of 1832, the increased expense being met by an addition of eight cents to the quarter bills of every student. The amount of good cheer consumed on these festive occasions in early years is marvellous to this generation:

In 1796 the account runs thus:¹

For 52 bowls of punch @ 2/6, 2 bottles of brandy @ 4/6, and 21 bottles of wine @ 3/ 89 dinners @ 3/	Dolls. 44.16 44.50
	<hr/>
	Total Dols. 88.66
In 1797 there were 90 dinners at 3/	£13.10.0
61 bottles of brandy (6/ @ 4/6) and wine	13.14.6
29½ mugs of punch @ 2/6	3.13.9
	<hr/>
	Total £30.18.3

The barrel of liquor dispensed by the Governor to the crowd in 1772 has already been mentioned.

The termination of the exercises by grand social festivities in the evening of Commencement day is also a time-honored custom. These by ancient habit consisted primarily of a levee at the President's house, which is mentioned in 1827 as still held according to custom, and presumably continued some years longer.

The attractions of the new and spacious library room in the second story of Reed Hall led to a new departure in this respect. In 1840, the rooms being plastered but not yet ready for books, the students procured refreshments from Boston and held their levee there. In 1845, on the application of the senior class, the libraries were granted for a levee, which on the following year was adopted by the Trustees, and was for many years held under their auspices in lieu of the customary reception at the President's. A visitor of that year describes the rooms as "very tastefully decorated and the tables magnificently spread. We had," she wrote, "peaches, apricots, grapes, oranges, raisins, figs, nuts of all kinds, pickled fish, water melons a foot and a half and two feet long, cakes, ice cream, tea and coffee and lemonade. The students gave this instead of a ball. Kendall's band played and all went off well."² In earlier years there was often a ball under the control of the graduating class. The first of which we have

¹ Bills in files of College Treasurer.

² Letter of Mrs. John K. Lord.

knowledge was an "elegant and splendid" ball in 1811. In later times these gatherings were frowned upon by the Faculty and, being generally held in bad repute, were discontinued for many years, but they were revived in 1881 and have become an important function of Commencement week.

The preaching of a baccalaureate sermon by the President on the Sabbath preceding Commencement is an ancient custom, the beginning of which we cannot trace. Professor Crosby mentions it as observed by President Tyler,¹ and mentions in connection with it the singing to the tune of Amesbury, "according to time honored usage, of Wesley's old anthem, 'Come let us anew our journey pursue.' " This usage, though still prevailing, has been now for many years connected with the last exercise in the chapel which the graduating class attends before Commencement, and which is, therefore, called the "Sing-Out."²

Latin was at first the only foreign language employed by the speakers, excepting now and then Indian. After a while we find a great variety of tongues. In 1785, for example, the exercises consisted of twelve parts: 1, Latin salutatory; 2, Syllogistic dispute in Latin; 3, A forensic dispute in English; 4, A "very pathetick" English dialogue; 5, A dialogue in Greek; 6, A Hebrew oration; 7, An English oration; 8, A forensic dispute in English; 9, A dialogue in Chaldaick; 10, A dialogue in French; 11, An English disputation; 12, (after the conferring of degrees) A valedictory oration in English. "A solemn, pertinent and pathetick prayer closed the work of the day."

The next year in the midst of a similar variety we are told that "the audience was *much amused* by a Hebrew dialogue representing the controversy between Job and his three friends." This was followed by a dialogue in English in which were personated the ancient philosophers, Plato, Pyrrho, Epicurus and Zeno; and another, reaching the dignity of a play, in which appeared André, Arnold, and Generals Washington, Greene, Gates, Knox, and many others. In 1789 there was a dialogue in poetry by Samuel S. Wilde and Josiah Dunham. In 1792 the afternoon exercises were opened with an address by the President to an

¹ Crosby, Memorial of College Life, p. 35.

² Whether the "sing-out" was as early as the time of Professor Crosby is uncertain. The records of the Handel Society for 1839 show that the origin of the custom preceded that period, but there is no way of assigning an exact meaning to the word "ancient" in the college vocabulary. The record reads: "On Tuesday, July 16th, the senior members of the Society (according to an ancient custom) sang Amesbury from the 'Village Harmony,' this being the close of the college studies of the senior class." The "sing-out," as we know it, was evidently well established at that time.

Indian warrior present, who made a spirited answer in his native tongue, interpreted by Rev. Samuel Kirkland. This year a number of parts were omitted for want of time.

Prior to 1816 the highest Commencement honor was the salutatory oration. The first year of the College it was delivered in English, and also for a number of years.¹ It was in English in 1784, but in Latin in 1785, and thereafter. The first valedictory was in Latin, but afterward it seems to have been in English. The order of honors in 1797 apparently was, 1, Latin salutatory oration; 2, Philosophical oration; 3, Valedictory; 4, Chaldee oration; 5, Greek oration; 6, Dialogues; 7, Disputations. It is understood that the Greek oration was soon after promoted to the second rank, between the salutatory and the philosophical oration and the fourth place was assigned to four English orations, one of which was the valedictory, followed by other orations of a second grade, and dialogues and disputations. Poems ranked with the disputations.

The foreign tongues fell into gradual disuse, but the programme of 1807 equalled in variety that of 1785, for besides Greek and Latin it included orations in Chaldee, Hebrew and French. Chaldee did not again appear, and the latest Hebrew exercise that has been noted was in 1810. Till 1824 there were generally two orations in Latin and one in Greek, but all of these disappeared after 1849. Latin was restored with the salutatory in 1865, but was finally abandoned in 1897, when, after the consolidation with the Chandler School, the salutatory fell to one who had not studied Latin.

In 1816 the valedictory (pronounced by Webster's nephew, C. B. Haddock) became, as it had long been elsewhere, the highest honor. Its place was always, until its disuse in 1835, after the degrees had been conferred, but since its restoration in 1865 it has been delivered immediately before the conferring of the degrees. The candidates for the master's degree, which was given in course to all graduates of three or more years' standing, were represented till 1871 by one or two orations delivered at the close of the other exercises of Commencement day by graduates of the third year before, appointed by the Faculty. Originally the orations were in Latin, but this was last used in 1824.

The order of rank as re-established in 1865, representing twenty-four appointments, based solely on scholarship, was, 1, Valedictory; 2, Salutatory; 3, Philosophical orations; 4, English

¹ Autobiography of Amos Kendall, pp. 40, 61, 65.

orations; 5, Disputations; 6, Dissertations, including poems, if any. The division was usually two philosophical orations, eight English orations, three disputations each with two speakers, and six dissertations, but the numbers in each class varied somewhat according to rank, and occasionally twenty-five appointments were made.

Until 1800 it was the habit of the Faculty to assign the Latin salutatory and philosophical oration to graduates, and after assigning the other parts to allow the class to designate the valedictorian out of the first four English orators. The class of 1800 getting into a wrangle that prevented an election, the Faculty made the appointment themselves, and, taught by this experience, left the choice no more to the classes.¹

This led the next year to serious disturbances of another sort. The class of 1801 was divided into factions headed by Merrill and Webster. Merrill was without question the highest scholar in the appointed studies and received the salutatory. Webster, though by all odds the most prominent person in the class and the best orator, was not even second in scholarship, but his friends desired for him the valedictory. The opinion of the class, however, was not invited and for some reasons not now very apparent, though Mr. Merrill in his account of it ascribes it to misunderstandings such as are honorable to both Mr. Webster and the Faculty, the valedictory was assigned to another, and Webster had his choice between an English oration on the fine arts, or a poem. He declined both, and a number of his friends on his account refused the parts assigned to them and were excused.²

Mr. Merrill adds:³ "Webster's friends did not claim that he was entitled to the Latin oration, but they had marked him for their valedictory orator, and considered themselves aggrieved by the refusal of the Faculty to entrust them with the appointment according to the established usage."

Mr. Webster himself told Judge Nesmith in after years that at a subsequent interview with the Faculty the matter was explained and the ill feeling allayed. Certainly he never harbored resentment. The foolish story so long current that Webster made a scene upon the stage by destroying his diploma, or that he did so

¹ Samuel Swift in *The Dartmouth*, 1872, pp. 403-5.

² They were Bingham, Dutton, Gilbert, Hotchkiss, Loveland and Noyes. See statement by Judge Nesmith in *The Dartmouth*, 1875-1876, p. 21, derived from personal information from Loveland, Pettengill and Webster himself.

³ Life of Webster, by G. T. Curtis, pp. 41-42.

afterward in private has no foundation in fact. His classmate, Merrill, notwithstanding their rivalry, was an intimate friend and remained in Hanover three years after graduation as a teacher in Moor's School and a tutor in the College, but he says he never heard the story till twenty-five years later; and another, Rev. Elijah Smith, declares, "I have no doubt the story is false. I stood by his side when he received his degree with a graceful bow, and such was my connection with him in our society affairs that if he had destroyed it afterwards I should certainly have known it." These troubles seem to have cast a shadow over several subsequent Commencements. Often the highest parts only were accepted. In 1806 the exercises comprised a dialogue and eight orations; in 1807 of eleven parts all were orations. In 1808 eight orations formed the entertainment. In 1811 one of the speakers, thinking himself underrated, refused to prepare his part, and another came on the stage with a slovenly dress, and his stockings at his heels, took no notice of the President or the Trustees, and spoke his piece so low as to be inaudible. Both lost their degrees in consequence.¹

Of the ancient use of Latin as the official College vernacular, given up after 1827, a single relic remained till 1893 in the time-honored formula for conferring degrees. The ceremony and the formula it may be worth while to describe.

The President received the candidates by detachments, himself sitting and covered. As soon as they were placed he rose, removed his hat and turning towards the Trustees thus addressed them: *Curatores honorandi ac reverendi* [whereupon they also rose and he proceeded], *Hi iuvenes, coram vobis adstantes, examini publico, pro more huius academiae, subjecti, digni honoribus academicis existimati fuerunt. Vobis igitur comprobantibus, illos nunc ad gradum petitum admitto.* Then resuming his seat and his hat, the President thus addressed the candidates: *Pro auctoritate mihi commissa, vos ad gradum primum [vel secundum] in artibus admitto. Ac dono privilegia omnia, atque honores quae ubique gentium ad gradum eundem pertinent. Cuius rei hae litterae patentes testimonio sint.* The diplomas were then distributed by the marshal, the candidates retired, each detachment leaving the church after it had received its diplomas, and the whole process was repeated. Dr. Belknap tells us that in 1774 the ceremony of the book was also used, but this long since disappeared, and in later years the habit grew up of omitting the appeal to the Trustees except for

¹ Autobiography of Amos Kendall, p. 65.

the first detachment. Since the transfer of the Commencement exercises to Webster Hall the whole class receives its degrees at one address, and by a simple but effective evolution marches before the Dean to receive its diplomas at his hands.

The dignity of the ceremony, now antiquated, depended much upon the personal carriage of those who conducted it. The old time cap and gown, though abandoned by Faculty and students, were retained by the President until 1877, and added greatly to the harmonious propriety of the scene. Even with the anachronism, indulged by President Lord, of a shiny silk hat, the ceremony was in the highest degree impressive. In earlier times all the announcements on Commencement day were made in Latin. Among the stock phrases of the occasion which have become obsolete was the reminder to the band: "musice expectatur," translated by the second Wheelock to an unlearned and unresponsive band master by a sharp order into "play up"; and habitually by President Lord by the phrase "music is expected." English orations were announced as *in lingua vernacula*.

The use of gowns by the speakers, which we suppose to have been in early times invariable, found occasional observance as late as 1850. They again came into use by the students in 1891 and were adopted by the Faculty as a whole in 1908 at the first Commencement in Webster Hall.

The *litterae patentes*, or diplomas, have been always in Latin on parchment, signed by all the Trustees present, excepting in 1829 when they were signed by the President and Secretary.¹ The phraseology has not been invariable. They have always been furnished at the expense of the graduates. They were engrossed by the pen as late at least as 1798, after that a plate was procured by the students. In 1832 a new one was ordered but the students objected to paying for it and preferred the old. The plate now in use was bought in 1859 for \$50 from the two literary societies. The seal was attached of old by a broad blue ribbon. Since 1876 it has been impressed upon the parchment.

In 1854 Class day was for the first time celebrated and though not observed in 1855 became, thereafter, a standing feature of Commencement, to which Tuesday afternoon was devoted till 1894, when it was changed to Monday. This was one of several indications at this period of a general strengthening of class and college feeling. It was followed in the same direction by the custom, begun by the class of 1855, of exchanging pictures, which

¹ Before 1893 the diplomas of the Chandler graduates were in French.

for three years were in the form of lithographs copied from daguerreotypes. Photographs were introduced by the class of 1858. Contemporaneously with Class day came also the custom of permanent class organizations to the extent at least of the appointment of a secretary to preserve the history of the members, and foster communication between them. Many of the secretaries have prepared and published valuable biographical reports of their classes, and in 1905 a permanent organization of the secretaries was formed, to meet annually in March in Hanover, and having as its special object the preservation in convenient and accessible form of the records of the several classes. The permanent renewal of the General Alumni Association in the same year, 1854, and the organization of a local association in Boston in 1856 were a marked evidence of a new growth of the same spirit among the graduates.

TERM BILLS AND FEES.

The charge for tuition at the beginning, in 1770, was 17s a quarter—1s 1d a week, and the rent of rooms in the first story and middle section of the college building was 4s a quarter, and of other rooms 7s, payable on the first Wednesday of December, March, June and September. In 1777 tuition was fixed at 25s a quarter, reduced two years later to 20s a quarter, and dismissal from college was denounced as penalty for non-payment. In 1795, after the change of money, the tuition was fixed at \$4 a quarter, besides a contingent charge of 20¢. In 1793 it was ordered that each member of the graduating class should pay his proportion of the public dinner at Commencement. The charge for "Commencement expenses" in 1808 was \$4 instead of the previous \$3.

In 1774 the Trustees had voted "that each person who shall have a degree of Bachelor or Master of Arts conferred on him shall pay the President four dollars therefor, and that those who have diplomas of the same signed and sealed pay one guinea, vz. four dollars for the President and four shillings for the Clerk who seals and procures the signing of the diplomas." In 1808 the graduating fee as a perquisite of the President was raised to \$5. A student on graduation was, therefore, called upon to pay two fees, amounting to \$9. The college treasurer collected the part that came to the College, and the other part was apparently paid directly to the officers to whom they went. This continued till 1819, when the books of the treasurer indicate that the College made some concession to the poverty of the students and reduced its charge to \$3 in 1820, to \$2 in 1821, to \$1 in 1822 and gave it up altogether in 1823. One dollar was again demanded in the next year and in 1825 a charge of \$6 was made. No votes of the Trustees required the change, but the form of the charge suggests an explanation. Up to 1823 the charge was for "Commencement expenses," but from 1825 it was for "graduation fee and diploma." The College seems to have given up its own fee and to have consented to collect the President's for him, together with \$1 for the diploma. The fee of \$5 as the President's perquisite continued till 1863, when on the accession of President Smith it was turned into the college treasury in view of the

larger salary paid him. The "graduation fee" rose to \$7.50 in 1860 and to \$8 in 1862, at which figure it still stands.

In 1807 the tuition was raised to \$5 a quarter, and since that time it has been successively raised as follows: In 1819 to \$7 a quarter; in 1825 to \$10 a term, three in the year; in 1851 to \$12; 1855 to \$14; 1860 to \$17; 1867 to \$20; 1873 to \$35, for each of two terms; 1876 to \$30 a term for each of the three terms, to which the calendar had returned; in 1894 to \$100 a year, and in 1909 to \$125 a year.

In the Chandler School the tuition at first was \$5 a term, or \$20 a year, for the junior department and \$10 a term, or \$30 a year for the senior department. After one year the higher rate was required of all. On the enlargement of the course to four years the tuition was raised to \$36 a year for the two lower classes and to \$42 a year for the two higher classes. In 1867 these sums were raised to \$42 and \$48, but in 1872 the rate for all was put at \$60 a year, and except for the addition of a library tax in 1888 this remained the charge for tuition till the union of the School with the College. Tuition in the Thayer School was in the beginning \$60 a year; it was raised to \$75 in 1891, to \$90 in 1893 and to \$100 in 1896, and since that year has adopted the same tuition as the College.

From the very beginning great difficulty was experienced in collecting college dues, and in 1775 it was ordered that good and sufficient securities be exacted for the payment of bills, and that no student should be admitted to a degree till all his dues had been paid. In 1788 still more stringent rules were made in respect to the exaction of bonds, and in the same year it was made the duty of the steward to collect the quarter bills, but as difficulty arose it was ordered in September of 1780 that the treasurer should collect the bills if the steward refused. In 1790 it was required that one dollar should be paid on account at admission. In 1808 a penalty of six per cent (besides lawful interest) was voted upon all bills remaining unpaid more than two quarters.

In 1820 it was ordered that students who should fall into arrears on their quarter bills for more than a year should be dismissed from College, and that any whose college bills should not be wholly paid by Monday of Commencement week should not receive a degree. It was also ordered that if any officer of College should thereafter instruct any student of the College who should not have given bonds for his bills according to the law of the College, such officer should be accountable to the Trustees for the stu-

dent's quarter bills and other legal charges accruing. The latter order naturally soon became a dead letter, and the dire poverty of the students compelled a partial relaxing from the strictness of the former order, at least so far as to allow the giving of notes for the amounts due the College, but in substance the rule refusing a degree to one whose dues to the College are unpaid is still in force, and many experiments of greater or less strictness in the collection of current tuition were tried with indifferent success.

In 1854 it was ordered that if one did not pay within a week his connection with College should thereby cease, but this not proving effective the apparently lesser penalty of losing "full and regular standing" and being "marked as absent without excuse" was tried. When penalty failed, authority was tried and in 1883 the simple statement that "payment of college bills is required in ADVANCE," was left to work upon the imagination of the students in conjuring up what would happen if the requirement were not met. As generally nothing happened, there came to be a large arrearage on the treasurer's books, but of late years this has been much reduced by a penalty of five dollars additional charge for delay, and an unqualified refusal to allow a delinquent to take examinations (except on excuse by the President), a method which has proved fairly efficacious in securing prompt payment of college bills.

As has elsewhere been described, a library tax was among the earliest items on the college bills, either as a fixed sum, or varied according to the use of the library. From 1855 to 1878, inclusive, it was absorbed in the general charge for tuition, then it reappeared till in 1902 it was again taken into an item of \$25 for "college expenses," which also included the College Club, and this item in 1909 was taken into the tuition account. The first laboratory charge appeared in chemistry in 1888,¹ and in 1894 was extended to the other departments having laboratories.

In the Medical School the first charge given in the catalogue was \$50 for the autumnal course of lectures, and this continued to be the charge until 1866 when it was raised to \$70, with a matriculation fee of \$5, raised from \$2 in 1829 and \$3 in 1838, and graduating expenses of \$20, raised from \$18. Beginning with 1821 the resident physicians gave private instruction in medicine from about the middle of March till Commencement, for which they asked a fee of \$45, but this was reduced to \$40 by advance

¹ The earlier fees, such as were exacted in 1825, were not laboratory fees but for attendance on lectures.

payment. This recitation or "reading" term, as it was sometimes called, was omitted for three years from 1829, but was then again revived by Drs. Mussey and Hale, but after one year was conducted by Dr. Mussey alone through 1836, for which his fee was \$35. In the later recitation term, which was begun in 1873, the fee was \$25, but was raised the next year to \$40. The fees for the lecture course were raised to \$77 in 1870 and the graduation fee, which a little later was called an examination fee, to \$25. In 1891 a division was made between the courses, and for the first and second the fee was \$77 and for the third \$50, but on the opening of four courses in 1897 the fee for the first was \$100 and for each of the others \$110. Five years later it was made \$125 for each, reduced to \$100 in 1904, but again raised to \$125 in 1909.

In 1793 the fees to be paid for honorary degrees, one half for the benefit of the President, were fixed as follows: A.B. \$10; A.M. \$16; LL.B., M.B. and B.D. \$24; LL.D., M.D. and D.D. \$40. These fees have become obsolete, but in 1887 the fee of \$10 was established to be exacted for the honorary degree of Ph.D.

COLLEGE LAWS.

We have seen how the form of government was at first "paternal" in its character, and how as early as 1774 Governor Wentworth, in view of certain domestic troubles that grew out of that state of things, advised the enactment of a definite code of laws, modelled after the best plans that experience at other institutions might suggest. Nothing was accomplished, however, in this direction, and so long as the founder lived the paternal plan was in general adhered to and the rules governing the conduct of the students, though in their general scope well understood and established in many minor points, remained to a great degree fragmentary and subject to the President's direction. These had never been regularly codified nor as a whole approved by the Board of Trust.

As soon as the new order of things got well under way in 1779, the existing rules were brought together by the "Executive Authority," into a body of "Laws," which, as the first established code, it will be of interest, though at some cost of space, to insert here in full.

1. Of their Religion and morals.

That they shall attend on the worship of God morning and evening and upon Lord's day; and other days publickly appointed for that purpose seasonably and with reverence and decency (ie) they shall be in the Hall and at their places by the time the signal given for their coming together ceases, at least before the President or the person who is to perform the services enters the Hall, and shall remain there and behave with gravity and propriety and not leave their places till the President Tutors Bachelors and all Senior Classes have gone out of the Hall. And going out of the Hall that they have no playing or sporting or any noise clamor or loud talking; but shall regularly and orderly depart as soon as the services are all over; and shall always carry their hats when going to meeting. That in cases of offence that are in their own nature private and may be consistently kept so, they are strictly to observe the rules of proceeding given by Christ in the 18 Chapter of Matthew.

That they watch over themselves and one another in the use of all proper and appointed means and endeavors, to prevent a declention in religion, and promote their mutual edification in Christ Jesus, and by a holy and unblameable conversation commend themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

2. Of their conduct and behavior towards the President.

That the conduct and behaviour of the Students towards the Honourable President be in every respect with that filial duty and esteem as the importance and dignity of his station requires (viz.) uncovering their heads at and

within the distance of four¹ rods from him; also when they enter his dooryard, when the weather dont render it inconvenient and when their hands are not necessarily otherwise employed. That they never speak of him, or to him, but in a manner savory of deference and respect. That they stand when in his presence till they have permission to sit. That they wait for his liberty to speak when they would address him on any occasion. That they deliver their sentiments with modesty and propriety and deliberately. That they never contradict or enter into disputes with him; but propose their doubts grievances or arguments by way of decent interrogation. That they wait when they return an errand to him for his liberty to withdraw. That they carry their hats when they wait on him, and use no indecent gestures in his presence.

3. *Towards the Tutors.*

That they treat the Tutors and Professors with a deference and respect becoming their Office and relation to them (viz.) That they uncover their heads at and within the distance of three rods from them, when the weather dont render it inconvenient, and their hands are not otherwise necessarily employed. That they enter not into controversy or dispute with them but purpose what they have to say by way of decent interrogation. That they rise when a Tutor enters the room where they are and stand till he is seated with them or they have otherwise liberty to sit. That they rise when spoken by them and never interrupt them when speaking. That they be not talkative clamorous or noisy nor use indecent gestures before them. That they alway carry their hats when they visit one of their rooms. That they punctually perform their orders (unless contradicted by the President) and always return their errand as soon as effected, and not withdraw without liberty.

4. *Towards Bachellors.*

That they show becoming respect to Bachellors of Arts and all Graduates such as uncovering their heads in their presence and keeping them so till they are bid to cover them; rising when they enter or go out of their rooms, and conduct in all other respects agreeable to the relation they stand in to them.

5. *Towards one another.*

That they behave with respect and kindness towards one another avoiding everything that is against the unity of the spirit or manifesting a want of friendship or contrary to the Gentleman or Christian. Junior Classes shall properly acknowledge the superiority of their Seniors by giving them the right hand in walking or sitting &c. Freshmen when in the College or in the Hall and when they speak to seniors shall have their heads uncovered and when in their company shall wait to be bidden before they cover them, unless there be such reasons to the contrary as have been mentioned. Freshmen shall at times hereafter appointed for diversion do the necessary errands for all the senior Classes who have themselves served a freshmanhip (provided they are not sent more than half a mile) and shall faithfully perform and return the same.

It shall be the duty of the Tutors to inspect and form the manners of the three Senior Classes agreeable to the foregoing rules: and also to a decent and Gentleman like behaviour toward all men.

¹ This was first written "six" and changed to "four."

It shall be the duty of the Senior class to inspect the manners of the Freshmen in a decent, comely, manly and Gentleman like behaviour towards men of all ranks and conditions; and especially to a due observance of the foregoing and other good rules of behaviour toward the Officers and students of this College. And for this purpose shall have power to call them together or singly before them at such time and place as they shall think proper, in the hours appointed for diversion. That the hours of diversion in the winter be as follows (*viz.*) from breakfast till school time, and from dinner till school time and from Supper till 7 o'clock in the evening and saterday in the afternoon. In the summer the same except at evening the time of diversion shall be from 6 to 9 o'clock, the rest shall be accounted as study time and the students shall then attend at their [studies] except at such times as public Collegiate exercises requires their attendance elsewhere. And it shall be the duty of the Tutors so often as they shall judge necessary to inspect the students Rooms to see that the last mentioned rules be duly observed.

Whereas the practice of manual labor is in itself useful and reputable; and may in a special manner only serve the original design of this institution, as the instructing the natives that may come here for an education in that necessary art may greatly conduce to their civilization and improvement therefore it is hereby strongly recommended that the members of this seminary turn their diversion into that chanel as far as it may be done with convenience, at least that they neither by action or word do anything to discountenance the practice of it in others.

Further more determined that there be nine weeks vacation in a year (*viz.*) from Commencement 5 weeks and from the first monday in May 4 weeks.

That the students pay twenty shillings quarterly for tuition and four shillings pr quarter for study rooms in first story and middle garrets and 6 shillings for the rest and that the bills be made up and paid quarterly (*viz.*) on the first wednesday of September, December, March and June.

That all Independent Schollars shall at their entrance into College provide good and sufficient sureties for payment of their College expences during their abode there.

That Independent Schollars who shall be admitted after the usual term shall pay the same tuition money for the time elapsed as others of the class into which they are admitted, and those who are absent the same as those present. And no one who is admitted after the usual time shall have the priviledge of sending Freshmen unless he serves himself a forth part of his remaining time in College.

That students who neglect a punctual payment of their quarter bills to the satisfaction of the president and Tutors shall be liable to dismission for such neglect.

That those students who occupy rooms out of College pay study rent so long as rooms remain unoccupied in College.

That no scholar be admitted to a degree till he has settled his College bills to the satisfaction of the board of trustees then present. That no student for the future may ordinarily expect to receive a degree at this College, unless he resides here the usual term of continuance from the time of his entrance. That a strict regard as possible be paid to merit. That examinations be strict and critical; and that the idle, dissipated and vicious may not expect to be favoured with the honours of this College.

Some laws to prevent disorder and immorality.

That no student of this College be permitted to play at cards, Dice or any other unlawful game either in the College or any other place whatever, on penalty of a fine not exceeding twenty shillings for each offence at discretion of a President or a Tutor and if persisted in they shall be expelled. That no student board at a tavern or sit at a tavern unless when on a journey or with express leave obtained for it from the President or Tutors or by desire of a Parent or Guardian, on penalty of a fine of two shillings Lawful money. And any one being convicted of a breach of this law four times within the space of six weeks shall be publicly admonished. Nor shall any student of said College be at a Tavern after nine o'clock in the evening on penalty of a fine of three shillings lawful money. That no student be absent from his study after nine o'clock at night without liberty or such occasion as President or Tutors shall think sufficient on penalty of one shilling lawful money.

That no scholar send for or procure any spirituous liquors without a permit from the President or a Tutor for which he shall apply in person unless especially detained at which time he may send for one by a Freshman by whom he shall assign the reason for not coming himself; and the purpose for which he desires such permit; and such permit shall specify the time and place to which liberty is granted to have it procured.

That each student that neglects to attend public prayers in the Hall morning and evening; and other public exercises of religious worship without such reasons for his neglect as shall be esteemed good and sufficient by the President or a Tutor shall be dealt with by them in such a manner as they shall judge most suitable to convince him of the evil of such practical contempt of those divine ordinances; and if persisted in he shall be admonished publicly till all suitable means of reformation appears ineffectual, then he shall be dismissed without honor as an unworthy member of this seminary. That if any student shall treat with disrespect any instituted worship of God or use endeavours to discredit any exercises of social worship public or privit, which are properly and regularly appointed or discourage others attending thereon being convicted by the authority of College shall be publicly admonished. All fines shall be charged and made up with the quarter bills.

Regulations respecting Collegiate exercises, the Library &c.

Whereas the practice of having the weekly exercises of the students in Oratory immediately after the evening prayers is found by experience to be inconvenient 'Tis therefore enacted that henceforth those exercises shall be held weekly on wednesday to begin when the signal is given for study time in afternoon at which time all the students are required to attend for that purpose.

That there be at least two Orations delivered on each quarter day besides such other public exercises as shall be occasionally appointed to be held on those days. The orations to be delivered on December quarter day by the Senior Class. On March quarter day by the Junior Class. On June quarter day by the Sophomore Class. Also that there be an Oration in Latin on the Arts and sciences delivered by one of the Junior Class in the afternoon of the day in which the Freshman Class shall be examined previous to the spring and fall vacations. Also that the Senior Class hold a forensic dispute in English on

the first wednesday of every month. That each pay for books taken by him out of the Library as follows for the terms annexed viz.

For a Folio 6 ^d which may be kept 4 weeks	
Quarto 4 ^d	3 weeks
Large Octavo 3 ^d	} 1 week
Small Octavo 2 ^d	
Any other book 1 ^d	
Pamphlet ½.....	

And if any student shall keep any book longer than the times above mentioned he shall pay double that price so often as the term shall be repeated and no student shall have more than two books beside Classics at a time except the Seniors who may take three (unless upon special occasions and with liberty) beside which they shall pay for any special damage any book may sustain while in their custody.

Regulations for the security of the College building from damage.

That all the students keep the rooms they respectively inhabit secure from damage. That if rooms that are unoccupied sustain special damage the cost of repairing shall be brought into contingent charges. If a student is known to have broke a window or to have done any other particular damage in the College or Hall or any other public building, he shall immediately get it repaired or be at double the cost of reparation.

If any student shall play ball or use any other diversion that exposes the College or Hall windows within 3 rods of either he shall be fined two shillings for the first offence 4s for the 2^d and so on at the discretion of the President or Tutors. It is earnestly recommended and enjoined upon the students that they observe neatness and cleanliness in their rooms and in their dress and avoid every practice in, upon or about the College that may be disagreeable and offensive. 'Tis incumbent on every class at least and 'tis recommended that every room in College have a copy of these laws and regulations. The students also in school are required to pay a strict adherence to them unless inconsistent with any rules already given them and obviously unapplicable to their situation as members of the School.

JOHN WHEELLOCK, *President.*

In November, 1780, the instructor in Moor's School was given the authority of a college tutor, and the students were "recommended to have their heads uncovered within a rod in his presence, unless necessarily prevented."

At a meeting of the President & Tutors of Dartmouth College, November 30th 1780.

Whereas Mores charity School is incorporated with this College, & the Master of the same is an officer of the institution & necessarily connected with it; and whereas it may tend to promote the useful state & existance of this society, that he should be invested with [more] extensive power than has been in time passed; therefore pursuant to authority derived from the board of trustees; Resolved that the regular instructor of said school be invested & he

is hereby invested with power to advise, reprove, & instruct the manners & conduct of the members of this institution, in the College & hall as amply and fully as any Tutor may be by charter, or law; it is hereby recommended to the students of said College & school to regulate their conduct to him agreeable to that relation, & to have their heads uncovered within a rod, in his presence unless necessarily prevented.

DARTMO COLLEGE 15th July 1782.

At a meeting of the President & Tutors of D. College.

The authority of said College having taken into consideration that many disadvantages may arise & particular by that a door may be opened to great animosities & division by the practice of any student entering a complaint to the Seniors against the members of the freshman Class without being explicit and particular apertaining the articles of charge or facts complained of therefore be it & it is hereby enacted that no student of this institution shall enter a complaint to any senior against any member or members of the Freshman class, without particularly expressing the article or articles of charge in said complaint & to prevent all disputes for the future between any parties concerned, be it further enacted that no student of this institution shall for the future exhibit a charge to the senior against any member of the freshman class without making the allegation with precision & clearness in writing: Given under my hand, this 15th day of July A.D. 1782.

J. WHEELLOCK *President, with advice of Tutors.*

In 1785 the Trustees raised a committee to revise the laws, which reported that no change was necessary. But the pressure of advancing ideas was too strong to be wholly resisted, and in 1786 and subsequent years amendments were made, and in 1794 a thorough revision was ordered. Two years elapsed before the code was completed by careful revision and comparison with the laws of other colleges, and being adopted in 1796 by the Trustees—the first ever enacted by that body—became the foundation of the system that still exists. The new code was conceived in a manly tone, entirely different from the servile and petty spirit of the ancient regulations.

The custom of fagging had died a natural death by common consent, the freshmen having developed, here as at other colleges, about this time, a preternatural stupidity in the execution of orders that in the end made the sending of them on errands as annoying to the sender as to them, as was illustrated in the well known instance (at another college) of a freshman who, entrusted with a dollar with which to buy pipes and tobacco at a distant grocery, returned with ninety-nine pipes and one cent's worth of tobacco.¹ The laws, however, formally recognized the decay

¹ See *The Dartmouth* for 1872, p. 272, in an article on "Freshman Fagging," in which are given the rules once in use at Harvard and Yale.

of the custom by ordering that freshmen should be excused from going on errands, if they wished, and should be debarred from themselves sending freshmen on errands in their turn.

Both of these early codes existed only in manuscript. That of 1796 was read by order of the Trustees in chapel and each class was provided with a copy at the expense of the class. It differed in form and largely in substance from the code of 1779, being concerned less with rules of etiquette than with the essentials of college life. There followed from year to year special enactments which throw light on the troubles of the period. In 1798 students were forbidden to hold public entertainments on pain of fine and expulsion, and in 1799 they were on like penalty forbidden to be freemasons. In 1807 it was ordered that damages to the buildings of officers by unknown students should be paid for by the entire body.

The next revision appears to have been made upon setting out upon the new era in 1819, the code of 1796 having served substantially unchanged a full quarter of a century and forming the basis of the new. The laws were now for the first time put into print, in a pamphlet of twenty pages. From that time to the present they have been subjected to repeated revision, and reprinted no less than fourteen times, possibly more, between 1822 and 1891. A copy of the laws, given to each student on entering college and containing the certificate of his admission, has long been known as the "Freshman Bible."

The first mention of the professors and tutors as an organized body was in 1819 under the style of the "immediate government," but this gave way in 1828 to the present term of "faculty." For some time this body had little to do with legislation, but gradually the details of administration passed into its hands. I have been unable to find the date of the first printed issue of its "regulations," but of late years these have appeared at irregular but increasingly frequent intervals, and cover the various branches of college administration, such as registration, attendance, excuses, scholarship, conduct and penalties.

CATALOGUES.

The first printed catalogue of Dartmouth College was a record of all prior graduates, printed on one side of a large sheet known as a "broadside" and issued in 1786. It was followed by another broadside in 1789, printed at Newburyport, and then by others of the same character at regular intervals of three years, which were consequently denominated "Triennials." That of 1795, and all later, were in the form of an octavo pamphlet and all were in Latin until 1873, inclusive.

The Latin of this publication was so peculiar as to deserve the term given to it by Professor Crosby¹ of "triennial Latin." He neatly pointed out the absurdities into which it fell in attempting to present modern names in ancient forms.

"It has been a question," said he, "in publishing the Triennial, whether Hanover should be Latinized by *Hanoveria* as in 1795, by *Leuphana*, as from 1798 to 1831, or by *Hanovera*, as more recently; whether Clement Long should appear as *Clementinus* (1828 f) or as *Clemens* (1843 f); Constant Storrs, as plain *Constant* (1807 f), as *Constantinus* (1816 f) or as *Constans* (1849 f); Experience Porter, as *Experientius* (1804 f), as plain *Experience* (1840, 1843), or with the feminine name *Experientia* (1846 f), a name which manifestly makes this worthy man a woman; whether one of our class should wear the name of Lyman Lewis Rix (1828-1846), or of Lymanus Lewis Rix (1849-1864), or of Lymanus Ludovicus Rix (1867).

"There are two readings in our Triennial for 1867, and the five preceding ones, that are quite peculiar. They are "Dies Fayette Ayer," and "Samus Gerrish Dearborn." What can be these men's names? one is tempted to ask. On investigation he finds that the name of the first is simply "Day Fayette Ayer," and wonders that he does not find, upon the same principle of translation, "Hope L. Dana," "King S. Hall," "Royal Call," "Ivory W. R. Marsh," and "Rejoice Newton" changed into *Spes* L. Dana, *Rex* S. Hall, *Regalis* Call, *Ebur* W. R. Marsh and *Gaude* Newton. The name of the second appears in the annual catalogue for 1849-1850 as plain "Samuel G. Dearborn"; so that here the stately Triennial has stooped to take up the colloquial *Sam* and dignify it into a Latin appellation by the aid of the suffix—*Sam-us*."

The Triennial was at first very rude and meagre. An index was first appended in 1831, though in 1814 a catalogue was published with all the names in alphabetical order. Dates of death were added in 1849, and ages in 1858. Birth dates were first given in 1912. In 1880 after an interval of seven years the catalogue was enlarged, and translated into English, and

¹ Memorial of the Class of 1827, p. 31.

its period of issue was made five years instead of three, whence it was styled the "Quinquennial," but the five years were extended to ten before the next issue was made in 1890. After that time it was called the "General Catalogue," but the 1900 issue did not appear till 1901. In 1905 a "Supplement" was published containing the names and addresses of the living alumni; these as well as their occupations will regularly appear in future issues, and also the dates of death of those who have died. The issue due in 1910 did not appear till 1912, but then in a greatly improved form. In 1867 there was published, by the private enterprise of Dr. G. C. Chapman of the class of 1804, a catalogue of the academic graduates, with a biographical sketch of each, in a book of 520 pages. Beginning with 1874 an annual obituary record has been printed and distributed at Commencement.

Of annual catalogues none were printed complete prior to 1802, though lists of individual classes were from time to time published at their own expense, beginning, so far as known, with one of the freshman class, printed at Windsor, Vt., and dated June 15, 1788, being of the class which was graduated in 1791. The publication was induced, very likely, by the fact that this class was the largest numerically that the College had seen. It then numbered forty; it afterward increased to fifty-three and was graduated forty-nine. This earliest catalogue, entitled "Catalogue of the Present Members of the Freshman Class at Dartmouth University," was printed on one side of a sheet eight inches wide, and ten inches long, and contained only the names and residences of the members. Fourteen hailed from New Hampshire, fifteen from Massachusetts, eight from Connecticut and three from Vermont.

With what degree of regularity and to what extent these partial catalogues were issued during the dozen succeeding years it is impossible to say. We have specimens of similar class lists published by the "sophomore" class in 1799, and in 1800, the latter on a sheet of double the former size. Catalogues were also issued apparently by the graduating class, as they are labelled "Catalogue of Graduates at Dartmouth University." The first one known was published "August 3rd, 1797," and is on a sheet 3 1-8 by 4 3-4 inches. The next one was two years later, and was printed in Concord on a sheet 6 by 7 1-4 inches.

The first full "Catalogue of the Officers and Students at Dartmouth University" was issued in October, 1802, at the

expense of the sophomore class, on one side of a sheet 12 inches wide and 16 inches high, printed very neatly by Moses Davis at Hanover, and containing, besides the college officers, only the names and residences of the four academic classes. Catalogues were issued in this form by the sophomore class annually until 1819, inclusive, excepting the year 1812 when none was printed. The size of the sheet was enlarged after the first issue to 14 by 20 inches in 1803, to 16 by 20 in 1809, and to 18 by 20 in 1813. The classes bore the same designation as at present, excepting that from 1815 to 1827, in 1831, and from 1846 to 1851, the upper classes were designated "Senior Sophisters" and "Junior Sophisters." The rooms of the students were first indicated in 1813.

Until 1815, inclusive, the institution was invariably styled in the catalogues, "Dartmouth University"; ever since, for obvious reasons, the style of "Dartmouth College" has been carefully adhered to. In 1816 there was issued a broadside catalogue of Dartmouth University (not yet actually organized), containing the same names of officers and students as the catalogue of the College, but with the addition of the Trustees and Overseers appointed by the State. This was the only official catalogue ever issued by the State University. There was, however, one printed for it the next year by college students in a spirit of ridicule to show the paucity of its numbers. This was on a sheet of 8 by 9 1-2 inches and indicated twelve students in all, of which four were marked *absent*.

Catalogues of the students in the Medical Department were issued in broadside form on a smaller sheet as early as 1806, when there was printed a "Catalogue of Medical Students and Students of College Who Attended Medical Lectures at Dartmouth College," and probably annually from then on. From 1811 to 1813 it was called the "Dartmouth Medical Theatre"; in 1814 and 1815 it was styled the "Medical Institution of Dartmouth University," in 1816 of "Dartmouth College," in 1817 and 1818, by a sort of compromise, the "Dartmouth Medical Institution," and in 1819 again the "Medical Institution of Dartmouth College." In 1820 the medical and the undergraduate catalogues were consolidated and issued in the form of an octavo pamphlet of fifteen pages. It was still at the charge of the sophomore class, distributed without charge to the other classes, and so continued until 1832, when a part of its cost

was borne by the College, which in 1836 assumed the entire control and expense of its publication.¹

Prior to 1822 the catalogue contained nothing more than the lists of names, etc., as before described. In that year was first introduced the calendar of the academic year, and a statement of the terms of admission and of the course of academic study, together with an announcement respecting the medical lectures, and a table of probable annual expenses, aggregating, including tuition and all others, \$98.65. In 1823 the *ex officio* members of the Board on the part of the State were first mentioned. The catalogue first took on the dignity of a cover in 1827.

There is but little that is important to be noted respecting the annual catalogue of later years. Of course it has grown with the College, and now appears in a duodecimo pamphlet of about 350 pages. It preserved the octavo form till 1897, excepting occasional issues in duodecimo, viz.: 1827 to 1830 inclusive, 1835, and 1838 to 1844 inclusive. On five or six occasions, owing to dissatisfaction among the students with the form and style of the official catalogue, other editions were put forth by the students themselves. In 1840 and 1841 there were two editions, both being in duodecimo, and in 1844 the official edition was in duodecimo while that issued by the students was in octavo form. Again in 1849, from some misfortune or other, the official catalogue appeared in covers of various strange and gaudy colors, and occasioned almost a rebellion, an incident of which was the appearance one morning of a package of the obnoxious pamphlet flaunting at the point of the spire on Dartmouth Hall. The students themselves put forth a beautiful substitute clad in a white, gold printed cover, containing, in addition to the matter of the official edition, a statement for the first time of the libraries connected with the College, of the cabinet and apparatus, and of the beneficiary funds, and a somewhat enlarged estimate of expenses. These new features were adopted in the official issues of subsequent years, and have been since extended with the growth of the College till they occupy the bulk of the pamphlet.

In 1863 there were two editions, one printed at Hanover and one at Concord, the former apparently being an issue by the students and the latter by the college authorities. In the Hanover edition appears the term "Chandler Scientific Department," which was not adopted by the authorities till two years

¹ A. Crosby, Memorial, etc., p. 27, note, and accounts of the College treasurer.

later, and there are various verbal disagreements that indicate a lack of knowledge of official plans on the part of the editors of the Hanover edition.

Prior to 1838 in the enumeration of the Faculty no distinction was drawn between the Departments. In 1838 the "Medical Faculty" and the "Academical Faculty" were for the first time printed separately, the students being distinguished as "medical students" and "undergraduates," and they continued under their respective designations until 1865, when, under a policy of expanding the College through the University plan of a more perfect union with the Schools, the catalogue grouped the Faculty and students of the College in "Departments," which, five in number, were, in 1875, designated the "Medical, Academical, Scientific, Agricultural, and Engineering." In 1879, conformably to a change of policy which aimed at a less intimate union, and to keeping the "old College" more distinct from the Schools that had clustered about it, the designation was changed so that the Academic Department was designated as "Dartmouth College," and the Schools as "Associated Institutions." This designation continued till the union with the Chandler School in 1893, when the title became "The Catalogue of Dartmouth College together with the Thayer School of Civil Engineering and the Medical College." In the catalogues of the present the arrangement of the Departments is in the order of their establishment.

THE MUSEUM AND CABINET.

The museum and cabinet began, so far as we know, with a few coins and curiosities obtained by President John Wheelock in his European tour in 1783, none of which can now be identified. The same is true of most of the articles received in early times from other sources. We hear of valuable foreign curiosities in addition to an "albatross' head", given by Rev. Jeremy Belknap in 1791, and by Capt. Perkins.¹ In 1796 Elias Hasket Derby, of Salem, Mass., gave the College a large number of curiosities, among them a stuffed zebra and many rarities from Asia and from the northwest coast of Africa.² In 1799 Heman Harris presented curiosities from the South Seas, possibly brought home by Captain Cook.

The museum was kept in a narrow room in the third story of Dartmouth Hall over the middle entrance, the college library being immediately under it. This room was about twelve feet wide and extended from the front of the middle projection about forty feet to the center of the building.³ Prior to 1798 the museum, as well as the library, were in the custody of Professor Woodward. In the early part of that year there was a serious fire in Dartmouth Hall, and the contents were hastily removed and somewhat injured. The different phases of anxiety exhibited by members of the Faculty amused the students so much that reminiscences of it were handed down by tradition almost to the present day. All, of course, rushed breathless to the scene. Professor Smith was calling out to save the library, while Professor Woodward pleaded for the air pump, and the President at the same instant shouted to save the zebra. One of the students, Ranna Cossit, was allowed \$24 for attending to the repairs and arrangement of the museum and apparatus after this catastrophe. Professor Woodward was at the same time excused from further responsibility for it.

In 1802 President Dwight speaks of seeing here, in the room above described,⁴ "a number of natural and artificial curiosities."

¹ President Wheelock wrote to Dr. Belknap May 4, 1791: "We are under a thousand obligations to you for your attention in procuring the *box of curiosities* in addition to your last gift of the *albatross head* and the life of Dr. Mather." Massachusetts Historical Society, Coll., sixth series, Vol. IV, p. 496.

² *Worcester Spy*, September 7, 1796.

³ Samuel Swift, *The Dartmouth*, 1872, p. 401, and statement of G. W. Nesmith.

⁴ *Travels in New England and New York*, Vol. II, p. 117.

Among the latter, we learn from other sources, was a working model of a Swiss village in which, on turning a crank, the inhabitants were seen going about their appropriate avocations. All these articles have disappeared or cannot be identified. "The zebra," wrote Professor Hubbard in 1889, "is probably still browsing in the attic of the medical college, a safe refuge from the stormy period of 1816 to 1820." But he long ago left for other and unknown pastures.

Of minerals the specimens were very few and preserved merely as curiosities. Little care was taken to protect or increase their numbers. The other curiosities, too, were sadly neglected. When the wall of the museum was blown open with the cannon in 1811, many were destroyed or carried away. The zebra, nevertheless, survived till modern days, and some of the South Sea curiosities are still to be seen in the cabinet at Butterfield Hall.

The state of things in this department at other colleges was no better than here. The "richest and most expensive" collection of minerals in America was one of 800 specimens sent to Harvard, 1794-1796, by Dr. Lettsom of London. In November, 1802, Professor Silliman, a young lawyer, just appointed at Yale, took all the minerals of Yale College cabinet, "in a small candle box," to Philadelphia to be named by Dr. Adam Seybert, who, educated at Leyden, was the only man in this country that was able to do it.¹ In the line of curiosities to offset our zebra Yale boasted a two-headed snake as the most remarkable specimen which it had.²

In connection with the new departure of 1820 the subject of mineralogy was added to the department of chemistry in the Medical Department, and the incumbent, Professor J. F. Dana, made some progress in gathering a collection of specimens, most of which he took away with him in 1826. At that time by far the best collection of minerals in the place belonged to Forrest Shepherd of Boscawen, a member of the class of 1827. For his devotion to this subject he was regarded by his fellows as a crank, "almost a fool" as he himself expressed it. The College had nothing worth mentioning, nor any modern books in that department. In fact there had been at best but one American work on mineralogy then published, viz., that by Professor Cleaveland first issued in 1816.

¹ Statement of Professor O. P. Hubbard.

² Wansey's *Journal of Excursion to the United States of North America*, p. 68.

Professor Hale, succeeding Professor Dana in 1827, came in as a member of the academic, as well as the medical Faculty. This marked a new departure as regarded instruction to the undergraduates in both chemistry and mineralogy. Chemistry had been taught in the medical department ever since its origin in November, 1797, and the undergraduates had been encouraged to attend the lectures for which a small extra fee was charged, but it had not been compulsory.

Professor Hale was an enthusiast in mineralogy and set himself to build up a cabinet. He found among the old curiosities about forty mineral specimens labelled as "variegated stones." A few more had been left by Professor Dana in the laboratory at the medical building in two small boxes, the whole making perhaps a hundred specimens. These Professor Hale brought together in a room at the medical building adjoining the laboratory, fitted up at his own expense, and added to them from time to time such as he was able to procure. Among them were 400 or 500 of his own, previously collected, and 290 given by Professor Frederick Hall, then of Middlebury College, in payment of a subscription of \$200 to the new fund. Seventy were contributed by students. Some that had been collected in Europe by President Wheeler of the University of Vermont were bought and presented to the College, and Rev. Mr. Goodell, a missionary in Syria, then in Malta, in consequence of a request from Professor Hale, sent a box of minerals and shells. In 1831 \$200 were appropriated to buy a valuable cabinet of minerals belonging to the Rev. T. A. Merrill of Middlebury, Vt., and also another one said to be for sale at Loudon, N. H., if it were found, on examination, to be desirable. In 1833 about a thousand specimens were bought of Mr. Cook of Fryeburg, Me., partly by the College, and partly by subscription. The same year \$35 were paid for a "beryl stone."

Being entrusted with a joint superintendence of the construction of the new buildings in 1828 Professor Hale prepared plans which would have afforded spacious and creditable accommodation for the cabinet. One plan would have given it a room 38 feet square occupying the entire front of the lower floor in Thornton Hall, and another devoted to this object the whole width of the south end of Dartmouth Hall on the ground floor. Neither of these plans was accomplished and the best that could be got for this use was a small room in Dartmouth Hall. Here in 1829 Professor Hale arranged in orderly shape the specimens

he had brought together, numbering in all about 2,300, all fully labelled and catalogued, mostly by his own hand. These the room in Dartmouth Hall was ample to accommodate.

But in 1838 Professor Frederick Hall, then of Washington, D. C., gave money to endow a professorship of mineralogy, and at the same time about 5,000 specimens, comprising the half of his collection. Professor O. P. Hubbard, who had succeeded Professor Hale in 1836, with the same enthusiasm for this subject, went to Washington and with Professor Hall's assistance packed and shipped the specimens in October, 1838, but the cabinet room in Dartmouth Hall was far too small to receive them, and they lay in the boxes until the completion of Reed Hall, then in prospect.

Here the cabinet received its due recognition in a large well-lighted front room on the lower floor, extending more than half the length of the building. To this the old collection was transferred in the autumn of 1840, and during the following summer Professor Hall's specimens were opened and arranged by Professor Hubbard's brother, Dr. S. G. Hubbard of the class of 1843, in new cases built on the plan of those then just completed for a similar use at Yale College. The specimens, beginning at the northeast corner of the room, were arranged by Professor Hall's direction in the same order as observed in his own cabinet in Washington. The cabinet as thus displayed presented a very handsome appearance and was much admired. Professor Hall came himself to see it at Commencement of the same year and expressed his entire satisfaction. In 1844 he added the balance of his collection, largely duplicates. By the terms of the gift all the specimens derived from Professor Hall are to be forever kept in distinct cases plainly labelled as the "Hall Cabinet."

In 1844 Dr. William Prescott of Lynn, Mass., gave 400 specimens of shells valued at \$100, comprising 200 peculiar to New England, 60 of the middle and southern states, and 100 from abroad. Large and valuable additions were made by Professor Hubbard during his long service in the department.

In 1857 six sculptured slabs were obtained from the excavations at Nineveh, through the influence of Rev. Austin H. Wright of the class of 1830, missionary since 1840 at Oroomiah, Persia, and in compliance with a request made to Mr. Wright by Professor Hubbard five years before. These sculptures are of the best style, on gypsum (the underlying rock of the Tigris

valley), and second only to the collection of twelve sent out by Henry Stevens of London to Boston and bought by Robert Lenox of New York for \$3,000 and presented to the New York Historical Society.

The circumstances attending the acquisition of these rare and valuable stones are in themselves of much interest. In 1852 Professor Hubbard, stimulated by the recent distribution elsewhere of some of the products of the Nineveh excavations, then going on under the direction of Sir Henry Rawlinson, British Resident at Bagdad, wrote to Mr. Wright, a friend of twenty years' standing, asking if he could not obtain some of the same for our cabinet. Mr. Wright enjoyed the intimate friendship of Sir Henry, who, on his request, promptly ordered the six best slabs at Nineveh to be reserved for Dartmouth College. Mr. Wright's reply reached Hanover in the early summer of 1854. The gift of the stones was subject only to the condition of paying the expense of packing and transportation, and this, in order to avoid delay, was personally guaranteed by Professors Hubbard and Young and Mr. Blaisdell, and assumed by the Trustees when next they met. The large slabs were sawn into sections, and packed under the supervision of the American missionaries at Mosul.

The sections were first wrapped in half an inch of woolen felt, then boxed, and bound up with another covering of felt, and thus secured were transported on camels' backs 500 miles to Iskanderoom on the Mediterranean, with instructions that they should be sent by steamer to Beirût so as to come by the annual October wool vessel to Boston. Being shipped wrongly by sailing vessel they arrived at Beirût too late for the fall sailing and lay under the custom house shed an entire year, arriving at last at Hanover in January, 1857. The next June they were unpacked and set up in Reed Hall by Mr. David Parsons of Amherst who had done similar work there; afterward they were placed in Butterfield Hall. The entire expense of obtaining the stones was about \$600.

In 1871 the museum and cabinet were removed to Culver Hall, where they remained twenty-five years till the completion of Butterfield Hall, when they were transferred to that building. During that time the museum was enriched by a model of Jerusalem and a fine collection of stuffed birds prepared and given by Rev. Henry Fairbanks, a Trustee of the College. The cabinet, which was under the charge of Professor C. H.

Hitchcock from 1869 to 1908, received great additions from his geological surveys of New Hampshire and Vermont, and from his activity in other places. Under his direction there was constructed a large relief-model, on a scale of one mile to the inch, of New Hampshire and Vermont, to show the areal geology of the two states. He also prepared colored diagrammatic cross-sections, on the same scale as the model, to show the underground structure of northern New England, and these are illustrated by about 3,500 specimens of rocks which he collected from all parts of New Hampshire and Vermont during the geological surveys of these states, and which he supplemented at other times. He also made a large collection illustrating the geology of the Hawaiian Islands.

Besides many casts representing extinct animals there were also secured by him large collections illustrating dynamic geology, together with fossil foot marks of extinct reptiles from the Connecticut valley, and geological models of various sections of the country. Specimens illustrative of economic geology were secured, and for a mineralogical laboratory a systematic collection of rocks of all kinds was made, and supplemented by the gift of the Clinton H. Moore collection of ores and minerals from the Rocky Mountains. Under his successor the cabinet has been enriched by a large scale map showing the topography and geology of the district within five miles of the College and accompanied by rock specimens from the district, and by maps, photographs and specimens illustrating the glaciation of the Presidential Range of the White Mountains.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL APPARATUS.

The first encouragement for endowment in this department came from Dr. John Phillips when a visitor at Commencement in 1772, by a donation of £175, which, however, failed of its immediate object from circumstances heretofore related.

In 1774 Samuel Holland of Canada, Royal Surveyor General of the northern district of the seacoast of North America, who sent his son to the College for a year, gave a handsome bronze horizontal sun dial which is still preserved in good condition. Dr. Belknap the same year mentions it as set up on a post in the President's yard.

In 1783 a Hadley's quadrant was given by Col. John Hurd. In 1784 President Wheelock announced to the Board that a set of apparatus had been promised by Dr. William Rose of Chiswick, England, in conjunction with Paul Wentworth of Hammersmith. The President's brother, Eleazar, was sent over to attend to procuring and shipping it, and it arrived in 1785. The donation comprised among other things a set of mechanical powers and a set of globes, celestial and terrestrial, a folio atlas in two volumes, and twelve sets of maps of New Hampshire, besides some duplicates designed to be sold for the benefit of the College. The globes were in 1788 loaned to New Ipswich Academy (then in close relation to the College) on the responsibility of Professor John Hubbard, the preceptor.

The collection being at this time meagre, it found by vote of the Board in 1790 a place of deposit, together with the museum, in the narrow room in the middle front of Dartmouth Hall, upper floor, the whole being in charge of Professor Woodward. In 1802 a front room on the lower floor was fitted up for the apparatus and the portraits, for which another room on the same floor appears to have been substituted later, and to have been used for the philosophical department until 1828. Then, it being necessary to incorporate this room into the chapel, the second story front room was taken from the Social Friends and fitted up for the apparatus and for a philosophical lecture room, with the museum and cabinet adjoining on the east.

After the death of Professor Woodward the philosophical department rather declined. His successor being much devoted to music gave less attention to the care of the apparatus than

could have been desired. Professor Adams coming to the office on the death of Professor Hubbard in 1810 found the apparatus greatly out of repair and of little value. It was much scattered about and some of it was lost. An astronomical clock, presented to the College by William Thurston of Boston in 1803, was found, after search, broken up and laid away in the attic. We have no record of any other additions made during this period of depression.¹ Between 1812 and 1819 nearly \$1,000 was expended for new apparatus. Prices were very high, and the articles often of inferior quality. This, with the fluctuation of possession during the contest with the University, led to an early decay. In 1818 a small telescope and a microscope were given to the College by Mr. Thurston (the same who had formerly given the clock), with a reservation of a right to recall them at pleasure in case the College should be extinguished.

For the next fifteen years this department had no addition worth mentioning, so far as we know. In 1833 when Professor Adams was succeeded by his son-in-law, Professor Ira Young, who had been already two years tutor, the defective state of the apparatus was so impressed upon the Board that \$1,500 were appropriated for the purchase of new appliances. But the poverty of the College was such that Professor Young confined his purchases to the most necessary articles, of American make, in the departments of electricity, electro-magnetism and pneumatics, and in the course of twelve years expended but \$1,200 all told. In the autumn of 1840 the apparatus was removed to a small apartment in the southwest corner of Reed Hall connected with a fine new philosophical lecture room. The cases there provided were more than ample to contain the whole of it.

In 1846, soon after the endowment of the Appleton fund and in connection with a general movement to bring the College abreast of the times, a committee of the Faculty, consisting of Professors Young and Haddock, at the request of the Trustees, reported, among other things, upon the state of the apparatus, which was found to be of comparatively little worth. It was not possible, however, to make any advance till 1852 when the gift of \$7,000 by Dr. Shattuck enabled the Trustees to replen-

¹ Professor C. A. Young in a letter, dated February 26, 1889, writes: "I have always understood from my Father that a considerable quantity of the *old* apparatus came from the sale (or gift) of Dr. Prince of Salem, who I think was a friend of Priestley's. The cylinder electrical machine, and the large Franklin 36 jar battery of Leyden jars were always mentioned as having belonged to the Prince collection."

ish the physical apparatus and to build and equip an observatory, as has been already told. The most important purchases of instruments made by Professor Young in Europe were described in his report as,

A two and one half feet meridian circle with a *five* feet telescope—cost about \$1400; a comet seeker of four inch aperture—cost about \$175; a pocket chronometer, second hand—cost about \$135; Newman's standard barometer—cost \$100; Newman's mountain barometer—cost \$35; large armillary sphere and various articles of geodetical apparatus, including a set of maps for the Chandler School, costing about \$150. Apparatus for acoustics, about \$170; optical apparatus including solar microscope and polarizing apparatus very complete—about \$330.

In 1862 the old philosophical apparatus belonging to the College was inventoried and appraised, and turned over to the Appleton fund. It was then valued at \$2,350. This was increased about \$800 by purchases up to 1866, and between 1868 and 1874 there were expended upon philosophical apparatus and new astronomical instruments upwards of \$10,000, about half of which was derived from subscriptions procured by Professor C. A. Young. Among the instruments covered by this expenditure was a new and much more powerful telescope for the observatory mounted in 1871. The old one, made by Merz in Munich, had an aperture of 6 4-10 inches and a focal length of 8 feet. The new one, made by Alvan Clark and Sons of Cambridge, Mass., was of 12 feet focal length and 9 4-10 inches aperture; with it was arranged a spectroscope of the highest power and best construction.

Great additions were also made to the apparatus in other branches of the philosophical department, as distinguished from astronomy, especially in the direction of electricity. The beginning of a physical laboratory was made in 1882, and, more room being needed, the whole of the first story of Reed Hall was given to the department of physics after the removal of the library in 1885.

From that time no extensive additions were made to the physical apparatus till the opening of the Wilder laboratory in 1899. The proper equipment of that building called for a great enlargement of the existing apparatus and in the next three years about \$7,000 were spent for that purpose, and in each subsequent year the expenditure for renovation and additions has ranged from \$700 to \$1,600.

During the twenty years following the departure of Professor

C. A. Young few changes or additions were made in the department of astronomy, but on the opening of Wilder Hall in 1899 a recitation and a library room within it were set apart for astronomy, and within the next few years about \$700 from the income of the fund of \$10,000 given to the department by Mr. Wilder were spent in supplementing the astronomical library. In 1904, the department being in charge of Mr. John M. Poor, then instructor but later assistant professor, the equipment of the observatory was increased by the addition of a transit instrument and zenith telescope, made by G. N. Saegmuller of Washington, D. C., under the direction of Professor Young, at an expense of \$1,150.

Four years later, from the accumulated income of the fund, and from a gift of \$2,000 by Mr. H. A. Wilder, the brother of the donor of the laboratory, the equatorial telescope was fitted for photographic work by the addition of a flint glass disk, known as a "corrector," made by C. A. R. Lundin of the Alvan Clark and Sons corporation, giving a photographic instrument of ten and a half feet focal length. The telescope was remounted and furnished with a new and heavy clock work, driven by an electric motor instead of gravity. This change necessitated the reconstruction of the supporting pier, and the lowering of the floor of the telescope room about two feet, the expense of the whole being about \$4,000. The observatory had previously been made more serviceable by connection in 1905 with the water, heating and lighting systems of the College.

THE COLLEGE BELL.

During the life of the first President the wilderness knew not the sound of a bell, the little one of 80 pounds net, sent to the school at Lebanon by Whitefield, having been (it will be remembered) broken. Wheelock made ineffectual efforts to obtain the gift of a bell for the College from England, but during his life the call to prayer and other duties was sounded from a horn, and from a conch shell, similar to that which fifty years ago was cherished as an heirloom among the students, handed down in secret from class to class, perhaps the same, who knows?

A bell was at length obtained, whence we know not, by solicitation of the second President, in the autumn of 1780 or early in 1781, for one Silsby was paid £2 2s. *od.* for ringing it from May 15, 1781, until Commencement in August, while in the preceding September Phillips had been under pay for blowing the horn. This bell undoubtedly was very small, probably less than a hundred pounds, if we may judge anything by the price it brought when broken. It was mounted, as we understand, in the belfry at the eastern end of the famous old "College Hall" that stood by the well on the Green, and in 1790 we find it broken, by what means we are not informed, but we may imagine that the damage was somehow connected with the violent destruction of the ruinous old hall about this time. At all events from April, 1790, the college exercises were timed to the tap of the drum (we find payments for services of a drum and for damage to the drum), and the Trustees and President were earnestly seeking a new bell, which they resolved should this time be of 300 pounds weight. After trying in vain to purchase one at the eastern ports, the President, on the 8th of August, 1790, despatched senior Eaton, afterward famous as General William Eaton, the hero of Tripoli, to procure one to be cast at the foundry of Messrs. Doolittle and Goodyear in Hartford, Conn., and have it, if possible, before Commencement. Eaton's energy accomplished the task. He gave his time for the journey, and his note for the purchase money, and Colonel Wheelock, the President's brother, furnished a carriage to convey the bell from Hartford. It weighed 282 pounds, and cost here £33 18s. 1-2*d.* It was hung in the new belfry on Dartmouth Hall in due season for Commencement. The College paid, August

24, for two quarts of rum for the laborers engaged in raising it. The old bell was taken in part payment at £4 2s. od.¹

This bell barely survived the short-lived University, by which it was appropriated with the other college property, and in October, 1819, we find it broken. It was in that month exchanged for a new one of 299 pounds weight, costing fifty cents a pound, from J. W. Revere of Boston; and this again, though so far as we know still sound, was exchanged for a still larger one of 512 pounds in February, 1821. While the exchange was in process recourse was once more had to the horn as a signal for college exercises. In 1829, connected with the radical changes in Dartmouth Hall, there was a further change through a subscription raised by Professor Adams by which was acquired a fine-toned bell of 726 pounds that lived in the memory of more than forty classes. That, too, in turn was broken in 1867, and Professor Brown was sent to secure a new and more powerful one from the foundry of E. A. and G. R. Meneely of Troy, N. Y. This weighed 1,222 pounds, and at forty-six cents a pound cost \$562.12. It was, as usual, warranted for one year, and, breaking two or three days before the expiration of that period, was replaced by the founders in July, 1868, with one heavier by a single pound than its predecessor, and like that, with happy fitness, encircled by the College motto, cast on its rim, *Vox clamantis in deserto*.

The life of this bell was barely seventeen years, as it broke early in 1885, when it was replaced by one from the same foundry, slightly heavier, (1,237 pounds), at a cost of \$330, which was reduced by the value of the old bell, taken in exchange, to \$161.31. This bell, the last to hang upon the old hall, was melted on the burning of the building in 1904. Just before that happened the College received the present of a peal of three bells from William E. Barrett of the class of 1880, a memorial to his friend, Chalmers W. Stevens, a graduate of the class of 1877, and of the Thayer School in 1880, who had gone as an astronomer to the observatory at Cordoba in Buenos Ayres, South America, where he was killed by lightning in 1884. The bells, which weighed 800, 1,320, and 2,530 pounds respectively, were hung in the tower of Rollins chapel, and were first rung on the morning of February 13, 1904, for chapel service, at which Mr. Barrett's letter presenting the bells to the College was read, and an account of Mr. Stevens by Professor Fletcher

¹"Lawful money," \$3.33½ to the £.

and a short address on the sentiment connected with the bells by Professor C. F. Richardson were given.

After the burning of Dartmouth Hall five days later the students were called together by the middle bell of the peal, which was also used for general college purposes, except for morning prayers and Sunday vespers, when the peal was rung. This continued till the completion of the new Dartmouth Hall, when its new bell was brought into service. That, like the peal, came from the foundry of Meneely & Co., and was the gift of Joshua W. Peirce of the class of 1905. Its weight is 1,854 pounds and it has a tone of great sweetness. It was placed in position September 27, 1905, and since the opening of the building in the following February has been used for all college purposes except the call to chapel.

MAILS, AND MEANS AND ROUTES OF TRAVEL.

It was long after the opening of this country before there was any regular conveyance for letters or for travelers. Merchandise came in boats by the river or in carts and sleds up the "great road" of 1762 which skirted it, but which was hardly more than a cleared track in the woods and inconceivably rough. The usual mode of land travel was on horseback. Transportation on the river seems to have been made something of a business. In November, 1773, for example, Benjamin Wright and Sons were paid by Wheelock for bringing sundry articles of merchandise to the College landing by boat, from Bellows Falls. The freight for three barrels of salt was £1, 1s., od.¹

Letters came only by the hand of casual travellers or, if of importance, by special messenger from Hartford, Conn. In February, 1773, Dr. Pomeroy wrote to Wheelock from Hebron, Conn., that he had for him a letter from Europe waiting *three months* without finding any chance to send it to Hanover. In August of the same year Wheelock writes that for himself, under his infirmities, to reach Boston at the best season, and on the best of horses, would consume at least *six days*; and that there was no post road in that direction, nor any means to send a letter excepting by some chance hand by way of the nearest post office in Connecticut, 140 miles distant. A special messenger cost three shillings a day and expenses, and a letter sent to Wheelock in June, 1772, from Hartford, Conn., in this manner cost £1, 4s. for carriage.

What travel there was lay up and down the river. Over the heights to the Merrimac valley, thirty miles or more, was an Indian trail, and after a time a blazed bridle path, but exceedingly rough and impracticable and little improved by the first so-called roads. As late as January, 1784, Professor Smith, having occasion to take to himself a wife in Boston, brought his bride over this route on horseback and she was wont to boast, in after years, that she made the trip five times in that manner, before a wheel had passed.² There was of course a path via Walpole, Keene and Amherst, but that was almost as bad.

Governor Wentworth and his party, coming to the first Commencement in 1771, came by way of Plymouth and Haverhill.

¹ Bills in College files.

² Haddock's Montpelier Address, p. 7.

The next year the new road was opened in a fashion to his seat in Wolfeboro, and he tried that, on horseback of course. In 1774 Dr. Belknap came from Dover by the old and longer route, which was no doubt preferable to the new road over Moose Mountain, and returned by way of Keene.

Regular though infrequent communication with Portsmouth was established on the route through Haverhill quite early, by a postrider, Lieut. Nathaniel Porter. Mention is found of letters and packages and money passing by his hand between Wheelock and the Governor in December, 1772, and in January and October, 1773. This was evidently a private enterprise. The *New Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth) of February 25, 1774, contains the following announcement:

Mr. Porter the post, or news carrier, is now in town and this day, precisely at twelve o'clock he starts from the printing office for Dartmouth College, situate on the delightful Connecticut river, and that flourishing part of this province called Coos. This route he performs every three weeks in all sorts of weather. Those gentlemen in Portsmouth who have sons at the afore-said College are desired to send their letters &c. by twelve o'clock to the printing office.

In September, 1775, Colonel Morey writes¹ to the Committee of Safety at Exeter urging them to send commissions by "Mr. Porter the post" who could as he comes around bring them to all the four regiments on the Connecticut River. His route was, therefore, a circuit up the headwaters of the Merrimac to Haverhill, and down the Connecticut to Walpole, or *vice versa*. In March, 1775, Wheelock mentioned a regular post once a fortnight from here to Northfield.

There was at that time one post route maintained by the provincial government between Boston and Portsmouth and the eastward, and a Postmaster General was appointed as long ago as 1726, and the same route was afterward supported by the Continental authority. In December, 1778, the Continental postmaster, Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia, visiting Portsmouth, was solicited to extend this service to Exeter. He said that he was not yet able to do so, but promised that if offices should be established by the State he would take them into the general system as soon as he could. The suggestion seems not to have been immediately adopted, but in 1781² propositions were made by Samuel Robinson and others, and on June 27, 1781, it was ordered by the assembly that a suitable person be

¹ State Papers, VII, p. 611.

² State files.

employed by the Committee of Safety to ride from Portsmouth to Haverhill by way of Concord and Plymouth, and thence down the river by way of Charlestown and Keene to Portsmouth again. In execution of this order John Balch of Keene was appointed July 21, 1781, according to his proposal, to ride a post for three months, setting out from Portsmouth on every alternate Saturday morning and carrying all public mail free of charge, for which he was to be paid seventy hard dollars or paper money equivalent.¹ He continued in this service at least two years, and received the first year £120, the second year £100.²

A resolution passed November 9, 1785,³ ordered a rider from Portsmouth by Exeter, Nottingham, Concord and Plymouth to Haverhill, thence down the river by Charlestown and Keene to Amherst, Exeter and home to Portsmouth, and reversing the route every alternate trip. By this proving unsatisfactory a committee was appointed February 13, 1786, to suggest alterations,⁴ and by a resolve dated March 3, 1786, four routes were established, and the President was authorized to appoint a Postmaster General, employ riders and order further routes if necessary.⁵ The first route of the four ran from Portsmouth to Haverhill, Orford and Hanover and back through Boscawen, Canterbury, Epsom and Newmarket to Portsmouth. The President appointed Jeremiah Libby of Portsmouth Postmaster General, who was also Continental Postmaster at that town. Libby before accepting referred the case to Hazard to learn if the new office would be thought compatible with the old. Hazard in reply, March 22, 1786, objected to the resolution in its broad scope,⁶ as conflicting with the rights of the Continental Congress, and Libby accordingly declined the office. But he made temporary provision for supplying the route by employing Samuel Bean to ride to Amherst and Robert Means thence to Charlestown and Cornish, till the next June.⁷

On the 17th of that month the routes were changed so that one rider should leave Portsmouth every second Monday, going through Exeter, Nottingham, Concord and Plymouth to Haverhill and thence down the river to Charlestown, and back through Keene, Amherst, Merrimac, Londonderry, Chester and Exeter. The previous resolutions to which Hazard had objected were

¹ Town Papers, XII, p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 944.

³ State Papers, XX, p. 449.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XX, p. 461.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 765.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 766.

repealed, and the provision for the support of the postriders was postponed to the next session. But better thoughts prevailed and on June 27 an order was passed to agree with a post-rider on the route above described.¹ In July, 1786, Samuel Dearborn was appointed by Libby to ride every Monday on the route to Wolfeboro and the rates of postage were fixed for single letters (one piece of paper) at eight pence for distances over forty miles, and six pence for shorter distances. Against this action Hazard again protested. On January 6, 1787 Samuel Bean was appointed a postrider for one year, to ride from Portsmouth to Chester, Londonderry, Amherst and Concord and to return by the way "he may chuse," and be entitled to all the perquisites he may receive. He was paid £10 for carrying State papers the preceding year.²

The river service seems to have been still neglected. In September, 1787, on petition of Simæon Olcott of Charlestown, and others, asking for a postoffice at Keene, and a postrider to travel "the route formerly pointed out by the legislature," a committee reported to the assembly in favor of a rider from Concord through Keene, Walpole and Charlestown to Hanover, and thence back to Concord by way of Boscawen, with post-offices to be established in the several towns. The rider was to give bond, and £60 was set apart for the expense of maintenance.

This indication of a route by Boscawen, first made in 1786-1787, was connected with the opening of a road from that town to Dartmouth College under authority of the State. It was first ordered by an act of legislature November 11, 1784, to be made by the towns. This proving ineffectual a second act was passed on February 13, 1786,³ and the road was laid by a committee appointed by the State. But the work still hanging fire, it was further ordered, January 6, 1787, that whereas the former provision "is found insufficient for the purpose intended, and said highway to this time in most of the towns through which it is laid is wholly neglected notwithstanding," the State Committee, after due notice to any delinquent town, proceed to construct its part of the road and levy a distress for the cost of it.

Hanover disliked the location and petitioned in March, 1786, and in May, 1787, for alterations "to be solicited of the General Court by Jonathan Freeman." But it was voted in case it

¹ State Papers, XX, p. 644.

² *Ibid.*, XX, pp. 157, 461.

³ *Ibid.*, XX, p. 777; H. J. January 6, 1787.

could not be obtained to assess a tax of £15 to be laid out in labor at 4s. per day in clearing the road, under three surveyors then elected.¹ The following October it was voted to release the surveyors, collect the tax in money and let the work out "by the great," provided the tax payers did not work it out by the 25th instant.

The road was at length ostensibly built, but in the rudest and most perfunctory manner. It passed from the College eastward along Mink brook to the Mill neighborhood, now Etna, and over Hayes hill substantially by the course of the existing ancient roads to the Rudsboro valley and thence north-erly of the old County Road, across the south end of Moose mountain to North Enfield and down the east side of the pond to Canaan.

There was an earlier road south of the Boscawen road, also spoken of as a "Country" or "State" road, or the "road to Exeter," which passed over the southern side of Mount Tug to East Lebanon and over the hills west of the pond. We have been unable to find any records of its construction.

In the meantime the people of the New Hampshire Grants had taken in this, as in other matters, an independent line of action. Though there exists at present no certain memorial of it, it is probable that the leaders on the river during their independent organization maintained some stated means of communication among themselves. The first that appears, however, is in September, 1783, when Hough and Spooner setting up their newspaper, the *Vermont Journal*, at Windsor, one Calvin Bennett of Lebanon, undertook to ride post with it weekly on Thursdays from Windsor to Haverhill on the New Hampshire side of the river. The price of the paper delivered thus at Dresden was 3s. 4d. per quarter.²

In March, 1784, a postal system was established by the State of Vermont, with postoffices, among other places, at Windsor and at Newbury, and a weekly rider from Bennington to those points, by way of Brattleboro, taking Hanover, of course, by the way, since the route from Windsor to Newbury lay of necessity at that time on the New Hampshire side.³

By an act of February 12, 1791, the State of New Hampshire for the first time established a regular postal system and ten

¹ Records of the Town and Selectmen of Hanover, N. H., 1761-1818, pp. 58, 71.

² *Vermont Journal*, September 11, 1783.

³ Vermont Governor and Council, III, p. 392.

postmasters were appointed,¹ one of them, Samuel McClure, at Hanover, March 16, 1791. On the same day John Lathrop was appointed to ride route number two, which ran from Concord by way of Boscawen and Plymouth to Haverhill, and back through Hanover, Lebanon, Canaan and Salisbury. The post-riders were to ride every fortnight. Postage charges were reduced to sixpence for every forty miles and fourpence for less distances. Postmasters received twopence for every letter delivered through their office.²

We learn from the *Concord Herald*³ that John Lathrop already rode this circuit before the act was passed, certainly from January, 1790, and in November, 1792, that he was succeeded by John Scofield upon a weekly schedule by way of Concord, Boscawen, Grantham, Lebanon, Hanover, Haverhill, Warren, Wentworth, Rumney and New Chester. Starting on Thursday morning at eight, he would be once more in Concord on the following Wednesday evening at seven. Deacon Joseph Curtis was his newspaper agent at Hanover. On this plan letters and packages destined to Concord must needs go by way of Haverhill, consuming five days in the process.

By the act of the Federal Congress approved February 20, 1792, the postal system of the United States was for the first time extended to this section. Hanover had before been made the terminus of a weekly route from Brattleboro on which the mail passed through Windsor northward every Thursday,⁴ and on March 20, 1793, Samuel McClure was appointed the first United States postmaster at Hanover. The postoffice was in his barber and tailor shop which stood about where the administration building now stands. Up to 1800 the mail arrived from the south every Saturday morning about ten o'clock and left at two p. m., going on north. From October 1, 1800, Silas Curtis contracted to carry a weekly mail direct to this place from Exeter by way of Concord, so the village had from that time two mails each week.

Riders on private account were still common for a long time in connection with the various newspapers. Besides the papers they carried small packages and letters and did miscellaneous errands. For example, in June, 1802, a "new post" is announced

¹ State Papers, XXII, p. 269.

² *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 221.

³ *Concord Herald*, November, 1791, November, 1792.

⁴ Vermont Governor and Council, p. III, pp. 393-395.

by the *Dartmouth Gazette*,¹ informing the public that "Mr. Levi Day of Hebron who is unable to do hard labor has undertaken the business of a postrider. He rides through Hanover, Lime, Dorchester, Hebron, Grafton, Wentworth and several other towns. Those who wish for the *Gazette* will be supplied on reasonable terms." The same issue proposes to the subscribers in Plainfield that they take their papers in future at the printing office, forming a company of thirteen or twenty-six and taking their turns in coming after them. The mail carrier at this time was Daniel Blaisdell. There was also in October, 1803, a weekly rider, Jonathan Edgerly, from Hanover by way of Concord and Exeter to Portsmouth, leaving Dewey's tavern every Friday morning.²

The era of turnpikes had now arrived and carriages appear for the first time for public conveyances.³ "February 1, 1803, Sayer Bullock of Hanover informs the public that he has contracted to carry the mail from Hanover to Haverhill once a week *in a carriage sufficient to carry two passengers*. Passengers will be conveyed for threepence per mile." A year later the demand was sufficient to accelerate the service to twice a week.⁴ On September 18, 1802,⁵ Jacob W. Brewster announced that he had contracted with the Postmaster General to run a line of *Mail Stages* from Dartmouth College to Suffield, Conn., twice a week, beginning the first day of October. The stages started in both directions on Mondays and Thursdays, and, leaving Hanover at six o'clock, a. m. they reached Brattleboro at noon the next day, and Suffield the third day. It was expected to arrange at that point to connect with the lines to New York. Fourteen pounds of baggage were allowed to each passenger.

These did by no means dispense with the postriders. Jonathan Edgerly informs the public November, 1803, that he rides from Portsmouth to Hanover, succeeding one Daniel Blaisdell, and delivers newspapers along the route. These riders of course travelled the "great" or "Country" road of 1762-1764, along the Connecticut, which had long before this time been adopted by the county, and much improved. At some time subsequent to 1775 the course of it through the southern part of Hanover was changed from the half mile line to a route nearer the river, so as to cross Mink brook and reach the college plain by the

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, June 19, 1802.

² *Ibid.*, October 14, 1803.

³ *Ibid.*, February 19, 1803.

⁴ *Dartmouth Gazette*, February 19, 1804.

⁵ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1802.

present route up "main street," then crossing the Common diagonally, it followed substantially the course of the present river road some four miles, and thence returned up the hill to the old half mile road to Lyme by the path still designated as the "County road." though that name is changing to that of "State road." The earliest records of the action of the county on this line are not found. Records, however, exist of alterations made in 1797 and 1805.

But notwithstanding all that was done by the town, county and State, the roads continued to be very bad for some years after the opening of the century. The Boscawen road was an entire failure. In 1796 "the transport of goods from Boston and of produce back was so expensive, uncertain and hazardous by reason of the badness of the road from Merrimac River over the height of land to Hanover, that many of the traders continued to purchase their goods at New York and transport them by water,"¹ this route, though itself expensive and hazardous, being less so than the other. The distance to Boston was 130 miles and of it thirty miles over the heights were in some seasons almost impassable. People were living at Montpelier in 1844, the time of the agitation for railroads, who had brought goods from Boston by ox-teams, occupying four weeks in a trip, at an expense of \$60 a ton.² Webster in his speech in 1847 at Franklin at the opening of the Northern railroad declared that so late as when he left College (in 1801) "there was no road from river to river for a carriage fit for the conveyance of persons." We have a reminiscence of this road in the memoirs of George Ticknor, who made his first journey from Boston to Hanover in 1802, at the age of eleven. (He was a sophomore in College in 1803 and graduated in 1807.)³

My grandfather's farm was at Lebanon, on the Connecticut River. Dartmouth College, in Hanover, where my father was educated, was only a few miles off, and he liked to visit both. My mother went with him and so did I. The distance was hardly 120 miles, but it was a hard week's work with a carriage and a pair of horses the carriage being what used to be called a *coachee*. One day I recollect we made with difficulty thirteen miles, and the road was so rough and dangerous that my mother was put on horseback and two men were hired to go on foot, with ropes to steady the carriage over the most difficult places.

¹ See Graves's Appeal to Boston Merchants, p. 700.

² Address of Professor Haddock before the railroad convention at Montpelier, January 8, 1844, p. 7.

³ Life and Letters of George Ticknor, Vol. I, p. 5.

The experience of another, six years later, by the southern route (the second New Hampshire turnpike), was even more exciting.¹ Amos Kendall started from Amherst, N. H., March 25, 1808, to enter the freshman class at Dartmouth. Though the snow was generally gone it still covered the hill country between the Merrimac and the Connecticut, and the second day the coach plowed through the cradle holes on runners like a boat on the waves, which made Amos very sick. But on reaching the Connecticut valley, and wheels again, he felt encouraged though still unable to eat. Leaving Windsor, eighteen miles from College, soon after four o'clock on the 28th, with four horses and a drunken driver, a portion of the running gear was before long carried away in a collision with a cart, which made the stage unsafe for riding down the many steep hills, so that the progress was slow. About eleven p. m., within three miles of the College on a level plain, the driver, now almost stupefied with his frequent potations, turned the wheels of the stage suddenly into a sled track in the snow beside the road, and as they struck a stump the stage went over. The passengers were only slightly bruised, but the stage being righted after an hour's work, by the aid of neighbors called from their beds, proved to be wholly disabled. The two passengers mounted two of the horses on borrowed saddles, with their trunks before them and started again through the mud. The driver rode on a bag of corn flung over the back of another horse, and drove the fourth before him. They had gone but a few rods when the bag of corn becoming untied emptied half its contents on the ground; while that was being gathered up the fourth horse trotted off on a sled path into the woods and it took half an hour to get him back. They reached the College at two o'clock in the morning, when Kendall, having eaten nothing since breakfast of the preceding day, went to bed in a state of complete exhaustion.

The construction of great through lines of road by town action under the compulsion of the legislature, as in the case of the Boscawen road, proved so unsatisfactory that attempt was made to bring private capital into the enterprise by turnpike charters. As early as 1792 plans began to be agitated for a comprehensive system of turnpikes that should extend from Boston to Burlington, and in that year citizens of Hanover and Lebanon, in expectation of it, procured a charter for a bridge over the Connecticut. A bridge was built at Bellows Falls

¹ Autobiography of Amos Kendall, p. 19.

the same year, but there was none north of it, and the matter slumbered till 1796. In that year, June 16, the turnpike era was fairly inaugurated.¹ The first "New Hampshire Turnpike" (from Portsmouth to Concord) was incorporated by the legislature and an ineffectual petition, headed by Elisha Payne of Lebanon and Jonathan Freeman of Hanover, was made at the same session for authority to construct a turnpike from Boscawen to Lebanon. The matter was adjourned to the November session, publication was ordered, and the act to incorporate the Grafton turnpike then passed the House (60 to 50), but was lost in the Senate.²

It was not till four years later, upon a new petition filed in June, 1800, that a charter was granted through the influence of B. J. Gilbert, the member from Hanover, to Elisha Payne, Constant Storrs of Lebanon and Russell Freeman of Hanover, December 8, 1800, under the style of the "Fourth Turnpike road in New Hampshire."³ Of the 400 shares about 30 were taken in Hanover, where much interest was felt in the enterprise in connection with the bridge over the Connecticut River, then lately built, and a contemplated road up the White River valley to Lake Champlain. The petition set forth the existing "inconveniences from the badness of the roads between Merrimac River and the towns of Lebanon and Hanover; that the trade of the western parts of this state and of the northern parts of Vermont is, of course, turned from our own seaports and our most commercial towns to those of Connecticut and New York; and that the natural impediments between the aforesaid places and the Merrimac River render the provisions by law for making and repairing public roads wholly inadequate to the purpose of rendering communication easy, convenient and safe." Very few shares were taken in the towns along the road, except in Lebanon, but Portsmouth was a large subscriber.⁴

The main line of this road extended from the northeast corner of Boscawen through Salisbury, Andover, Wilmot, Springfield, Enfield and Lebanon, following the valley of the Mascoma to the Connecticut, opposite the mouth of the White River, where Lyman's bridge was built in 1805. Hanover and the

¹ *New Hampshire Gazette*, July 23, 1796.

² H. J., 1796, p. 59.

³ The second from Claremont to Amherst and the third from Bellows Falls fifty miles toward Boston had been granted in 1799.

⁴ An extended account of this turnpike by John M. Shirley is to be found in a series of five articles in the *Granite Monthly*, Vol. IV.

new White River Falls bridge were reached by a branch diverging from the main road in the easterly part of Lebanon. For this branch three routes were proposed, first, the course substantially of the old county or "Boscawen" road, intersecting the main line at the "Great Pond," second a route by the "Great Valley," eastward of Mount Support (through which now runs the road from Lebanon to Etna), reaching the main line at "Alden's bridge," about a mile east of what is now Lebanon Centre village; and the third directly over Mount Support itself, to the same point.

The lands on the line of the old road were then pretty well settled and the people living there fully appreciated the loss they would suffer by having the traffic withdrawn so that the determination of the route was the occasion of active contest and logrolling. The committee on location, Col. Elisha Payne of Lebanon and Col. Aaron Kinsman of Hanover with three others, wisely advised the second route (though 164 rods longer than that over Mount Support), as being "the levellest and best for the public." The majority of votes at Lebanon, September 25, 1801, was, however, at first in favor of the course of the old county road (206 to 191), though the longest and by far the most hilly and difficult. But on July 1, 1802, this vote was rescinded, and the Mount Support route, as now used, adopted apparently without a division. The tradition is that the change was brought about by President Wheelock, who hoped thus to enhance the value of the college lands on Mount Support, through a promise of an enlarged subscription to the stock, which, however, failed of satisfactory performance. The road was opened to travel in December, 1804. From the top of Sand Hill it passed through the village by what are now Lebanon, Main and Wheelock Streets, to the east abutment of the bridge.

Within ten years from the date of the first turnpike nearly fifty were chartered in the State. The only one (besides the fourth) which touched Hanover was the "Grafton turnpike," projected in 1803, incorporated June 21, 1804, and completed between 1808 and 1811. It ran, substantially parallel to the fourth turnpike, from Andover to Orford, through "Canaan Street" and across the northeast corner of Hanover.

The turnpikes did much to develop travel, but after the first became unpopular, people objecting to the tolls and toll gates which restricted freedom of use, and attempts were set on foot to make them free. The Grafton turnpike was made

free in January 1829, and five years later a similar movement was made in Andover against the fourth turnpike by laying it out as a highway. The owners resisted and the attempt failed because the court adjudged that the law did not then allow the condemnation of a corporate franchise for public use. The pressure continued, however, and the defect in power being supplied by the act of July 2, 1838, the road was made free within the next two years by successive condemnations. The compensation given was small, and the road, though paying an average dividend of 4.55 per cent for twenty years, proved in the end an unfortunate investment for its promoters.

After the completion of the turnpike facilities of travel improved. In May, 1805, there was a mail route from Exeter, via Concord, to Hanover once a week, leaving Exeter Tuesday morning, arriving at Hanover Friday morning, and starting back at noon the same day; connecting with it from Hanover was a route to Littleton. The following July the public was informed¹ "that a stage was erected to run from Hanover to Boston," by way of the fourth New Hampshire turnpike and Concord, leaving Dewey's Coffee House [modern Hanover Inn] every Thursday morning at six o'clock, and arriving in Boston on Saturday. The intervening nights were passed at Boscawen and "Nashua Village," or Dunstable. The fare was \$4.50 to Dunstable, and \$2.40 thence to Boston.

Two years later, June 10, 1807,² announcement was made that a stage had commenced running, by the fourth New Hampshire and Londonderry turnpikes to Boston, 115 miles, twice a week, in connection with the Newburyport and other eastern stages. "The proprietors have furnished good horses and elegant carriages and every attention is paid to passengers." Leaving Hanover on Mondays and Fridays at five o'clock a. m., the stages reached Concord at the same hour in the evening, and starting again next morning arrived that evening in Boston. The fare was the same as before, and the way fares six cents a mile.

There was at the same time a mail stage running to Haverhill owned by Urial Bascom and R. W. Goold, both Hanover men. It went up on Wednesdays and returned on Thursdays. In October, 1807,³ there was started with these connections a line by White River to Royalton, twice a week, and to Burlington,

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, July 5, 1805.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, October 28, 1807.

³ *Dartmouth Gazette*.

once a week, and the time was expedited so that a passenger could reach Royalton or Haverhill in two days from Boston.

As time went on the number of trips increased and the time was shortened. By 1809 the Concord stage ran three times a week, leaving Concord at five a. m., and reaching Hanover at four p. m., but making the return trip in an hour less, as it left Hanover at six a. m. and reached Concord at four p. m.¹ By 1830 the trip between Boston and Burlington, 213 miles, was made in two days. The *Vermont Journal* of July 22 of that year, announces, that "on Monday last the Burlington stage arrived at Hanover at half past five p. m. and proceeded to Enfield, where it met the stage from Boston, which left the city the same morning."

Connections were made in other directions; as in 1814² the "northern stage" under the proprietorship of the Goolds and Woodbury of Hanover, left the village at five a. m. every Wednesday and connected through to Lancaster and to Guildhall, Vt., on Friday. On Sunday stages left Hanover and Haverhill at the same hour and meeting at Orford returned the same day. A few years later the Haverhill stage ran three times a week. But as the postriders gave way to the stages, so the stages gave way to the railroads, and by 1850 they had wholly ceased on the through lines, and the more rapid means of communication had succeeded.

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, May 25, 1809, and September 23, 1818.

² *Dartmouth Gazette*, March 14, 1814.

THE RIVER: DAMS, LOCKS AND BRIDGES.

The Connecticut River has been of great importance to Hanover in many ways, as a means of communication, as a barrier against hostile attack, and as a source of power, to say nothing of it as a source of ever recurring delight to the lover of wild and beautiful scenery, as rich today as it was a hundred years ago. The jurisdiction of New Hampshire as fixed by the King in 1764 extends to its western bank.

Until times comparatively modern, as already mentioned, much of the heavy freight destined for this region came by boat. Prior to the opening of the Fourth New Hampshire Turnpike about 1804, communication toward the southeast being very difficult, most of traffic was up and down the river, and did not wholly cease till long after. When the College was located here in 1770, boats were in common use and there was already a usual landing place on the western shore. There was, of course, thenceforward a common landing place on our own bank, the shelving beach just under the eastern end of the present bridge. Below the landing the bank at that time did not drop into the river, as it now does, by a steep pitch, but furnished a strip of meadow along the eastern shore similar to that on the western side, and wide enough to afford ample room for a cart road to the meadows at the mouth of Mink brook, guarded by a gate at its northern entrance.

We know little of the early boats, but there are surviving accounts which inform us that in November, 1773, Benjamin Wright and Son were engaged in navigation, and it is said that the trip to Hartford, Conn., and back occupied fifteen days.¹ The indication is of a regular transportation business. The greatest hindrance to the river traffic was, of course, the numerous rapids and the carries that were necessary at the principal falls. Between Hanover and Hartford the distance by river is 170 miles, and the river falls 365 feet over thirteen well defined bars of greater or less magnitude, at which it was in general necessary to break bulk and carry by. At these bars little settlements naturally grew up with a tavern and perhaps a store and, if opportunity served, a mill.

Less than two miles below the College plain is a series of

¹ Tucker's History of Hartford, Vt., p. 141.

falls of the first magnitude beginning almost precisely at the southern line of Hanover. Though about equally distant from the College and the early settlement at West Lebanon, and actually within the limits of Lebanon, they have been from early times controlled by Hanover men, and improved by their capital and enterprise. The limits of Dresden apparently embraced them. We have been wont to regard them as a feature of our surroundings, and our history would be incomplete without an account of their improvement.

From their nearness to the mouth of the White River these falls were distinguished, long before settlements began, as the "White River Falls of the Connecticut." They were celebrated for their violence and furnished one of the most troublesome of all the obstructions in the river. The experience of Major Robert Rogers affords the earliest mention that we find of their dangers. Returning in September, 1759, from the sack of the Indian village, St. Francis, he left the starving remnant of his party at the mouth of the Ammonoosuc, and with two companions, a man and an Indian boy, undertook to navigate the river on a raft to No. 4 (Charlestown) and bring help and provisions. He tells us that,¹

The current carried us down the stream in the middle of the river, where we kept our miserable vessel with such paddles as could be split and hewn with small hatchets. The second day we reached White River Falls, and very narrowly escaped running over them. The raft went over and was lost, but our remaining strength enabled us to land and march by the falls; at the foot of them Capt. Ogden, and the ranger, killed some red squirrels and a partridge while I constructed another raft. Not being able to cut the trees I burnt them down, and burnt them at proper lengths. This was our third day's work after leaving our companions.

It was done, of course, on the beach at the foot of the lower bar, and probably on the eastern shore.

In the spring of 1762 the first two white settlers in Haverhill and Newbury, returning in a canoe down the river, were upset at the lower bar of these falls and one of them, named Michael Johnston, was drowned.² The island just below the bar, on which his body was washed ashore, bears his name to this day.

The river at that period abounded in salmon, and that these falls were a favorite and regular resort of the Indian fishermen we may readily believe, though there is little that can be definitely

¹ Letter of Rogers to General Amherst in *Reminiscences of the French War*, containing Rogers' expeditions, p. 92f.

² Wells's *History of Newbury, Vt.*, p. 17; Powers' Coös County.

stated on the point. But we have Wheelock's mention of that circumstance, as if it were of common notoriety, in his enumeration of the advantages of the college location. In verification of it we have by authentic tradition from Mr. Luke Dewey the fact that he and other children living then on the Vermont side, about a hundred years ago, while digging a cave in their play on the river's western bank under a large pine stump near the principal fall, uncovered a quantity of ancient pottery more or less broken, which even they admired and remembered for its strangeness and preserved for a time to furnish the make-believe tea tables in their cave. Of course the river furnished the Indians an accustomed route of travel between the settlements and Canada. The party which attacked Deerfield in 1704, and carried off Mr. Williams, camped at the mouth of White River, and a part of them went up the Connecticut, but they had bad luck, and two of them died of starvation on the way.¹

The possibilities of power which these falls promised, was, as we know, another principal argument for the location of the College at Hanover.

The falls comprise three distinct bars or ledges of rock extending across the stream within the distance of about a mile as the river runs. They are known as the upper, the middle and the lower bars respectively. The upper bar situated just below the great eddy at the foot of "Negro Island" is now quite obliterated by the raising of the level by the new dam, but its position is shown by two little islands. Before the building of the dam there was a rocky, turbulent rapid at certain stages of water wholly impracticable for boats. The great fall, where the dam now is, constitutes the middle bar, and the lower bar shows itself very evidently a half mile farther down.

The carry at these falls was on the eastern side and was a long one. Its path is still visible, and a good part of it is in common use for farm purposes. It began at the foot of the lower fall, passed through a gap in the rock where till lately was a ruined lock, skirted the river bank on the low meadow (known as "winrow meadow") up to the foot of the middle bar, and then by a short turn to the left and a sharp climb reached a higher level, which it followed about a quarter of a mile quite beyond the middle bar itself, and thence forced back by the precipitous banks, rose by the private road now in use through the woods to the crest of the rocky knoll near the Han-

¹ B. H. Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, p. 11; Wells's *History of Newbury, Vt.*, p. 9.

over line, and thence back again to the river by a cart road still used, to the eddy south of Negro Island. At certain stages of water the carry was much shortened by drawing in to the river below the upper bar, 150 rods or so above the middle fall.

The public highway known to us as the "river road," the great "country road" of 1762-1764 as first laid, after crossing Mink brook, going south, turned to the right of its present course at a point now indicated by a clump of willows half way up the first hill, and passing to the west of all the houses now there, came, according to the Lebanon records, into this carrying road near the top of the above mentioned rocky knoll, at the house of Mr. Charles Tilden, the first proprietor (the site of which is indicated by the ancient orchard on the hill side), and utilized it thence to the lower fall. The course of that section was afterward changed, prior certainly to 1794, so as to take the present course of the road as far as Mr. Packard's, along the eastern face of the hill and thence going straight on west of the Barstow house and down to the meadow through the deep narrow ravine, which the present road to the main fall crosses by a short causeway. The line of its approach may still be seen through the grove of tall pines on the right as one goes to the falls, but this portion of the road was given up and the road thrown into its present course about 1809 in consequence of the erection of works at the lower bar which flooded the adjacent meadow at high water, and was attended with litigation.¹

The earliest settlement was naturally at the lower bar, where the carry began; no other spot on this side was equally favorable. We hear of it in 1779, and there can be no doubt that it existed considerably earlier than that. Capt. Samuel Paine, somewhat distinguished in the defence of the frontier, conveyed in that year to Capt. John House the house on the east side of the highway, which he had built and occupied till a short time before.

In January, 1785, this house (then occupied by Thomas Brigham) and the bulk of the land adjoining the lower bar, passed from Capt. House into the hands of one Daniel Phelps of Stafford, Conn., a trader of much enterprise, who continued some twenty years to flourish in the neighborhood. From 1790 to 1804 he owned also the mills at the middle bar on the Vermont side. The lower fall has always been distinguished as the

¹ Adams's New Hampshire Reports, 1816-1819, pp. 339f.

"Phelps bar." There were several houses there and the settlement increased to a cluster of seven or eight dwellings, one of them of some pretension; a blacksmith's shop, a store, a grist mill and a tavern are spoken of in 1792.¹

It is certain that there was at some time a mill at the point of rocks at the western end of the lower fall, taking water through the sluice, of which traces were visible till a short time since, and connected with it were several dwellings on the top of the bluff near by. At the middle bar by far the most eligible site for mills was on the Vermont side. The lay of the land was such that no dam was necessary in ordinary stages of the water for the development of considerable power and we hear of a grist mill and a fulling mill (and probably a saw mill) in operation there in 1784, not far from the south end of the present dam. One or more of these had been built, and was then operated by Simeon Dewey of Hanover.

These all stood on a parcel of four acres of land belonging to Israel Gillett (whose descendants still hold the neighboring farms), which in June, 1788, he conveyed to three Hanover people, viz., John Payne, John Payne, Jr., and Elizabeth Turner. The elder Payne had been for a number of years an innkeeper near the College. In 1790-1791 the grist and saw mills came into the hands of Daniel Phelps, from whom they passed in 1804 to Daniel Gillett and in 1813 to Gordon Whitmore, and they seem to have been standing as late as 1825.

The land at the middle bar on the New Hampshire side was a part of the original right of David Turner, and in 1794 was owned by Charles Tilden. In October of that year Tilden conveyed five acres abutting on the falls to James Wheelock, a son of the first President, for £100, L. M., and with it an allowance for a road to be laid two rods wide out to the great road by the course of the present path. It does not appear that there had been as yet any mill on this side the stream at that point, but a saw mill was then built, and perhaps others, by Wheelock and his father-in-law, Col. Aaron Kinsman. At the upper bar there has never been a mill or any improvement.

The entire fall in the river at the two lower bars is 37 feet, and the carry was about a mile and a half in length. The importance of so improving the river as to dispense with this long and troublesome land transit, began early to be appreciated. On June 20, 1792, a charter was granted by the New Hampshire

¹ Notes given by Dartmouth College to Parsons for work on Dartmouth Hall.

legislature to Ebenezer Brewster and Rufus Graves of Hanover, and Aaron Hutchinson of Lebanon, under the name of the White River Falls Bridge Co., authorizing them among other things to lock the falls between the mouth of Mink Brook and the eddy below the lower bar, if completed within seven years. Nothing was in fact done under this charter for the improvement of the falls, the energies of the company being expended in 1796 toward the other object of their charter, the building of a bridge, of which more will appear farther on.

Facilities for navigation were first afforded by the enterprise of Mills Olcott. In 1806 the mills built upon the parcel of Wheelock and Kinsman were in the hands of one Gordon Whitmore, from Middletown, Conn. There was at that time a rude dam which raised the water some four feet. In March, 1806, Whitmore persuaded Mr. Olcott to join him in making a passage or "slip" for the purpose of passing lumber by the fall, at an estimated cost of \$300. After considerable work had been done, and some \$600 expended it became evident that, to accomplish the object in view, much more elaborate works were needed, embracing the lower as well as the middle fall, and involving the raising of the dam eight feet so as to flow the water back upon the rapids of the upper bar and make it passable for boats and rafts. The estimated expense, all told, was \$4,000.

The plans were, accordingly, modified in July 1806, and as Whitmore had but limited means (none at all as it afterward proved), Mr. Olcott bought three quarters of his interest on the New Hampshire side and agreed to advance the money to complete the improvements. Whitmore, who pretended to be an expert in such matters, was to superintend the construction. The work went on the same year under this arrangement. A freshet soon carried away a part of the dam, and a new one built the same fall, at an expense of \$800, was also partially destroyed, together with the mills, in April following, and the locks and gates greatly injured by a freshet which at the same time carried off the bridges at Bath and Wells River.

Mr. Olcott rebuilt the mills at a cost of about \$1,000, and proceeded anew with the dam. In order to make the work available it was necessary to extend the improvements to the lower bar and Mr. Olcott purchased the rights in his own name. On an evening in September, 1808, half of the dam at the lower fall, in course of construction, was carried away by another freshet and three of the workmen (Moore, Southard and Clark)



Wm. Clark

were drowned. To illustrate his imperturbability it is related that the intelligence of this disaster was brought to Mr. Olcott by a horseman who dashed at full speed up to his door in the evening in great excitement and delivered his tale to him as he sat in his parlor engaged in reading a play of Shakespeare to his family. Mr. Olcott heard him through unmoved and saying quietly, "Well, I don't see how I can help it," resumed his reading. In October, 1808, he contracted with Roger Sargent, Alexander Clinton and Jonathan Austin for \$1,200 to complete the dam twelve feet above low water mark and to warrant it for a year, and with William and Collin Preston for \$2,000 to blast out and complete the lock.

Much of the difficulty experienced arose from the incompetency of Whitmore, and after this last mishap Mr. Olcott called his brother-in-law, Ben Porter, to his aid, and gave the work into other hands, but the enterprise still suffered from the careless work that had already been put into it, and in the fall of 1809 a contract was made with Roger Sargent for \$50, to make the upper dam so tight that "the water should fairly run over it at low water." The upper lock too was so poorly constructed that on being filled for the first time with water it wholly burst and had to be torn down and rebuilt at great expense.

Not until 1810 were the works completed so as to be effectual, and Mr. Olcott found that he had expended, instead of the \$300 originally contemplated, nearly \$23,000 on the work itself, besides his own services for four years and some \$5,000 for interest on money borrowed from time to time to carry on the work. Ready money was scarce and he was often put to great straits to procure it, and was often subjected to usurious charges. The work was so protracted and he had to borrow so much that his credit suffered. In this connection the following story is told:

Being at one time in special need of a sum of money for this work, and hearing that a gentleman in Lebanon had \$1,000 to loan, and knowing that he himself could not borrow it, he agreed with Richard Lang, a prominent merchant of Hanover, to borrow it as if for his own account, promising to pay him 6 per cent extra by way of commission for his services. The merchant procured it, but represented to Mr. Olcott that he was obliged to pay 12 per cent interest, which made it cost Mr. Olcott under his agreement, 18 per cent for a single year. Mr. Olcott made no remark, but found means during the year to

ascertain the real facts of the case, and learned that his friend had, in truth, procured the loan not at 12 per cent but at 6 per cent. At the end of the year he placed \$1,000 in one package and provided himself with three other packages of \$60 each. Then entering Mr. Lang's store at the busiest hour of the day when it was full of customers, he addressed him in a loud voice: "Mr. Lang, I have come to pay you the money which you borrowed for me a year ago of Mr. ——— in Lebanon. There, Sir, are the \$1,000 you borrowed, there (laying down a second package) are the \$60 interest you had to pay for it. There (laying down a third package) are the extra \$60 which I agreed to pay you for getting it, and *there* are \$60 that you *jewed* me out of."

The three locks at the upper fall and the two at the lower were all open to traffic in the spring of 1810, each lock was 88 feet long inside, giving a working length of 66 feet clear.

Pending all this Mr. Olcott had applied to the New Hampshire legislature, in 1806, for authority to maintain the locks and levy tolls, and June 12, 1807, an act of incorporation was granted him under the style of the White River Falls Company, with a reservation of any existing rights under the former charter of 1792, of which he procured a release. Two years later upon a further petition, reciting the difficulties he had encountered in the works, they were by law exempted from taxation for ten years.

Logs in those days passed down the river loose, as is customary now, and the charter expressly forbade the creation of any obstruction to the passage of logs in the manner theretofore used. There had been a series of laws from 1792 regulating the running of logs loose in the river and in June, 1808, Mr. Olcott procured the enactment of a further law applicable to the Connecticut River and prohibiting the running of timber of any dimension not rafted and controlled, ostensibly because of the damage which loose logs were likely to occasion to dams and other works, and for the sake of encouraging the manufacture of lumber within the State.¹ The law accomplished that object and incidentally compelled an extensive use of the locks. Indeed, Mr. Olcott has himself left it on record that only under the operation of such a law could the works have proved remunerative. Logs and lumber, thenceforward, were floated down in rafts made up of sections called "boxes," of a size convenient to

¹ Acts of June 10, 1808; Laws of New Hampshire, 1815, p. 7.

pass the locks and be reunited below. Huts were constructed on the central sections in which the raftsmen lived. The rafts floated with the current, guided by the use of sweeps, and were at night tied up along the shore. They disappeared from the river soon after 1850. The tolls were at first \$1 per thousand for lumber and \$1 per ton for merchandise and \$2 for a boat. They produced the first year \$2,343 and gradually increased until, in 1817, they amounted to \$4,683.

Mr. Olcott's troubles by no means ended with the completion of the works. Litigation harassed him incessantly for the next twenty-five years. His associate Whitmore proved not only incompetent but insolvent. The land on which stood the works at the upper falls lay under a mortgage from Whitmore to Wheelock and Kinsman. In 1810 it was foreclosed, and Mr. Olcott redeemed it. Next Whitmore, aided by Col. Bellows, sued him in the Vermont courts, and afterward in chancery in the United States Circuit Court of New Hampshire. Not until 1821, did this come to an end. It was settled by giving up to Whitmore and Bellows one quarter interest (one eighth to each) in the works on the New Hampshire shore, at both falls, and receiving in turn a three-quarter interest in the mills and lands adjacent to the falls on the Vermont side, which Whitmore had hitherto retained. The one-quarter interest of Whitmore and Bellows very soon passed through different channels to William Harris of Portland and to his brother James Harris of Boston, and remained in the ownership of that family till 1880.

The town of Lebanon early exhibited a hostility to the improvements. The erection of the lower dam, as I have already observed, flooded the great road along the meadow, and compelled a change of its location. The charter seemed to contemplate such an event and provided for a reference to the selectmen of Plainfield to award damages in any case where the town of Lebanon might be injured. The Plainfield officers were in 1809 called upon and assessed a damage of \$240. Lebanon was dissatisfied and brought a suit in the State courts which was at length decided favorably to Mr. Olcott.

The period of ten years' special exemption from taxation given by the act of 1809 having expired, it was discovered that property of this description independent of that act was not enumerated as taxable by existing laws, so that the exemption practically continued. Lebanon accordingly renewed the attack by a petition to the legislature in November, 1820, for a law enabling

the town to tax the property of the corporation, alleging by way of aggravation divers grievances against it. Mr. Olcott, himself at that time a member of the House, met the petition by a remonstrance, and the whole matter was quietly postponed to the next session and for the time passed out of sight.

Hostility next took the form of direct opposition to the collection of tolls. The charter of 1807 had given the right to fix and collect tolls for the period of twelve years. That period had now expired and George Banfill and Ebenezer Carleton of Bath, extensive lumber dealers, refused payment and were sued by Mr. Olcott in 1825. He was again successful both at the trial term and in the Law Court, but the cause was, nevertheless, on a minor point remanded for a new trial and lingered some years on the docket. The next step (pending the suit against Banfill) was an application to the legislature in June, 1825, by Ezekiel Ladd and others, including the same Banfill, rehearsing the expiration of the twelve-year period of tolls, and alleging that the tolls were exorbitant and oppressive, at least four times too high, and asking redress. After notice to Mr. Olcott a hearing was had at the June session, 1826, and the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature were directed to regulate tolls on application of at least six persons. No proceedings however were taken under that authority.¹

But the most formidable attack came in June, 1827, upon petition by Hamlin Rand and others for directions to the Attorney General to test the franchise by *quo warranto*. Mr. Olcott appeared as usual with a remonstrance, but to no effect, and the legislature gave the desired instructions to the Attorney General (George Sullivan) to proceed at the next term of the Court.

The proceedings were subject to embarrassment from the fact that no organization had ever been had under the charter, Mr. Olcott being sole corporator and also claiming to enjoy the privileges independent of the charter, because of his ownership of both banks of the river. Two separate informations were accordingly filed, one against the corporation and one against Mr. Olcott and his associates individually. For the purpose of defence he at one time claimed that he had never accepted the charter, but finding himself unable to stand on that ground, as the Court held the river to be a public highway, he was driven at last to his charter to justify the dam. Mr.

¹ Act of July 7, 1826, Pamphlet Laws, p. 6115.

Olcott, as has been said, was a staunch and prominent Federalist. The State had fallen into the hands of the Democrats under lead of Isaac Hill, and Mr. Olcott with some reason believed that political prejudice lay at the bottom of the proceedings, so far as the legislature was concerned. The causes were continued from term to term upon one ground and another until the immediate excitement had died away.

In January, 1833, the legislature repealed the special act of 1808 which forbade running logs loose and thereafter the logs in this river were subject only to the general law. In June, 1833, the Harrises very adroitly opened correspondence with Isaac Hill on their own behalf as non-residents, stating frankly Mr. Olcott's apprehensions, and their own belief that it was after all essentially a matter of rates of toll, and asking advice as to a method of closing the controversy by legislative interference. Their letter is a model of adroit presentation. The nature of Mr. Hill's reply I do not know, but a few days later, on the 5th of July, the legislature ordered the cessation of proceedings on certain easy terms, involving the settlement of rates by the Court on application of the corporation every five years, and "waived, remitted and extinguished all causes of forfeiture of rights heretofore accruing."¹

No doubt this result was facilitated by the fact that during the pendency of the proceedings a meeting had been held at Springfield, March 6, 1829, by delegates from the lock and canal owners on the river, including those at South Hadley, Montague, Bellows Falls, Waterquechee and White River Falls, at which meeting an agreement was entered into for the expenditure on joint account of \$1,000 in improving sundry bars, and (most important of all) for the reduction of tolls to a schedule then established, pursuant to which the toll on merchandise at White River Falls was reduced from \$1 to 50 cents per ton, though on lumber \$1 per thousand continued to be charged as before, and \$2 on boats.

All preliminaries being arranged, the Court took up Mr. Olcott's matter in July, 1834, and appointed Benjamin Pierce, Charles H. Atherton and Salma Hale a committee to examine the locks, hear the parties and report a schedule of tolls. A hearing was had at the Dartmouth Hotel the following October and continued three days, Mr. Olcott with Joseph Bell and Ichabod Bartlett appearing for the corporation and Jonathan

¹ Pamphlet Laws, 1833, p. 136.

Smith and Peter Burbank for the contestants; the result was the final settlement of tolls in 1835 for the next five years at 57 cents per ton for merchandise and lumber, and rafts, a reduction of nearly one half upon lumber and logs which comprised the bulk of the business.

The result surprised everybody; not only had a great deal of lumber been held back in expectation of the reduction, but the water in the river continued during the fall lower than it had ever been known, and the lumber which was destined to go forward was prevented from moving till it was locked up by the early frost. At the opening of the spring, the matter of tolls having been settled, it was sent forward in such quantities that Mr. Olcott's receipts for tolls the following year amounted to upward of \$10,000, which was double what had been collected in any previous year and for several following years the receipts were in the region of \$5,000 per year.

Here practically ended the long course of hostile litigation from which Mr. Olcott had hardly been for a moment free during twenty-five years. Suits for costs, etc., connected with it harassed him still, but the franchise thenceforward was secure. The county put in a heavy claim for costs at the fall term of 1835, which was contested by Mr. Olcott, attending at Concord in person. His opponents under the lead of Ira Goodall, Esq., of Bath, who had been identified with them as attorney in the litigation, made one more attempt (hardly more than a threat) on different lines. Stephen Underwood of Bath having devised and patented a marine railway for the overland transportation of loaded boats past obstructions to navigation, a charter was obtained from the Vermont legislature November 14, 1836, authorizing Messrs. Underwood and Goodall with Simeon Lyman of Hartford, Vt., under the style of "The Norwich and Hartford Railroad and Forwarding Company," to construct a single, double or treble railway between the head of these falls on the Vermont side and Lyman bridge, at the mouth of the White River, "to transport, take, and carry persons and property on the same by power of steam, animals, or mechanical or other power." But it does not appear that the scheme advanced any further than this.

Next to Mr. Olcott's own shrewdness and pluck, his success in resisting attack was due in large degree to the advantages he enjoyed in the professional support of Nathaniel Chipman on one side of the river, and of Joseph Bell, Jeremiah Mason,

Jeremiah Smith and Webster on the other. He had also the greatest advantage in being in possession and on the defensive; able to continue quietly collecting the tolls which furnished him the sinews of war, while his enemies were being wasted in purse and discouraged by delays, the advantage of which he and his able counsellors never forgot.

When in 1835 the Court was engaged in settling the rates of toll Mr. Olcott was of course present and was heard. In the course of his statement he laid stress on the hazardous nature of the property as affecting the rates of toll. Judge Richardson, who presided, said to him, "Mr. Olcott, you speak of the property as being extraordinarily hazardous. Is it fire you fear or freshets? Pray tell us where the great danger lies." "Yes," replied Mr. Olcott, "we are in some danger from fire, and in some from freshets, but we fear most the legislature of New Hampshire and its courts."

He was destined to endure one more piece of unpalatable interference from this body, which by a law passed in December, 1840, without notice, made a further reduction in his tolls of from twenty-five to sixty per cent.¹

The works had hitherto remained under the personal management of Mr. Olcott himself, but advancing age and renewed annoyances led to the calling in at this time of his son-in-law, William H. Duncan, Esq., to his assistance. Mr. Duncan managed the works from that time till 1851. Mr. Olcott died July 12, 1845, and his wife, to whom he left this property with his other possessions, followed him in May, 1848. Circumstances at that period were greatly changed, mainly by the advent of railroads, and it seemed necessary to take a new departure.² A new act of incorporation was accordingly obtained by the heirs to whom the property fell, and an organization effected under a slightly different name, which has survived to the present time.³ The capital was fixed at \$100,000 and attention turned to manufacturing in which extensive operations were contemplated. An engineer was employed who made a very flattering preliminary report on the capabilities of the power, but the scheme died ere it was fairly produced and nothing practical

¹ Pamphlet Laws, 1840, p. 513.

² The locks and mills had fallen into decay, and two years after the death of Mr. Olcott, Mr. Duncan, the superintendent, caused them to be repaired. There were then two mills with four upright saws, and a shingle, clapboard and lath mill, all under two roofs.

³ Rufus Choate, Joseph Bell, W. H. Duncan and the children of Mr. Olcott, together with James Harris, were the incorporators, and the title was "The White River Falls Corporation."

resulted from it. The dams, however, were maintained, the saw mills were operated as long as they stood, and the locks continued in gradually diminishing use till the destruction of the dam at Sumner's Falls in 1857, though after the opening of the railroad in 1850 they barely paid expenses.

In 1825 there were two mills on the Vermont side at the upper fall and one or more on the New Hampshire shore. I do not know when the Vermont mills perished, but of the New Hampshire mills, rebuilt in 1835, which stood at the eastern end of the dam on either side of the upper lock, one occupied a perilous position on the outside edge of the lock, and was carried away by a freshet in 1856. President Lord, led by curiosity to venture upon it, narrowly escaped going with it. The remaining mill was taken down in 1865, the center of the dam having been carried out by a freshet, so that the mill was useless. In 1866 almost all that remained of the old dam was torn away to obtain the old growth pine logs, of which it was built, to convert into shingles. A small remnant that clung to the Vermont side was taken out by the great freshet of 1869. A paper mill was built and operated on the Vermont side by Horace French and D. D. Gillette without any dam, from 1865 to 1872, when the mill was washed away.

After this the franchise and privilege were long in the market, and several times a sale seemed probable, but it was not till 1880 that they, with lands adjoining, were sold to D. P. Crocker of Holyoke, Mass., who intended extensive operations, but being turned aside, after changing the name of the White River Falls Corporation to the Olcott Falls Company in 1881, he sold the property in the next year to Messrs. C. T. and H. A. Wilder of Boston. Their first effort for the improvement of the property was the construction of a dam, which the contractors, S. S. Ordway and Co., began in the late summer of 1882 under fortunate conditions of unexampled low water, and completed in the following spring. A pulp mill on the Vermont side was first built in 1885, and adjoining it a paper mill was erected in 1888 and enlarged in 1891. A pulp mill was constructed on the New Hampshire side also in 1890, to which an addition was made in 1894. All the property passed in 1899 into the hands of the International Paper Company.

Plans for connecting this river with other waters by means of canals began very early to be agitated. Gen. Jonathan Chase of Cornish (the father-in-law of Dr. Nathan Smith) in 1794



OLCOTT FALLS, 1862.



OLCOTT FALLS, 1882.

petitioned the legislature for a grant of the privilege of cutting a canal from the Merrimac to the Connecticut by way of Sunapee pond and after two or three years obtained a grant, designed, doubtless, to connect with the system which from 1801 was in active operation between tide water at Boston and the waters of the Merrimac as far north as Concord. This Middlesex canal from Boston to the Merrimac at Chelmsford, which was chartered in 1793, and begun in September, 1794, was finished in 1803, and the system of locks on the Merrimac River was completed July 1, 1815, so as to pass boats as far as Concord, N. H. Surveys were made to connect this with the Connecticut River via Sunapee Lake, but the route was found impracticable.

In 1796 the people of Portsmouth sought legislative authority¹ for a canal to connect the Piscataqua with the Connecticut by Winnipiseogee pond. The scheme was more fully agitated and a charter granted in 1824 for a canal designed to enter the Pemigewasset at Plymouth and the Connecticut at Haverhill. Local works of small magnitude, like that of Mr. Olcott's, existed at various points on the Connecticut, but it was not until the Erie Canal began to approach completion, and the canal from Lake Champlain to the Hudson was under way, that any organized movement was made to improve the navigation of the river on a comprehensive plan.

In January, 1824, the subject began to be actively canvassed, and an association was at that time formed at Hartford, Conn., which a little later obtained a chartered existence under the name of the "Connecticut River Company." A committee consisting of David Porter and Eliphalet Averill was sent out to visit the towns adjacent to the river, and as a result of their efforts a general convention was called to be held at Windsor on the 16th day of February, 1825, and more than 200 delegates² from various towns in the valley assembled at that time and continued two days in session. They passed resolutions, appointed committees, and memorialized Congress for aid toward the improvement of the navigation of the river. Measures were taken to ascertain the terms upon which all the existing works could be purchased, and a committee was sent to Washington to procure government assistance in making the necessary sur-

¹ H. J., 1796, p. 50.

² The delegates, appointed in many cases by the formal vote of the towns, represented thirty-seven towns in Vermont, twenty-five in New Hampshire and one each in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Vermont Governor and Council, VII, p. 482, *Windsor Republican*, February 25, 1825.

veys. The War Department under the influence of members of Congress from New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut received the application favorably, and detailed an officer of engineers, DeWitt Clinton, Jr., to make a survey for a canal from the Connecticut River at Barnet to Lake Memphremagog, and from Connecticut Lake to Long Island Sound, in conjunction with commissioners appointed by the four states specially interested. This officer proceeded, accordingly, to Barnet in May, 1825, and in the course of the summer made surveys of three routes to Lake Memphremagog and a survey of the Connecticut above Barnet.¹

It being apparent that he would be unable in that season to complete the work along the entire length of the river, the Connecticut River Company which had been organized in Hartford early in that year employed an eminent engineer, Holmes Hutchinson, of much experience on the Erie canal, with an assistant, two surveyors and a party numbering fourteen persons in all, to continue the survey downward to Hartford from Barnet. They began at Barnet in June, 1825, and on December 21 Mr. Hutchinson printed an elaborate report to the directors, who laid it before the stockholders at their annual meeting at Hartford, January 3, 1826. This report was printed in a pamphlet, and embodies a great deal of interesting information.²

The plans of the company contemplated the creation of a single corporation under the authority of the four states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont and New Hampshire) and an expenditure of \$1,500,000. Mr. Hutchinson's survey and estimates were based on the plan of slack water navigation, contemplating the improvement or construction of sixteen dams between Barnet and Hartford, and forty-one locks to overcome a fall of 420 feet in a distance of 219 miles, of which seventeen miles would be by canal and 202 miles by slack water navigation in the river, with a minimum depth of four feet. The Vermont legislature took the lead by passing an act in October 1825, which was adopted and confirmed with additions by the legislature of New Hampshire, July 7, 1826.³ The Massachusetts legislature was not so responsive. In January 1826 the senate passed a bill confirming the Vermont act,⁴ but the house did not concur, and the matter came before successive legislatures

¹ Report in House Document, No. 154, 19th Congress, 1st Session.

² See also U. S. State Papers, Vol. 9, No. 154, 1st Session, 19th Congress.

³ See for both acts New Hampshire Pamphlet Laws 1826, p. 117.

⁴ S. J., Vol. 46, p. 234.

without favorable action till in 1828 an act was passed, incorporating the "Proprietors of the Central Locks and Canals on Connecticut River," but not ratifying the act of Vermont.¹ Connecticut was more friendly and the legislature in May 1826 confirmed the entire act of Vermont, with only minor amendments relative to the rights of the chartered company within the limits of Connecticut.

It is of interest to quote Mr. Hutchinson's remarks upon the state of the river near us.

At Hanover bridge the river is narrow and a large pier is constructed in deep water to support the center of the bridge, which occasions a rapid current on each side in high water. Two miles below [one mile he should have said] at the narrows there are several rocky islands in the river, there is a crooked channel on the east side through which the water flows in freshets and which would probably afford a facility of passage by excavating the earth and placing a guard lock at the entrance.

The White River falls are one and one half miles lower down, the descent of the river at these falls in one mile is thirty-seven feet. There has been an imperfect improvement in navigation made round these falls. The works consist of two dams and five locks, at the upper dam there is a saw mill on each side of the river with two saws in each. [The other mills seem by this time to have disappeared.] The locks are on the east side, the walls being of stone without mortar, and combined; the hollow quoins are of wood secured to the stone work, and the gates are worked by a windlass and chain without balance beams. Some of the walls are lined with plank.

Mr. Hutchinson's plan was to raise the upper dam six feet and construct a new canal on the west side through the high bank to the eddy below the lower fall, with four locks at its lower end. The total expense he estimated at about \$85,700. This is practically the same plan adopted for the manufacturing works constructed in the eighties, saving the canal and locks. It is needless to add that no further progress was ever made toward the execution of this plan.

An alternative plan was advocated by others, which wholly discarded slack water navigation and involved the construction of a canal the entire distance. The controversy was hot among the partisans of the two methods, and a rival survey was made by Mr. Hurd, which I have not been fortunate enough to obtain. A canal from New Haven to Northampton formed part of the scheme, and in 1827 was actually under construction. It was called the "Farmington Canal" from New Haven to the Massachusetts line, fifty-six miles, and the "Hampshire and Hampden

¹ Mass. Legislative Docs. *passim*.

Canal" from that point to Northampton, thirty miles. The estimated cost was a little over \$700,000. The total rise and fall in the eighty-six miles was 520 feet, to be overcome by sixty locks.

Governor DeWitt Clinton was an ardent advocate of the continuous canal, and in the summer of 1827 made a tour of inspection along the proposed line from New Haven to Barnet in company with Samuel Hinckley, James Hillhouse and Thomas Sheldon, a committee of the Hampshire and Hampden Co. He estimated the cost of the section from Northampton to Barnet at a little over \$1,500,000, or \$10,000 per mile, and the probable annual income of the whole line twelve percent on a total cost of \$2,500,000. Elaborate calculations were made to show the great advantage of this canal over a railroad.

Governor Clinton's journey was a sort of triumphal progress. He was received along the route with the greatest enthusiasm. Aside from the special occasion of his visit, political sympathies were very strong. General Richard Kimball of Lebanon, who had been with the Governor on the Erie canal, received him in his fine old mansion on the magnificent location on the top of the hill overlooking the confluence of the White River and the Connecticut, and did his utmost to give *éclat* to his visit. The prominent men of this region joined in giving the Governor a dinner at the Dartmouth Hotel in Hanover. Mr. Olcott complimented him in a formal speech, and altogether it was a great occasion.

In January, 1828, Mr. Hinckley and the others applied to the Massachusetts legislature for leave to extend the Hampshire and Hampden canal up the Connecticut and the committee to which it was referred unanimously preferred the continuous canal and recommended requisite legislation.¹ The New Hampshire legislature passed an act for the same object December 29, 1828.² In the same connection a canal to Lake Champlain by the White and Onion Rivers was surveyed in 1828 by United States engineers by authority of a Vermont act of November, 1825, but this part of the plan was found impracticable because of inadequate water supply for the locks over the heights of the Green Mountains.

From various causes the whole grand scheme came to naught, and a second general convention was called to meet at Windsor, September 29, 1830, to consider the subject anew, and devise

¹ H. R., p. 41.

New Hampshire Laws. p. 325.

some practicable but less pretentious method to restore the river trade to its former prosperity. The convention was attended by eighty delegates from twenty-seven towns, of which fourteen were in Vermont, nine in New Hampshire, three in Massachusetts and one in Connecticut, Mr. Olcott being of course the Hanover delegate.¹ It determined to renew the application for congressional aid, and to take steps toward a reduction and equalization of tolls at the different falls. An enthusiastic report was made and adopted in favor of a system of steam navigation on the river and practical measures were inaugurated to put five steam boats on as many sections of the river, to run in connection with each other as a continuous line and to be operated by the Connecticut River Steamboat Company, which had been incorporated by the Vermont legislature at its last session.

One boat was to run between Hartford and Hadley Falls, one between Hadley Falls and Miller's Falls, one between Miller's Falls and Bellows Falls, one from Bellows Falls by the aid of some contemplated improvements at Quechee Falls, to White River Falls, and one between White River Falls and Wells River. It was expected that each boat would make a round trip every day, the distance ranging from seventy to one hundred miles. The boats were to be of twenty horsepower, broad, long and shallow, propelled by stern wheels and designed not only to carry freight, but to tow other boats and barges. Great results by way of enlarged traffic and reduced freights were anticipated.

Before this scheme was put in operation an experimental trip was made in July, 1831, by a diminutive steamer, the *John Ledyard*, commanded by Captain Samuel Nutt, a veteran riverman.² This steamer came

Up the river from Springfield, Mass., and was received at various places with speeches and other demonstrations deemed appropriate to the opening of steam navigation on the upper Connecticut. Captain Nutt went as far as Wells River where he found obstructions that he was unable to surmount.

Two or three hundred Scotchmen, who lived in the vicinity and were anxious to have the steamer go farther, undertook to pull her over the bar, with the aid of ropes, but after raising her so far from a horizontal position

¹ Journal of the Convention, holden at Windsor, Vt., September 29 and 30, 1830, for the purpose of taking into consideration subjects connected with the improvement of navigation of Connecticut River, Windsor, 1830.

² Address of W. H. Duncan at the opening of the John Ledyard Free Bridge at Hanover, July 1, 1859. See also Tucker's History of Hartford, Vt., pp. 373, 374, where the names of the other boats are given.

that the explosion of the boiler became imminent the Captain asked them to desist, and it took twenty or thirty of them to pull her back into deep water again.

Captain Nutt became superintendent of this portion of the new line of boats, and lived at White River Junction till January 1, 1871. It is said that Captain Nutt made a still earlier trip to Barnet in 1829 with a small side wheel steamer named the *Barnet*, but I am doubtful of the accuracy of the tradition.¹

The new boats were built in the winter and spring of 1831 and put upon the river in the following May or June. The boat designed for the upper part of the route appears to have been delayed in construction until the succeeding year. It was built by the company at Wells River under the superintendence of Captain Nutt and bore the name of "Adam Duncan." It made a few trips arousing great interest and giving free rides to the inhabitants on the route, but, the contemplated improvements at the Quechee not having been made, it was unable to make connections with its neighbor below except by means of a long carry at Sumner's falls. It was before long ignominiously attached for debt, and tied up at Wells River for about a year. It was then sold, bought in by Mr. Olcott, and dismantled, the machinery taken out and shipped to Hartford, and the hulk abandoned near the shore some fifty rods above the middle bar of the White River falls. The signboard bearing its name "Adam Duncan" was preserved as a relic about the mills for a good many years, and after Mr. W. H. Duncan took charge of them he had a fancy to fasten up the old sign conspicuously in the mill, which occasioned a profane jest at his expense from Mr. Bell, that led to the speedy disappearance of the relic.

The fate of the other boats of the line I have not ascertained in detail. It is sufficient to say that traffic refused to be coaxed back to the river, and the whole scheme ended in failure. It was never revived, attention being turned almost immediately to the subject of a railroad of which we shall speak in another place.²

It would be inexcusable not to allude in this connection to an earlier application of steam to the navigation of the river, though used by way of experiment only.

Samuel Morey of Orford began to experiment with steam (as

¹ See Conn. Val. Hist. Soc. Papers, Vol. I, p. 118.

² The printed reports of these various conventions and surveys are full of interesting statistics relating to the trade, manufactures and capabilities of this region; many of these documents are now somewhat rare. See also Vermont Governor and Council, VII, 482 *et seq.* Haddock's oration at Montpelier, January 8, 1844.

early, it is said, as 1780), and in 1799 and 1800 took out patents for "a method of obtaining a force or power from water with the help of steam," which he called a "water engine" and in his specifications commends it as "applicable to any mechanical purpose from that of turning a spit for roasting meat up to that of driving mills or *propelling boats*." The minor uses of turning spits and bruising and grinding coffee appear to have mainly absorbed his attention, but it is certain that he did in fact apply his invention to the propulsion of a boat on the Connecticut near Orford.

Rev. Cyrus Mann, a graduate of this college in 1806, and a native of Orford, testifies to the fact as witnessed by himself.¹ He says:

"The astonishing sight of this man ascending the Connecticut River between Orford and Fairlee in a little boat just large enough to contain himself and his rude machinery connected with the steam boiler and a handful of wood for fire, was witnessed by the writer in his boyhood and by others who yet survive . . . as early as 1793." This was written in 1858. Fulton's famous voyage from New York to Albany took place in 1807, though his earliest ideas on the subject are said to have been formed in 1793. It is asserted as a fact fully attested that Fulton, before his plans were completed, visited Captain Morey at Orford for the special purpose of conferring with him on this subject, and examining his work, and was afterward visited by Morey at New York. This must have been after 1806, since Fulton was in Europe till that year.²

We have so far been considering the river lengthwise as a help to communication. We have now to look at it crosswise as a hindrance. We have already seen how in this aspect it saved our community in 1780 from a definite hostile purpose of the Indians, and we may well suppose that it stood at many other times a beneficent obstacle between the unconscious settlers and danger. But to peaceful trade and friendly intercourse between the eastern and the western banks, it has given rise from first to last to no little disturbance.

The spot where our bridge now is was peculiarly favorable for a boat landing on either side, and was so used from the earliest times. Of course there was more or less passing back and forth, and as early at least as 1770 one John Sargeant lived where Mr.

¹ Sanborn's History of New Hampshire, p. 222; Conn. Val. Hist. Soc., Coll., Vol. I, p. 119.

² Conn. Val. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1881, Vol. I, p. 120f.

Lewis lately did on the Vermont side, and kept a ferry, and others were doubtless kept in a small way at other points in Hanover. But the Provincial authorities claimed to control this use of the river, and on Dr. Wheelock's application Gov. John Wentworth, in the name of the crown, granted to the Trustees and their assigns for the benefit of the College, June 22, 1772, "the sole privilege of keeping, using and employing a Ferry Boat or Boats for the transporting of men, horses, goods, cattle, carriages, etc., from the shore of Hanover . . . across the river Connecticut to the opposite shore . . . and back again, . . . to extend the whole length of the township of Hanover," with the right to levy toll on condition, "that they should at all times keep such boat or boats, and give such attention as the now (or any hereafter) laws do or may require," on penalty of forfeiture of the grant. All persons were expressly forbidden to set up any other ferry within the same limits. Wheelock had solicited the grant the previous year but it was delayed in consequence of existing jealousies that made it prudent for the Governor to wait. He gave up to the College his fees that were usual in such cases.

In May, 1773, the Trustees directed their treasurer to lease out the ferries, whose management occasioned from time to time no little trouble. In August, 1775, reciting that sundry persons had presumed to put canoes on the river near the College, whereby the profits of the stated ferry were reduced, the Trustees voted that the rates of toll for the present should be two coppers for each person, and fourpence for a man and a horse, until the intruders should be driven away. The monopoly enjoyed by the College was offensive not only to Sargeant and others on the western side, but equally so to the town of Norwich which claimed a sort of concurrent authority and even owned at one time a ferry boat. Sargeant was naturally especially grieved, as he regarded the college claim as subversive of his prior rights, and quite a feud existed for a time on account of it between him and Dr. Wheelock.

On October 27, 1772, he wrote to Wheelock: "Let me tell you that I am not about to give up my rite to said ferrey So Long as I think Justice and Equaty gives it to me," but by 1775 he seems to have been reconciled, and in 1776 he hired the ferry of the College for a year for £4. The toll was three coppers for man, horse and load, one copper for a footman if no canoes were kept in the river, otherwise two coppers, but Wheelock's "natural family" was to be passed free.

In 1779 the management of the ferry for the next year was entrusted to a committee consisting of Messrs. Paine, Woodward and Ripley. The town of Norwich, in April, 1780, directed their selectmen "to confer with Mr. Sargeant, and the Trustees of Dartmouth College, and the Selectmen of Dresden respecting the ferry by Mr. Sargeant's, and regulate the same as they may think best." In September, 1780, the Trustees' committee was instructed to build a ferry house where they should judge most convenient and to lease it with the ferry for a term not exceeding eight years.

But the town of Norwich grew more urgent in its claims, on what grounds we do not know. They voted, May 2, 1781, "that we will challenge and maintain our right and privilege of said ferry unless by law or the judgment of some court proper to try the same, we become wholly and entirely deprived of it," and they chose Peter Olcott, Joseph Hatch and Elisha Benton a committee "to take the whole charge and management of the matter, and conduct therein as they shall find prudent and necessary."

The Trustees on the other hand strengthened their position by buying out Sargeant (as Wheelock had wished to do several years before, in 1773,¹) and thus controlling the landing on the Vermont side. The deed is dated December 19, 1781, and runs to Joseph Marsh, Bezaleel Woodward and Aaron Storrs.

In March, 1782, Norwich voted "that a committee of three be appointed to take the care and management of the ferry leading to Dresden in behalf of the town as *our property*—it being found that great inconveniences have arisen for want of faithful attendance, and that said committee be desired to lease out or dispose of the same for the term of one year to such person as will give good security for constant and faithful attendance, and to engage to such person the quiet and unmolested possession of said ferry . . . and that they immediately procure a boat for that purpose."

The Trustees on their part made to one John Burnap, April 10, 1782, a lease for one year of the ferry "between the College and John Sargeant's in Norwich," Burnap agreeing to provide a boat, and constantly attend the ferry, taking only reasonable tolls, and to transport free the Trustees and officers of the College and their families. In April, 1783, Messrs. Marsh and Woodward conveyed all their interest in the Sargeant purchase to

¹ Letter to J. Phillips, July 21, 1773.

their co-tenant, Aaron Storrs, and the College leased him the ferry for three years on the same terms as to Burnap, with the addition that Storrs paid an annual rent of £7 2s.

In the Norwich records for March, 1783, we find the following:

A letter from Capt. Storrs respecting the ferry was read, and the question thereupon put by Bezaleel Woodward to the meeting, whether the town will agree to sell the boat put in by the town to Capt. Storrs. It passed unanimously in the negative. It was then voted that a committee be appointed to take the care of said boat and offer the Trustees of Dartmouth College to take half the privilege of the ferry, the town reserving the privilege of the other half to itself—as we wish to avoid future controversy respecting the same, and in case this proposition be declined by the Trustees the said committee are hereby desired and empowered to lease out said ferry and boat in such way as they may judge most beneficial to the town and public the ensuing season.

At the same meeting it was

Voted, that the said committee be also desired to treat with said trustees respecting the expediency of endeavoring to obtain a lottery for the purpose of erecting a bridge between this town and Dresden.

Mr. Storrs, however, had the advantage, for we find Norwich a year or two later voting to *look up* their boat and dispose of it to the best advantage.

In June, 1793, Captain Storrs sold the Sargeant property to Dr. Joseph Lewis, who had previously owned the grist mill on Blood brook, and who now moved in and took the ferry which he retained till a bridge was built in 1796. Besides the free transportation stipulated by the College, he was accustomed also to carry free those who took grist to his mill. The Sargeant place was occupied by his descendants to the third generation.

The approaches to the ferry were not for many years formally laid out on either side. In 1778 the highway was laid from Norwich "to the ferry place near John Sargeant's". On the Hanover side the ancient cart path up the ravine from the landing developed into a highway without formal dedication. The high hills on each side were heavily wooded, and there was no gully between them, the road filled the entire ravine, not over forty feet wide, and the fallen trees lay thickly across overhead. The same road gave access to the meadows near the mouth of Mink brook, by a cart path along the bank of the river, skirting the high bluff, on a strip of meadow some three rods wide and in those days extending quite up to the ferry, of which every trace has since disappeared.

The unsightly gully that long gave so much trouble to the road began to appear within the memory of persons now living. It took its start from the cutting away of the growth along the sides of the ravine in 1826. This was done under the order of Gen. James Poole, to whom the land belonged. Preparatory to the building of the bridge, of which we are soon to speak, application was made by General Brewster and his associates to the selectmen of Hanover, February 27, 1796, to lay out a road and proper allowance for abutments to accommodate it.¹ The selectmen, Samuel Slade and Joseph Curtis, in reply certified their "opinion that the petitioners have the free use of the road that is now travelled from the College plain to the river for the purpose of erecting and using said bridge, and that they have free liberty to erect a butment in Hanover anywhere within twenty rods north of the usual place of coming to the river as the road now goes, in a way not to hinder the access to the river at or near where the road now goes for any persons who choose to go to the same to draw up timber or anything else." This, however, seems to have been unsatisfactory and in October, 1797 the selectmen of Hanover laid out in due form a highway four rods wide from the college plain to the northeast end of the bridge (then built), and an extension two rods wide running northerly from the main road on the east side of the toll house and thence by the path theretofore used as a pass-way to the river. The circuitous route was necessary as the end of the ravine had always been steep and cumbered with logs and bushes.

The toll house, built under the vote of 1780, was a house of one story, standing just north of the present road, near the east end of the bridge, and the path to the river bank encircled it on the east and north, and reached the river below the present bridge. It was, we suppose, the same house that was destroyed by fire on that spot October 19, 1860.

Three other stated ferries were at different times operated under the college grant. One located about a mile above the village, at the mouth of the "Vale of Tempe," and just below "Girl Island," was known as "Rope Ferry," because the boat (probably unlike the others at the first) was attached to a rope stretched across the river. It is impossible to say when this ferry was first established. As it lay in direct line to the seat of Governor Peter Olcott and to the old Norwich meeting house on Goddard Hill (located in 1773), we cannot doubt that the ferry

¹ Records of Hanover, N. H., p. 144.

was in use in some fashion during the period between 1776 and 1783, when the Dresden committee had its headquarters at the College, and probably earlier still. The existing road from the ferry to the side of the old meeting house, near Governor Olcott's, is an ancient highway, located in 1773, begun in 1778 and finished in 1785, and first recorded in that year with mention of the Rope Ferry. The approach on the Hanover side, though in its upper portion disused, bears still the name (as of old) of the "Rope Ferry Road." We find it mentioned under that name in 1793. There is no record of its being laid out as a highway, though its character as such has been within the present generation judicially established. In 1798 the town voted that the owners of land on this road might erect a gate for one year.

November 3, 1788, the Trustees leased the ferry right in that locality, covering the river lots 61 and 62, for twenty years to John Forbes of Hanover, and John Forbes, Jr., late of Marlborough, Windham County, Vt., at a price to be annually settled by disinterested persons. Its utility in public estimation is evidenced by the persistence with which it was kept up after the bridge was built, and by the anxiety of the bridge proprietors to suppress it, evidenced in threats in 1799 and again as late as 1806. It is believed that the ferry was in use much more recently than that, but all definite memorials of it seem to have perished.

At the confluence of the Pompanoosuc River there was, of course, a ferry of some sort from very early years. In 1785 the Trustees conveyed to Isaac Rogers, by lease for 999 years, for a quarter of the annual income, all their ferry rights in Hanover north of a large rock in the Connecticut, fifty rods below the lower end of the island near the mouth of the Pompanoosuc. There seem to have been some disagreement about the matter, similar perhaps to the case of Sargeant. We find the town of Hanover in 1790, voting that Gideon Smith (who lived on the Hanover shore above the island) "have the approbation of the ferry."¹ Rogers evidently held his ground, since the ferry was designated by his name as late as 1797, but he, as well as the town, was evidently restive under the college authority for in June, 1794, the same Isaac Rogers describing himself as of Hanover, having bought Gideon Smith's land on the river bank, presented the following petition to the General Court of New Hampshire:

The petition of Isaac Rogers of Hanover etc. humbly sheweth that there is no public ferry kept over the river Connecticut from Brewster's ferry in

¹ Records of Hanover, N. H., p. 90.

Lime, so-called, to the College ferry in the lower part of said Hanover, the distance of about nine miles; that there is about four miles of said river, opposite to the upper part of said Hanover, which remains ungranted; that your petitioner owning the land adjoining to said river within the aforesaid ungranted part, and where a ferry will be most convenient, he therefore prays that your Honors would grant to him his heirs and assigns the exclusive right of keeping a ferry over said river, from Lime for three miles down said river, and your petitioner as in duty etc.

ISAAC ROGERS.

HANOVER, May 28, 1794.

The subscribers selectmen of Hanover are satisfied that the facts stated in the within petition are true, that the said ferry will be a public benefit, are desirous the prayer of the within petition may be granted.

JOSEPH CURTIS } *Selectmen.*
SAMUEL SLADE }

Before 1804 this ferry passed into the hands of Timothy Bush, who lived on the Norwich side below the island (as we suppose) and to his son, John. The ferry and the island were both called by their name.

John Bush was graduated at Dartmouth in 1789, and in 1809 was keeping a tavern on Hanover plain. The ferry had before this reverted to the College, and for some reason had been suspended. In August, 1807, petition was made to the Trustees by John Fairfield and thirty-seven others to re-establish it, which was denied. But local convenience has ever since induced at times the maintenance, at a point a quarter of a mile above the mouth of the Pompanoosuc River, of some sort of facilities for crossing. July 1, 1831, by consent of the College, a charter for a toll bridge near this point (in Hanover north of a point one mile south of the Pompanoosuc) was obtained from the New Hampshire legislature on petition of William Sweat and sixty-three others, to be built in four years, but it was never utilized.

The actual location of the ferry has varied at different times. At one time it is supposed to have been just below the island, at another immediately opposite the present railroad station, and more recently about a quarter of a mile higher up. Another point where the popular convenience has indicated a crossing is at the house of Timothy Smith, a mile or two below the Pompanoosuc, where a winter road has been often used upon the ice. Inhabitants of Norwich and Thetford in January, 1837, petitioned the selectmen of Hanover to lay a highway from Timothy Smith's to the river, free from gates or bars, in the most convenient place for crossing. About that time a ferry was operated there for

some years by a Mr. Cummings, succeeding others before him, but it never was very prosperous. A trial was made here of running the boat on a wire so that by detaching either end of the boat it would swing at an angle to the stream and be pushed across by the current, but this method proved troublesome and was abandoned. Aside from this, at neither of the upper ferries, was any contrivance of that kind regularly used, but the boats were propelled and guided by setting poles in primitive fashion.

The charter of June 20, 1792, before mentioned, authorized Ebenezer Brewster, Aaron Hutchinson and Rufus Graves, among other things, to build within four years a toll bridge across the Connecticut River. The limits of location, which the undertakers wished to have cover the entire fronts of the towns of Lebanon and Hanover, were restricted by the legislature to the space between the eddy at the lower bar of White River falls and the mouth of Mink brook subject, of course, to the ferry rights formerly granted to the College.

This feature of the charter was induced by the recent opening in 1787, by act of the legislature, of the State road from Boscawen to the College, and by the renewed activity in the project of building a route from the eastward to Lake Champlain. The original plan was to locate the bridge, in connection with contemplated improvements of navigation, at the narrows at the foot of the middle bar, a spot that had been by common agreement long since set apart for that object, but the inconvenience of that location and the probability of its being quite out of the line of travel became so apparent that an extension of the franchise was secured January 21, 1794, so as to cover the Connecticut from the mouth of the White River to a point two miles north of Mink brook. This was fortified by a similar act from the Vermont legislature, October 2, 1795, and in 1796 the "White River Falls Bridge" was built on the spot where our free bridge now stands.

A petition was made to the legislature the same year for the incorporation of a turnpike from the Merrimac River to Hanover, and a favorable answer was confidently expected at the next session. The relative importance which Hanover, owing to the College, at that time enjoyed, is well evinced by the location of the bridge here, notwithstanding one of the three corporators was resident near the river in Lebanon, and the face of the land pointed inevitably to the valley of the White River as the most available route for the expected thoroughfare in Vermont.

The College took every means to encourage the building of the bridge at Hanover. It subscribed for several shares of the stock and, April 15, 1797, leased to the corporation, for 999 years, at an annual rent of \$50, all the privileges of a ferry between the Lebanon line and the southern limit of Rogers ferry, described as a large rock in the river about forty rods below Bush's island. This lease was subject to forfeiture if a bridge should be wanting or disused for the space of two years.

Notwithstanding the evident utility of a bridge in preference to a ferry, there was in other quarters serious opposition to the project as it was then presented. Dr. Lewis still had the ferry, and carried the patrons of his mill free; more than half the members of the College church lived in Vermont, and enjoyed like exemption in going to meeting. The bridge seemed likely not only to curtail this freedom but even to obstruct the approaches so as to prevent the use of the ice road in winter. The easterly abutment as it turned out did in fact stand squarely across the old road by the landing.

The town of Norwich was also decidedly hostile. It voted in March, 1796, unanimously for a free bridge, appointed a committee to solicit subscriptions for that purpose, and to apply to the selectmen of Hanover to lay out a highway to accommodate the abutment, but it declared outright for a ferry in preference to a toll bridge.

The bridge proprietors finding it essential to disarm the opposition, and allay the prevalent apprehensions, made a formal pledge to the public, recorded at length in the town records of Norwich, signed by the proprietors, and dated March 10, 1796:

The Bridge Company to the Public:

To all persons to whom it may come, greeting.

The subscribers assure you that it never has been our intention to obstruct the passing of Connecticut River near Doct. Lewis' by any bridge we may erect, and that we never shall obstruct the same, but every person shall ever have liberty to pass by water or on the ice in the same manner as they now do, and no road to the river shall ever be obstructed by us.

They also entered into agreement under seal, dated May 10, 1796, with Elisha Benton, Joseph Hatch and Roswell Olcott, acting for the body of the people, that the bridge should be open toll free on Sabbath as long as it should stand, for the people of Norwich, Hanover and Hartford and their friends and companies to pass to meeting; and that for four years it should be open toll free during an average period of three months in every year, when there should be passing on the ice, and snow on the

bridge; all in consideration that the erection of the bridge should not be further impeded. This contract was recorded at length on the Norwich town records. Doctor Lewis shared in the reluctance to have a toll bridge, though desirous of a free one. He secured that privilege as far as he was concerned by refusing to sell the land needed for the western approach, but leased it to the company upon condition of free passage for himself and family. The fears of the opposition, allayed for the time by these pledges, were fully justified by the sequel.

Mr. Graves was himself the architect and superintendent of construction. He was also the financier, and with this added to his mercantile business became hopelessly involved and insolvent.

In August, 1796, he sought support for the enterprise in Boston, where he disposed of a large share of the stock to prominent merchants, who entertained large hopes of trade by the routes in which it formed a link. So sanguine were the proprietors themselves that they guaranteed these gentlemen a return of eight or nine per cent a year for the first three years, and confidently predicted ten to twenty per cent thereafter.¹ The delay in the completion of the turnpikes, if nothing else, rendered these hopes visionary. The stock of the corporation consisted of two hundred shares upon which a first assessment of \$60 was laid in January, 1797, and two or three very small amounts later; so that the total cost of the structure was upward of \$13,000. The bridge was opened to travel in the fall of 1796, though not yet quite finished, and on December 8 the New Hampshire legislature passed an act to increase the tolls, reciting that a bridge had been erected that year at a cost "far exceeding" the calculations.²

¹See Appendix G., Circular of R. Graves.

²Following were the tolls thus allowed:

Foot passenger	2	cents.
Horse and rider	5	"
Horse-chaise, chair or sulkey	12½	"
Sleigh drawn by one beast	8	"
Sleigh drawn by more than one beast	12½	"
Coach, phaeton, chariot or other four wheeled carriage for passengers	30	"
Curricie	25	"
Cart or other wheeled carriage of burden drawn by one beast	8	"
" by two beasts	15	"
" by three beasts	20	"
" by four beasts	25	"
" for every additional beast above four	4	"
Sled drawn by one beast	5	"
" by two beasts	10	"
" by three beasts	20	"
" for ever additional beast	4	"
Horse, mule or jack exclusive of those rode on	3	"
Each neat creature not in a team	2	"
Each sheep or swine	½	"

The bridge was, indeed, a wonderful structure, and excited widespread interest. It consisted essentially of a single span of 236 feet chord, arched to such a degree that the roadway at the center of the bridge was about twenty feet higher than at the ends, presenting thus a sharp ascent on entering, and a corresponding downward pitch on leaving. Mr. William W. Dewey, who records these particulars, styles it a "noble structure." It was built of the largest selected pines, sixty feet long, many of them hewed eighteen inches square. Mr. Dewey tells us that his father, Deacon Benoni Dewey, furnished for it twenty such trees at one dollar each, which sixty years later would have readily brought from \$150 to \$200 each. President Dwight remarked this bridge with admiration on his journey in 1797. He tells us that its entire length was 344 feet, its width thirty-six feet, and its stone abutments forty feet square. Its arch, he says, was a copy of the arch of the Piscataqua bridge, and, excepting that, the longest of New England.¹ A drawing of the Hanover bridge was preserved until modern times but is now lost.²

It is not surprising that a bridge constructed like this soon came to grief. It fell by its own weight in 1804, the same year in which the turnpike at last reached it. President Dwight says one of the piers was undermined by the stream. No one was injured by the fall, though a team bearing a messenger for the doctor barely escaped. Steps were taken by the proprietors in January, 1805, to raise a subscription, and make other arrangements to rebuild. The subscription seems not to have proved a success, but on February 9, 1805, a contract was made with Calvin Palmer, Stephen W. Palmer and Reuben Dickinson to build a bridge according to a plan exhibited by said Palmer, twenty feet wide within the rails and crowning in the center. It was to be completed by the last day of October, and "of such strength as to last till timbers rot," a stipulation of which experience had taught the need. It was finished the same year and opened to travel on Tuesday, November 26, 1805.

Its cost was about \$2,600 raised by assessment upon the pro-

¹ Dwight's Travels, II, 117.

² This was the second bridge that ever spanned the Connecticut. The first was built at Belows Falls in 1785 by Col. Enoch Hale, at a cost of £800, L. M., which ruined him, and was opened to travel in 1792. The bridge at West Lebanon, just above the mouth of White River, was built under this charter in 1804 by Elias Lyman, who bought the franchise from the incorporators for \$300, to accommodate the travel on the main line of the fourth New Hampshire turnpike. The completion of the bridge was announced February 1, 1805. (*Dartmouth Gazette*, February 1, 1805.) It was a king-post structure and stood till 1835. It was replaced in the next year by the covered wooden bridge which gave way in 1895 to the present free iron bridge, that was opened to traffic in March, 1896. (Tucker's History of Hartford, Vt., p. 145.)

prietors. It rested in the center on a pier thirty feet square at the top, built by Reuben Dickinson, which was considered in its day a marvel of substantial construction, and which remained till 1859, when it was razed to the surface of the water and now serves as the foundation of the present pier. Notwithstanding the stringent provisions of the contract the new bridge within two years called loudly for repairs. In May, 1823, it was declared by the proprietors to be in such a ruinous state that it could not any longer be economically repaired. It was, however, repaired the same year at a cost of \$1,800, and survived sixteen years more, till 1839, when it was entirely rebuilt (excepting the stone work) at a cost of about \$3,000. It was completed to the full satisfaction of the proprietors, under a specific contract, within 100 days by Stephen W. Palmer, one of the contractors, doubtless, for the preceding bridge. It was accepted by the proprietors January 20, 1840, and \$100 extra compensation voted to the contractor as a token of their satisfaction. This bridge stood about fifteen years. It was open like its predecessors, having a parapet on each side about four feet high broken by tall heavy timbers connected by cross pieces.

These bridges of 1805 and 1839 are understood to have been of about the same length as the first one. Both were at any rate much shorter than our present bridge, the abutments on either shore were near to the water, and the middle pier was about twice the width of the present one, so that the stream was greatly contracted and in high water the bridge was often endangered.

The gate was at the eastern end and the toll gatherer subsequent to 1847 was one Samuel T. Cutler, who had a little shop for cabinet work just at the end of the bridge. He was assisted by his son, Samuel. Both were skillful mechanics. The bridge being open was a favorite post of observation especially in times of high water and of moving ice. It was Mr. Cutler's habit to allow all, who wished, to enter it and remain, without charge, but if only a foot were allowed to rest on the ground at the Norwich side toll must be paid. He would spend hours watching the loungers to detect any infraction of his rule; of course the students kept him busy, and their relations to one another were not always happy.

The promises made by the proprietors to the people of the towns of Hanover and Norwich were not always faithfully kept, and were a constant cause of friction. In March, 1804, a special meeting was held to see if the road under the bridge should be

discontinued, and again in 1813 the proprietors made an unsuccessful application for its discontinuance. The standing dissatisfaction with the management of the bridge is shown by the following petition taken from the Hanover files of 1819:

NORWICH, Feb. 10th, 1819.

We the subscribers Inhabitants of Norwich in Windsor County and State of Vermont, make this our petition to the Selectmen of Hanover in the State of New Hampshire that the said Selectmen if they should deem it expedient would appoint or take measures to appoint a committee to meet a committee from Norwich and confer upon the interests of the Inhabitants of Norwich and Hanover passing the bridge over Connecticut River called the White River falls bridge near Doctr. J. Lewis, and that said committees may meet the directors of said Bridge or a committee of said directors and see if they can enter into any agreement with them for the terms of said Inhabitants and others in like local situation passing the bridge upon some more favorable terms than those now adopted and in force by said directors. Also pray said Selectmen will take measures to open and keep in repair a road from the turnpike to the waters of Connecticut river on the east side of the same.

WATERMAN ENSWORTH and thirty one others.

In January of the same year the bridge company, being in arrears for two years' rent to the College, voted not to pay the \$100 due the "Literary Institution," nor any dividends on its stock till the litigation over the state acts should be decided.

In 1830 the proprietors voted indefinitely to postpone a petition of David Newton and others for liberty to cross the bridge free at certain seasons of the year. The general Sabbath privilege was discontinued, doubtless at the destruction of the first bridge, but it was renewed in 1824 in favor of the clergymen of Hanover and Norwich. In early times all residents of the contiguous towns were privileged to pass free in the winter, and at half toll at all other seasons. In March, 1852, the proprietors adopted a less conciliatory policy and voted to exact full tolls at all seasons. The bridge having in the meantime fallen into a precarious state, a bridge builder was called in that year to estimate for repairs, and declared it not worth repairing. The people, of course, made the most of this condition of things. Three of the owners happening one day to be riding over the bridge in the coach which ran to the cars, the driver, out of mischief, put his horses to speed so that the vibrations of the bridge alarmed the passengers, one of whom remonstrated, but the driver replied that there was no danger for he had the owners aboard.

The action of the proprietors in raising the tolls and reducing

the privileges aroused great indignation throughout both communities. Meetings were held and arrangements made the following fall to reopen for winter use the old road to the river bank, which had been obstructed and fenced up by the bridge company. The proprietors met this movement by threatening suits and prosecutions, and the citizens to avoid any such complications, by permission of the land owners, constructed a path down the gully along its southern slope, which gave access to the river and took, of course, the entire travel so long as the ice lasted. The proprietors took great offence at this action, and renewed their threats, particularly against Dr. Dixi Crosby and Professor Sanborn who were specially prominent in the movement. In January, 1854, Professor Sanborn being at Woodstock to deliver a lecture, was arrested at the suit of the bridge company while walking with ladies in the streets of that village. This ill-advised act of the proprietors intensified the hostile feeling, and methods began to be seriously discussed for ridding the community of the burden, by action of the town authorities.

As usual, however, the special interests of the village community met scanty recognition in the eastern section of the town, and no progress was made. The bridge company saw that they had made a mistake, and withdrew their suit against Professor Sanborn, but yielded nothing on the main points at issue. In the following August, toward morning of the night of Sunday, the 6th, the bridge was destroyed by fire, much to the joy of the community. The cause of the fire was never determined, though an incendiary origin was naturally suspected, and the proprietors in the existing state of feeling dared not attempt to rebuild. Boats were put on the river by the bridge company and for nearly five years the public was remitted to the primitive and dangerous service of a ferry. Two boats were used, a small wherry for foot passengers, and a large flat boat, capable of holding several teams at once, which was pulled by hand along a rope stretched across the river. The old highway was of necessity reopened, and the winter of course gave free passage to all upon the ice. The same rates of toll were exacted as had been taken at the bridge. Mr. Kibling undertook to run a ferry on his own account but was forbidden by the company.

The question of a free bridge soon began to be agitated. An application had been contemplated the previous year to the selectmen of the town to lay out a public highway over the river to the Vermont shore, involving, of course, the construction of a

free bridge, and the extinction of the old franchise. The destruction of the bridge brought the matter to a crisis and in 1855 a petition of that sort was promoted. It encountered bitter opposition, not only from the bridge company, but from the easterly section of the town, which at that time predominated in town counsels. The selectmen denied the petition but the leaders in the matter were of stuff that is not easily discouraged, and a petition headed by Dixi Crosby was presented to the Court of Common Pleas at its October term, 1855, laid over until April, and then in the usual course of business referred to the Commissioners of the County, D. C. Churchill, O. F. Fowler and John Sargent, who after two sessions of four days each in August and September, laid out a highway over the river at the point where the bridge had stood. They awarded damages of \$1,500 to the bridge company, and \$833.33 to the Trustees of Dartmouth College for its ferry rights.

But opposition did not even then cease, as the town joined hands with the company. Exceptions were taken by Harry Hibbard for the town, and by Mr. Blaisdell for the company, on fifteen points, which were argued before the Supreme Court in June, 1857, and all overruled with a single exception relating to a minor matter of detail, open to correction.

Having expended about \$1,000 in the controversy, most of the parties were now in a frame of mind to yield, as gracefully as they might, but many residents of the eastern section of the town were still firm in opposition; hostile feelings had grown up, personal rancor was exceedingly bitter, and it seemed impossible that harmony should be restored. However, a meeting of the town was called for November 19, 1858, to consider the matter. The store at Mill Village, now Etna, was then as now the forum where all such matters passed under discussion of the village conclave, and the great interest attaching to this subject brought a daily concourse that filled the store. Just before the time set for the town meeting it happened that President Lord, as he was driving one day by the store, stopped in the most casual way to make some small purchase, at an hour when the store was full, and after attending to his ostensible business, entered into friendly conversation on general matters, as was his wont, with such of his acquaintances as chanced to be there. Of course some of them soon broached the subject nearest their hearts and loudly complained of the hostile and selfish attitude of the people of the College Plain. Professor Sanborn had incurred their special hostility

by some sharp sayings. Dr. Lord laughed and said, "You all know him, he is a good man and a kind hearted man, his bark is a great deal worse than his bite," and hearing them all through quietly, in his courteous, kindly way, explained and reasoned and laughed with them, till their irritation subsided, misunderstandings were cleared away, and good nature revived. He spent several hours in that way, and nobody ever knew that his visit was not the merest accident in the world, nor did any one but the shrewd storekeeper¹ then suspect it, but it was very timely, and very efficacious. When the town met, a proposition for an amicable adjustment met ready acceptance, and a committee was appointed, Isaac Ross, Isaac Fellows and E. T. Miller, which made a report at an adjourned meeting. The College waived its damages and presented its ferry rights, at the valuation of the commissioners, to the town upon a nominal rent, conditioned upon the perpetual maintenance of the free bridge. The bridge company withdrew opposition, and the citizens of the College Plain subscribed toward the cost of the bridge \$833, the same amount presented by the College. The town built the bridge accordingly, at a cost of about \$6,000. It was completed in June, 1859.

It is a covered bridge 402 feet in length, of which eighty feet at its western end, located in the jurisdiction of Vermont, were built by the town of Norwich. It enjoys the distinction of being the first free bridge over the Connecticut River, and for many years it was the only one. The occasion of its completion seemed to demand some special recognition, and on the first day of July, 1859, a large and highly respectable audience from both sides of the river gathered in the College church to celebrate it. Dr. Dixi Crosby presided. Professor Sanborn delivered an historical oration upon bridges, and several happy speeches were made. The bridge at that time received the name of "Ledyard Free Bridge," from the circumstance of its location near the spot where the tree was cut, out of which Ledyard fashioned his canoe when he set out on his travels. The prophecy made at that time that the existing generation would see the Connecticut in its whole length free while not entirely fulfilled, has so far been true that the majority of the bridges are now free, and all new ones are of that kind.

¹ N. S. Huntington, who gave the above account.

RAILROADS.

The turnpike craze (if such it may be called) lasted from about 1796 to 1810. Hardly had the roads then chartered and built with the private funds of the stockholders been put into operation, when the toll gates and toll gatherers began to be hateful to the people, and their eagerness was turned from obtaining the roads to getting rid of paying for the use of them, though, as was perhaps natural, this spirit was more rife along the lower part of the route, where fewer shares were held.

The subject of railroads began to be discussed in New England about 1830. The Boston and Lowell, one of the earliest in the country was chartered in 1832, and while that charter was under consideration the General Court of New Hampshire, at its November session in 1832, granted a charter to a connecting line under the style of the "Boston and Ontario Railroad," whose course was described as "commencing at any point on the southerly line of the State, in or near the town of Dunstable, and running northwesterly and westerly to the westerly line of the State, on Connecticut river." It was conditioned on being organized by September 1, 1835, and being completed within five years from that date.

The people of the State, and especially the Democratic party then in the ascendancy, were traditionally hostile to corporations, and charters were sparingly conceded and hedged with stringent limitations. But in June, 1835, a charter was granted to the Nashua and Lowell railroad, and four days later to the Concord railroad, with Isaac Hill as the first corporator, and to the Boston and Maine railroad, and in June of 1836 to the Eastern railroad.

In 1837 Amos A. Brewster of Hanover, then a Democratic member of the legislature, with associates largely from Lebanon obtained a charter for a railroad from Concord to the west bank of the Connecticut River in Lebanon, near the mouth of the White River under the name of the "Concord and Lebanon Railroad." The idea at that time was that the railroad should be a sort of turnpike with toll houses and gates for the collection of tolls from persons using it. Power was specially given the corporation to regulate "the construction of wheels, the form of cars and carriages, the weight of loads, and all other matters and things relative to the use of the road . . . and the

road may be used by any person who may comply with such regulations." The lack of confidence actually reposed in the new methods is shown by additional acts passed at this very time for the improvement of navigation on the Merrimac.

At the same time interest in railroads was developing in the valley of the Connecticut and came into such prominence very soon after the failure of the navigation scheme that on November 10, 1835, the legislature of Vermont chartered the "Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers Railroad Company," and on the 20th of the following January a convention of over one hundred and fifty members from towns between Brattleboro and Newport, Vt., with some from Springfield, Mass., Hartford, Conn., and Newport, R. I., assembled at Windsor, Vt., "to take preliminary measures for the construction of a railroad through the valleys of the Connecticut and Passumpsic Rivers to the St. Lawrence," but neither Hanover nor Lebanon was represented. The result was an appropriation at the next session of the Vermont legislature in November, 1836, of \$3,000 for a preliminary survey the whole length of the State. Under this an engineer, Alexander C. Twining of Connecticut, was employed, and in company with Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury, and John C. Holbrook of Brattleboro, commissioners on the part of Vermont, made a general reconnaissance, in May, 1837, from the Massachusetts to the Canada line, and two surveying parties were put into the field and in fifty days completed the work over a distance of 209 miles. The surveys made and published ten years before for the canals were now utilized for the railroad.

But the railroad era for this region did not fairly set in before 1844. The Boston and Lowell was opened to traffic in 1835, the Nashua in 1838, and the Concord in 1842. In 1844 their stocks were held at a premium of twenty to thirty per cent,¹ and agitation for the extension of the system northward was renewed with increased fervor. Into this agitation Professor Haddock and other Hanover gentlemen heartily entered. The citizens of Lebanon were also very active. A line from Concord to Franklin had been surveyed in October, 1842, and at a railroad meeting held at Lebanon October 10, 1843, of which Elijah Blaisdell of Lebanon was president and William Kendrick of Lebanon and William H. Duncan of Hanover were secretaries, it was agreed to continue the preliminary survey to Lebanon, and this was done during the next seven weeks. The result was published

¹ Professor Haddock's Montpelier Address, p. 19.

early in 1844 and widely circulated in pamphlet form with map and profile.

Two different routes were urged by other parties. One of these (called the southern) was the same since covered by the Concord and Claremont road, with an alternative variation diverging from Sunapee Lake to Enfield Pond and Lebanon, and the other (known as the middle route) kept the present line of the northern road from Lebanon to Andover and then leaving Franklin to the left reached Concord by the valleys of the Blackwater and the Contoocook Rivers, thus saving certain heavy grades and shortening the distance about five miles. The route by Franklin was finally adopted, partly for the sake of the business expected from that town, and partly in consequence of the adroit management of the Franklin interests under the lead of Hon. G. W. Nesmith.

Interest in the project was diligently promoted by public meetings in various quarters. A convention in Montpelier January 8, 1844, was entertained with a persuasive and interesting address from Professor Haddock. In June the New Hampshire legislature granted a charter for the "Northern Railroad" to corporators, among whom were Amos A. Brewster of Hanover, and others of the old "Concord and Lebanon" charter, substantially in the form of that act. The route indicated was from Concord or Bow to the Connecticut at some point between Haverhill and Charlestown.

The illiberal narrowness of the legislative grants, and certain strange ideas upon the law of rights of way frightened away capital and seemed likely to prevent all beneficial use of the franchise. It was the doctrine of the dominant party, of which Mr. Baker, a lawyer who had represented the town of Hillsborough for a number of years prior to 1844, was a leading champion in the legislature, that railroad charters were merely of a private nature, and did not represent the interests of the public generally; hence the right to take land for the use of the road except by agreement with the owner, was denied. This doctrine was enforced when the Concord and lower roads were built, and caused, of course, no end of litigation and doubt, especially in cases of unsettled title. The subject, therefore, caused great debate in connection with the new roads, and in 1844 petitions began to pour into the legislature from all parts of the State north of Concord, where the doctrine was depriving the people of the hope of railroad facilities, and the leading Demo-

crats became alarmed. Isaac Hill opened the column of the *Patriot* in favor of the right to take land on the ground that railroads were of public necessity, and at the fall session the party leaders, Judge N. G. Upham, Charles H. Peaslee, member of Congress, Judge Levi Woodbury, and Hon. H. Hubbard of Charlestown, convened at Goss's hotel to devise some way to meet the public urgency for a more liberal policy. The result was the act of December 25, 1844, which established a machinery of condemnation that, though ostensibly in favor of the public, secured to the railroad company by the form of a lease in perpetuity from the State the necessary land and right of way.

Two days later the charter of the Northern railroad was re-enacted to meet the new conditions in a form reported by Professor Haddock from the road committee in the House. Mr. Haddock himself, with Daniel Blaisdell and William H. Duncan were named among the incorporators and the western terminus was fixed in the town of Lebanon. The charter was liberalized also in other parts; that of June having been drawn upon the old turnpike idea, while that of December struck more upon modern lines. On the same date in December were passed similar charters for the Boston, Concord and Montreal, the Cheshire, the Ashuelot and the Wilton railroads. The change of sentiment was plainly evident, but the old jealousy was still disclosed in stringent general laws of regulation and has not yet ceased to influence the relations between the State and the corporations.

The difficulties being thus measurably removed, agitation for the building of the Northern road was forthwith actively prosecuted and on January 21, 1845, a notable convention was held at Lebanon, where Col. Truman Ransom of Norwich made a very effective speech, and in May a pamphlet "Address" was issued "by the Northern Railroad Company to the friends of internal improvement in New Hampshire," written by Professor Haddock and setting forth in the most vivid language the advantages of the contemplated system of transportation, which had no small influence among the people in securing subscriptions to the stock. To indicate the directness of the route it was shown that a straight line drawn on the map from Boston to Burlington touches this route in Lebanon and is nowhere more than fifteen miles from it; that between Concord and Burlington the route was never more than eight miles from the straight course, and that a straight line from Boston to Montreal touches this route at eight places, among which were Lowell,

Reeds Ferry (near Concord), Lebanon and Montpelier. The stock was taken with alacrity in small lots by the people all along the line, and it is worthy of remark that very much of it remains to this day in the hands of the descendants of the original subscribers.

The road was opened to Franklin January 1, to Canaan September 1, and to Lebanon November 17, 1847. At Franklin and at Lebanon the occasion was celebrated by a grand dinner, a large concourse of people and speeches; the principal address at the latter place being made by Daniel Webster.

But the Northern road was only a link in the grand chain then actively projected. It was intended to reach Montreal by two routes which were described as twin branches of the Northern road, one following the White River and the other the Connecticut. As in New Hampshire, so in Vermont, railroad activity had, after the first heat, slumbered nearly ten years. In 1843 it began to revive and October 31, 1843, a charter was granted for the "Vermont Central Railroad" from Lake Champlain by the Onion River to the Connecticut at the most convenient point to meet a railroad "either from Concord, N. H., or Fitchburg, Mass., . . . to transport passengers and property by the power of steam, or otherwise." It will be noticed that the Vermont ideas as to the function of a railroad corporation were in advance of those of the New Hampshire legislature.

A southern line from Burlington to the Connecticut through Addison, Rutland and Windsor or Windham counties, under the name of the "Lake Champlain and Connecticut River Railroad" was chartered on the same day. The Vermont and Canada railroad received a charter October 31, 1845, and on November 5, 1845, the old Connecticut and Passumpsic charter was divided into two corporations whose territory separated at the mouth of the White River, the northern section retaining the old name, and the southern taking the style of "Connecticut River Railroad."¹

The second proposed route to Montreal was to be on the New Hampshire side of the Connecticut from the line of the Northern railroad as far at least as the mouth of the Ammonoosuc. For this two routes were feasible and both were earnestly advocated;

¹ Work on the Vermont Central was pushed as rapidly as possible to make connection with the Northern railroad. The first ground was broken at Windsor December 15, 1845. The first rail was laid at White River Junction early in 1847; the first regular passenger train was run from that place to Bethel June 26, 1848, and the road opened to Burlington June 20, 1849. [Tucker's History of Hartford, Vt., p. 155.]

one, known as the "Goose Pond route," would leave the main line at Canaan and cross the northeast corner of Hanover substantially by the course of the old Grafton turnpike, while the other would follow the eastern bank, of the river, passing, of course, near the College. In furtherance of this latter plan, a tentative survey was made for the location of the main line of the Northern to a crossing of the Connecticut at Hanover by the course, formerly recommended for the turnpike, through the valley northeast of Lebanon Center village, and down the valley of Mink brook. This was reported as offering over the Lebanon route considerable advantage of easier grades and cheaper crossing of the Connecticut, but as not so convenient to the probable route of Vermont connection, which was expected to be by the valley of the White River.

Public agitation for this feature of the system on New Hampshire soil was organized by a convention at Carlton's Hotel in Orford February 7, 1845, which was largely attended from towns on both sides of the river. It met, of course, opposition from the promoters of the Boston, Concord and Montreal route, which was surveyed between February and July, and chartered in December of 1844, and was not encouraged by the Northern road, which, not realizing the great advantages that would ultimately be derived from a route wholly in New Hampshire and both shorter and easier than any other route that could be located, feared that it might be deprived of some of its traffic for the eighteen miles between Canaan and the river. The result was that the most persistent efforts, in which Hanover people were particularly interested, were unavailing to obtain from the New Hampshire legislature the requisite charter, and the road was forced to the Vermont side of the river, where more enlightened counsels for the moment prevailed.

The company under the second Vermont charter was organized January 15, 1846, with Erastus Fairbanks of St. Johnsbury as president, and after a final survey begun in April entered upon construction on the seventh of the next September. The first rail was laid July 15, 1847, and on October 10 the road was opened and the first passenger train run to Bradford. In another month the road was opened to Wells River and in 1852 to St. Johnsbury. Its extension to Newport was not completed till 1863, and its connection with the Grank Trunk at Lenoxville, by the Massawippi Valley road, was delayed till 1870.¹

¹ Tucker's History of Hartford, Vt., p. 160.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

MEMORIAL.

THE HONORABLE SENATE, AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
IN GENERAL COURT CONVENED.

Honorable Legislators:

THE citizens of New Hampshire^{*} enjoy security and peace under your wise laws; prosperity in productive labors by means which you have adopted; and, by your counsels, increasing knowledge in the establishment of literature through the State. But, for none of these, can so much be ascribed to your attention, as for DARTMOUTH COLLEGE. By your patronage and munificence it was flourishing in former years; and so it still would have continued, had the management of its concerns been adapted to answer the designs of your wisdom, and the hopes of its most enlightened and virtuous friends.

To your honorable Body, whose guardian care encircles the Institutions of the State, it becomes incumbent on the citizen to make known any change in their condition, and relations, interesting to the public good:—To you, alone, whose power extends to correct, or reform their abuses, ought he to apply, when they cease to promote the end of their establishment—the social order and happiness. Gladly would the offerer of this humble address, avoiding to trouble your counsels, have locked up his voice in perpetual silence, while the evils are rolling on and accumulating, were he not otherwise compelled by a sense of duty to your Legislature, and to the best interests of mankind, in the present and future times.

Will you permit him to suggest there is reason to fear, that those who hold in trust the concerns of this Seminary, have forsaken its original principles, and left the path of their predecessors. It is unnecessary to relate how the evil commenced in its *embryo* state; by what means and practices, they, thus deviating, have in recent years, with the same object in view, increased their number to a majority controlling the measures of the Board: but more important is it to lay before you, that there are serious

grounds to excite apprehensions of the great impropriety and dangerous tendency of their proceedings; reasons to believe, that they have applied property to purposes wholly alien from the intentions of the donors, and under peculiar circumstances to excite regret: that they have in the series of their movements, to promote party views, transformed the moral and religious order of the institution by depriving many of their innocent enjoyment of rights and privileges, for which they had confided in their faith—that they have broken down the barriers and violated the charter, by prostrating the rights, with which it expressly invests the presidential office—that to subserve their purposes, they have adopted improper methods in their appointments of executive officers, naturally tending to embarrass, and obstruct the harmonious government, and instruction of the Seminary;—that they have extended their powers, which the charter confines to the College, to form connexion with an academy, in exclusion of the other academies in the State, cementing an alliance with its overseers, and furnishing aid from the college treasury for their students;—that they have perverted the power, which, by the incorporation, they ought to exercise over a branch of Moor's Charity School, and have obstructed the application of its fund according to the nature of the establishment and the design of the donors; and that their measures have been oppressive to your memorialist, in the discharge of his office.

Such are the impressions as now related, arising from the acts and operations of those who have of late commanded the decisions of the Board. He does not pretend to exhibit their motives; whether they have been actuated by erroneous conceptions or mistaken zeal, or some other cause in attending to the concerns of the institution. But, with great deference, he submits the remark, unless men in trust, preserve inviolable faith, whether pledged by words, by action, or by usage, to individuals, unless they cautiously keep within the limits assigned to them by law; if they do not sacredly apply the fruits of benevolence, committed to their charge, to the destined purpose,—if the public matters, in their trust, are not conducted with openness, impartiality, and candor, instead of designed and secret management—if they become pointedly hostile to those, who discern their course, and honestly oppose their measures esteemed destructive—if they bear down their inoffensive servants faithful to the cause of truth; how can an establishment, under these circumstances, be profitable to mankind? How a gleam of prospective joy to any,

but to those, who are converting its interest into their own channel to serve a favorite design? What motive, then, will remain to benefactors to lay foundations, or bestow their charities on such an object?

There is also ground for increasing fearful apprehension by adding to the immediate, what may be the ultimate effect of the measures which have been described. In a collective view, they appear to the best acquainted and discerning, to be all in their adaptions, tending to one end; to complete the destruction of the original principles of the College and School, and to establish a new modified system to strengthen the interests of a party or sect, which, by extending its influence, under the fairest professions, *will eventually effect the political independence of the people,* AND MOVE THE SPRINGS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT.

To you, revered Legislators! the writer submits the foregoing important considerations. He beholds in your Body, the sovereign of the State, holding by the Constitution and the very nature of sovereignty in all countries, the sacred right, with your duty and responsibility to God, to visit and oversee the literary establishments, where the manners and feelings of the young are formed, and grow up in the citizen, in after life;—to restrain from injustice, and rectify abuses in their management; and if necessary, to reduce them to their primitive principles, or modify their powers to become subservient to the public welfare.—To your protection, and wise arrangements, he submits whatever he holds in official rights by the charter of the Seminary; and to you his invaluable rights, as a subject and citizen.

He entreats your honorable Body to take into consideration the state and concerns of the College and School, as laid before you:—and as the Legislature has never before found occasion to provide, by any tribunal, against the evils of the foregoing nature and their ultimate dangers, he prays, that you would please, by a committee, invested with competent powers, or otherwise, to look into the affairs and managements, of the Institution, internal, and external, already referred to; and, if judged expedient in your wisdom, make such organic improvements, and model reforms in its system and movements, as, under Divine Providence, will guard against the disorders and their apprehended consequences.—He begs only to add the contemplated joys of the friends of man and virtue, in the result of your great wisdom and goodness, which may secure this seat of science;—

that, instead of a theatre for the purpose of a few terminating in public calamity, it may become an increasing source of blessings to the State, and to mankind of the present and succeeding ages.

Whatever disposal your honorable Body may please to make of the subject now presented, the subscriber will never cease to retain the most humble deference, and dutiful respect.

JOHN WHEELOCK.

APPENDIX B.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE TRUSTEES.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, in General Court convened:

THE undersigned, three of the members of the Board of Trustees of Dartmouth college, having this morning seen a printed copy of a bill before the Honorable House, the provisions of which, should they go into effect, would set aside the charter of the College, and wholly change the administration of its concerns, beg leave respectfully to remonstrate against its passage. They regret that they have had no more time to take the same into consideration.

The provisions of the bill, referred to, change the name of the Corporation; enlarge the number of Trustees; alter the number to constitute a quorum; render persons living out of the State, who are now eligible, hereafter ineligible; vacate the seats of those members who are not inhabitants of the State; deprive the Trustees of the right of electing members to supply vacancies; and give to the new Board of Trustees an arbitrary power of annulling every thing heretofore transacted by the Trustees; and this last, without the concurrence of the proposed Board of Overseers. The consent of the present Board of Trustees is, in no instance, contemplated as necessary to give validity to the new act of incorporation.

In the opinion of the undersigned, these changes, modifications, and alterations, effectually destroy the present Charter of the College, and constitute a new one.

It will be recollected, that Doctor John Wheelock, at the last session of the Legislature, presented a memorial, in which the conduct of a majority of the Trustees was in no small degree implicated. About the same time, certain pamphlets were put into circulation, designed to excite a strong impression in favor of that memorial. The Honorable Legislature, in their wisdom, appointed a committee to take the said memorial into consideration; and Doctor Wheelock was heard before them, the adverse party not being notified or present. The result was, the appoint-

ment of a committee to investigate the affairs of the College, and report facts. An investigation accordingly took place; and both Doctor Wheelock and the Trustees were by this last mentioned committee permitted to make such statements, and produce such evidence, as the occasion required. A long detailed report of the committee of investigation has been submitted to your Honorable Bodies; but after the same had been once read to the respective Branches, and before it was printed in pursuance of the order of the Honorable House, and put into the hands of the members for perusal, the bill now before the Honorable House was, by a joint committee of both Branches, ordered to be reported, without taking into consideration the report of the committee of investigation, and without requiring any further evidence of facts.—For the correctness of the above detail, the undersigned respectfully appeal to the Honorable members of the Legislature.

They now, in the most respectful manner, remonstrate against the passage of the bill under consideration, for the following reasons:—

Should the bill become a law, it will be obvious to our fellow citizens that the Trustees of Dartmouth College will have been deprived of their Charter rights without having been summoned or notified of any such proceeding against them. It will be equally obvious to our fellow citizens, that the facts reported by the committee of investigation did not form the ground and basis of the new act of incorporation; and that no evidence of facts, of any sort, relating to the official conduct of the Trustees, other than the report of the committee of investigation, was submitted to your Honorable Bodies. *To deprive a Board of Trustees of their Charter rights, after they have been accused of gross misconduct in office, without requiring any proof whatever of such misconduct, appears to your remonstrants unjust, and not conformable to the spirit of the free and happy government under which we live.* To these remarks, it cannot be considered a satisfactory answer, that the design of the Legislature was to improve the condition of the College, and that it was no part of their design to express disapprobation of the official conduct of the Trustees; for the simple fact of depriving the Trustees of their Charter rights, and of removing a part of them from office by law, after having been charged with gross misconduct, gives a contradiction to such an answer, and in the strongest language. The undersigned humbly believe, that the majority of the Trus-

tees, in common with their fellow citizens, are entitled to a fair trial, where they can meet their accusers face to face, before they can rightfully, by the Legislature of the State, be denounced to the world in express terms, or by necessary implication, as having violated the sacred trust committed to their charge. If the bill be understood by the Legislature as a condemnation of the Trustees, the undersigned would fain persuade themselves that the Honorable House, and Senate, will not pass it, till they have cited the Trustees to appear before them, and given them time to meet and act upon the citation, and to be heard by themselves and counsel. If it be not thus understood, why are part of them deprived of their Charter rights? If it be not intended to be thus understood, we think that a section should have been introduced, expressly guarding against such a construction; and that the tenth section should be omitted.

The undersigned respectfully remonstrate against the passage of the bill referred to, on the ground of want of legitimate power to dissolve, in this manner, the Corporation of a literary institution, not founded by the State, without judicial inquiry. The Charter of Dartmouth College vests certain rights of property, for particular uses, in the Trustees. The Sovereign power having once made this grant, cannot, as the Trustees humbly conceive, divest them of it, so long as they exercise their trust in conformity to the true intent and meaning of the Charter. They respectfully call to the view of the Honorable Legislature, that Dartmouth College was not founded by the then existing Sovereign. It was founded and endowed by liberal individuals; and the Charter was given by the Sovereign, to perpetuate the application of the property conformably to the design of the donors. If the property has been misapplied, if there has been any abuse of power upon the part of the Trustees, they are fully sensible of their high responsibility; but they have always believed, and still believe, that a sound construction of the powers granted to the Legislature, gives them, in this case, only the right to order, for good cause, a prosecution in the Judicial Courts. A different course effectually blends Judicial and Legislative powers, and constitutes the Legislature a Judicial tribunal.

The undersigned also beg leave to remonstrate against the passage of the bill, on the ground of inexpediency.

A Corporation is a creature of the law, to which certain powers, rights, and privileges, are granted; and amongst others, that of holding property. Destroy this creature, this body politic, and

all its property immediately reverts to its former owners. This doctrine has long been recognized and established in all governments of law. Any material alteration of the Corporation, without its consent, and certainly such essential alterations as the bill under consideration is intended to make, will be followed with the same effect. The funds belonging to the College, although not great, are highly important to the institution; and a considerable proportion of them were granted by, and lie in, the State of Vermont. The undersigned most earnestly entreat the Honorable Legislature not to put the funds of the College in jeopardy—not to put at hazard substantial income, under expectations which may or may not be realized.

The revolution which this bill, if carried into operation, will produce, is not demanded by any present exigency, or any threatening danger. The College is as flourishing in respect to the number of students, to scholarship, and to habits of industry and good order, as it has been in former times. The committee of investigation, in their report (page 33), testify, "For several years past, the members of College have been more attentive to their studies and classical exercises, more regular in their conduct, and less inclined to dissipation of any sort, than in former times." By a document of the College Treasurer, accompanying the Report, it appears that the income of the College exceeds its expenditures.

On the ground of inexpediency, the undersigned solicit the attention of the Honorable Legislature to the state of the public mind in regard to this subject. Should the proposed bill pass into a law, they submit to the Honorable Legislature, whether its inevitable tendency will not be to perpetuate the division of opinion now existing in the community in relation to this interesting concern, and to deprive the College of many students who would otherwise be sent to it for education. The union of the whole community, in support of the College, must be highly desirable in the view of every well wisher to the cause of literature and useful knowledge.

The undersigned respectfully remonstrate against the passage of the proposed bill, because it is unprecedented. Never have they heard, that the Legislature of any State, in which existed a proper division of power, has deprived the Corporation of a College, or University, not founded by the State, of its Charter rights, and erected a new one upon its ruins. The constituting of two large bodies, as contemplated by this bill, will render

necessary a very serious augmentation of expenditures. These numerous bodies, we think, will need twice as much time for transacting the ordinary business of a session, as has been employed by the existing Trustees. The average number of Trustees, who have usually met, may be placed at ten; and the average expense of a meeting, at one hundred dollars. Taking this as the basis of a calculation, and estimating the average number of Trustees who will hereafter meet, should this bill pass, at fifteen, and of Overseers at thirty, the expense of every session will be nine hundred dollars. Who shall sustain this expense? The College cannot. The State, we presume, will assume the charge. But this, the Honorable Legislature are aware, would be equivalent to making to the College, at the present session, a donation, in money, of fifteen thousand dollars.

If the provisions of this bill should take effect, we greatly fear that the concerns of the College will be drawn into the vortex of political controversy. We refer particularly to that section of the bill, which gives the appointment of Trustees and Overseers to the Governor and Council. The whole history of the United States, for the last twenty years, teaches us a lesson which ought not to be kept out of view. Our literary Institutions hitherto have been preserved from the influence of party. The tendency of this bill, unless we greatly mistake, is to convert the peaceful retreat of our College into a field for party warfare.

To the report of the committee of investigation, the undersigned, in behalf of themselves and fellow Trustees, appeal for their justification against the charges exhibited against them in Dr. Wheelock's Memorial. They rely, with great confidence, that the Report aforesaid will be attended to by the Hon. Legislature and an impartial public, as evidence entitled to the highest consideration. By a reference to the Memorial, it will be seen, that the Trustees are charged directly or indirectly with having exercised religious intolerance; with having systematically promoted one sect or party, with political objects dangerous to government. Dr. Wheelock alleged in the said Memorial, that the Trustees have misapplied the funds of the College; that they have invaded the rights of the Presidential office; that they used improper means in the appointment of Executive officers; that they have formed an unjustifiable connexion with an academy; and improperly furnished students thereof with aids from the College Treasury; that they have obstructed the application of the funds of Moor's Charity School, according to their original

destination; that they have oppressed him in the discharge of his office as President. These are heavy charges; and if they were founded in truth, the Trustees deserve the severest reprobation. But if they were framed through a mistaken apprehension of motives and actions, or with the unjustifiable object of exciting popular odium against the Trustees, to effect their removal from office, in either case *common justice requires that the Trustees should not be permitted to suffer by the silence of the Legislature, and most assuredly that a law should not be passed which will be deemed by the public an expression of legislative condemnation.*

Whilst the undersigned deem it their indispensable duty to remonstrate in the most respectful terms against the passage of the bill referred to, they have no objection, and they have no reason to believe their fellow Trustees have any objection, to the passage of a law connecting the government of the State with that of the College, and creating every salutary check and restraint upon the official conduct of the Trustees and their successors that can be reasonably required; and with respectful deference they would propose the following outlines of a plan for that purpose.

The Counsellors and Senators of New Hampshire, together with the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the time being, shall constitute a Board of Overseers of Dartmouth College, any ten of whom shall be a quorum for transacting business. The Overseers shall meet annually at the College on the day preceding commencement. They shall have an independent right to organize their own body, and to form their own rules; but as soon as they shall have organized themselves, they shall give information thereof to the Trustees. Whenever any vote shall have been passed by the Trustees, it shall be communicated to the Overseers, and shall not have effect until it shall have the concurrence of the Overseers—Provided nevertheless, that if at any meeting a quorum of the Overseers shall not be formed, the Trustees shall have full power to confer degrees, in the same manner as though there were no Overseers; and also to appoint Trustees or other officers, (not a President or Professor), and to enact such laws as the interests of the Institution shall indispensably require; but no law passed by the Trustees shall in such case have force longer than until the next annual meeting of the Boards, unless it shall then be approved by the Overseers. Neither of the Boards shall adjourn, except from day to day, without

the consent of the other. It shall be the duty of the President of the College, whenever in his opinion the interests of the Institution shall require it, or whenever requested thereto by three Trustees, or three Overseers, to call special meetings of both Boards, causing notice to be given in writing to each Trustee and Overseer, of the time and place; but no meeting of one Board shall ever be called except at the same time and place with the other. It shall be the duty of the President of the College annually, in the month of May, to transmit to His Excellency the Governor a full and particular account of the state of the funds, the number of students and their progress, and generally the state and condition of the College.

If the plan above suggested should meet the approbation of the Honorable Legislature, and good men of all parties give it their sanction, we may all anticipate, with high satisfaction, the future prosperity of the College, and its incalculable usefulness to the State; but if a union of the friends of literature and science, of all parties and sects, cannot be attained; if the triumph of one party over the other be absolutely indispensable; fearful apprehensions must fill the mind of every considerate man—every dispassionate friend of Dartmouth College.

THO. W. THOMPSON,
ELIJAH PAINE,
ASA M'FARLAND.

June 19th, 1816.

APPENDIX C.

CATALOGUE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

PRESIDENTS.

Rev. Francis Brown, D. D., declined; removed February 22, 1817.
 Hon. John Wheelock, LL. D., elected, February 22, 1817; died April 4, 1817.
 Rev. William Allen, elected June 4, 1817.

TRUSTEES.

Members of the old Board {
 Rev. Francis Brown, D. D., declined; removed February 22, 1817.
 Hon. Nathaniel Niles, declined; removed August 26, 1817.
 Hon. Thomas W. Thompson, declined; removed August 26, 1817.
 Hon. Stephen Jacob, died January 27, 1817.
 Hon. Timothy Farrar, declined; removed January 22, 1817.
 Hon. Elijah Paine, declined; removed August 26, 1817.
 Hon. John T. Gilman, did not act in either Board during the contest.
 Hon. Charles Marsh, declined; removed August 26, 1817.
 Rev. Asa McFarland, declined; removed February 22, 1817.
 Rev. John Smith, declined; removed August 25, 1818.
 Rev. Seth Payson, declined; removed February 22, 1817.

		Present									
		Aug. 26, 1816	Feb. 4, 1817	Feb. 22, 1817	June 4, 1817	Aug. 26, 1817	Dec. 17, 1817	June 6, 1818	Aug. 25, 1818	June 4, 1819	
Appointed by the Governor Dec. 19, July 4, 1816. 1816.	Gov. William Plumer, <i>ex officio</i>	x	x	x				x			
	Hon. Josiah Bartlett, Stratham ¹	x									
	Hon. Joshua Darling, Henniker	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Hon. Wm. H. Woodward, Hanover	x	x	x	x	x	x				
	Matthew Harvey, Esq., Hopkinton		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
	Levi Woodbury, Esq., Fracesttown ¹	x									
	Henry Hubbard, Esq., Charlestown ¹	x									
	Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Hanover ¹										
	Aaron Hutchinson, Lebanon		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	
	Daniel M. Durell, Esq., Dover		x	x	x			x		x	
	John Harris, Hopkinton		x	x	x	x	x		x		
	Moses Eastman, Salisbury		x	x		x	x	x	x	x	
	Ichabod Bartlett, Portsmouth			x	x			x		x	
Elected Feb. 22, 1817, Hon. John Wheelock, Hanover, <i>vice</i> F. Brown, removed.											

		Aug. 26, 1816	Feb. 4, 1817	Feb. 22, 1817	June 4, 1817	Aug. 26, 1817	Dec. 17, 1817	June 6, 1818	Aug. 25, 1818	June 4, 1819
Elected June 4, 1817, Rev. William Allen, Hanover, <i>vice</i> J. Wheelock deceased.						x	x	x	x	x
Elected Dec. 24, 1816, Hon. Salma Hale, Keene.		x	x	x	x				x	
Appointed by the Governor June 10, 1817.	Rev. Thomas Beede, Wilton, <i>vice</i> Seth Payson				x	x	x	x		x
	Rev. Elijah Dunbar, Peterborough, <i>vice</i> Asa McFarland					x	x		x	
	Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Hanover, ¹ <i>vice</i> Timothy Farrar					x	x	x	x	x
	Rev. Wm. Morrison, Londonderry, <i>vice</i> Elijah Paine									
	Hon. George B. Upham, Claremont, <i>vice</i> Charles Marsh									
	Rev. Stephen B. Farley, Claremont, <i>vice</i> Nath'l Niles									
	Rev. Elijah Parish, Newburyport, <i>vice</i> T. W. Thompson									
	Thomas Whipple, Wentworth ¹								x	x
	August 26, 1818, Josiah Dunham, Windsor								x	
	August 26, 1818, Rev. James W. Woodward, Norwich, Vt.									x
Elected by the Board Dec. 31, 1817.										

OVERSEERS.

His Exc'y, Jonas Galusha, Gov. Vt., Shaftsbury, Vt., *ex officio*.
 Hon. Paul Brigham, Lt. Gov. Vt., Norwich, Vt.,¹ *ex officio*.
 Hon. Jonathan Harvey, New London, Pres. Senate, N. H., *ex officio*.
 Hon. David L. Morrill, Goffstown, Speaker H. R., 1816-17,¹ *ex officio*.
 Hon. Henry B. Chase, Warner, Speaker H. R., 1817-18, *ex officio*.
 Hon. Matthew Harvey, Hopkinton, Speaker H. R., 1818-19, *ex officio*.

¹ Messrs. Josiah Bartlett, Woodbury and Hubbard did not sit with the Board after its first meeting. Mr. Hubbard, and probably the other two, resigned, as the other names make the full quota of the Board. Dr. Perkins apparently did not accept the first appointment. The succession is not always given in the records, but was probably as indicated, the four chosen December 31, 1817, filling the vacancies caused by the removal of the four old trustees, without special designation. The date of Mr. Whipple's election is not recorded.

Appointed by the Governor

July 3, 1816

Hon. John Langdon, Portsmouth.¹
 William Gray, Esq., Boston, Mass.¹
 Gen. Henry Dearborn, Roxbury, Mass.¹
 Rev. Thomas Baldwin, Boston, Mass.
 Hon. Joseph Story, Salem, Mass.²
 Hon. B. W. Crowninshield, Salem, Mass., Sec'y U. S. Navy.¹
 Hon. Benjamin Greene, Berwick, Me.¹
 Hon. Cyrus King, Saco, Me.
 Elisha Ticknor, Esq., Boston, Mass.¹
 Hon. Clifton Claggett, Amherst.¹
 Hon. Dudley Chase, Randolph, Vt.¹
 Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, Boston, Mass.¹
 Hon. Jona. H. Hubbard, Windsor, Vt.²
 Hon. George Sullivan, Exeter.
 James T. Austin, Esq., Boston, Mass.¹
 Hon. Levi Lincoln, Jr., Worcester, Mass.¹
 Hon. Albion K. Parris, Paris, Me.¹
 Dr. Amos Twitchell, Keene.¹
 Hon. Wm. A. Griswold, Danville, Vt.¹
 Hon. Clement Storer, Portsmouth, also *ex officio*, Pres't Senate 1817-18.¹
 Rev. David Sutherland, Bath.¹
 Hon. Arthur Livermore, Holderness.
 Hon. William Badger, Gilmanton.
 Rev. William Bentley, D. D., Salem, Mass.
 Hon. Judah Dana, Fryeburg, Me.
 Hon. Jeduthan Wilcox, Orford.
 Hon. Ezra Bartlett, Haverhill.
 Stephen P. Webster, Haverhill.

July 4,
1816.

Dec. 19, 1816.

June 10, 1817, Hon. Roger Vose, Walpole, *vice* Arthur Livermore, declined.

TREASURERS.

Hon. Wm. H. Woodward, 1816–August 9, 1818.
 Cyrus Perkins, M.D., August 1818–June 9, 1819.
 Joshua Darling, June 9, 1819.

PROFESSORS.

Rev. William Allen, chosen professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, February 6, 1817, declined and chosen professor of Theology, February 22, 1817.
 Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, chosen professor of Languages, February 6, 1818.
 James Dean, A. M., chosen professor of Mathematics and Philosophy, February 22, 1817.

¹ Present at the first meeting of the Overseers.

² The appointments of July 4, together with the *ex officio* members filled the Board, but as the list in the catalogue of the University, published in the fall of 1816, gives but nineteen names, those marked ¹ being wanting, these six of the appointees must have declined. As seven new appointments were made in December, another of the original appointees must have declined, but it is uncertain who it was. Of the seven Mr. Livermore declined and Mr. Vose was appointed in his place.

Cyrus Perkins, M.D., Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, came over from the College.

Rev. Thomas Coleman Searle, chosen professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics, June 13, 1817.

TUTORS.

Thomas Cogswell Upham, 1818.

Jeremiah Elkins, preceptor Moore's Charity School under President Allen, September 8, 1817–August 27, 1818.

DEGREES CONFERRED.¹

1817.

Bachelors of Arts.

David Ames, Canterbury, N. H. ²	Samuel Barlow Mead, Amesbury, Mass. ³
Jeremiah Elkins, Andover, N. H. ^{2,3}	Lemuel Merrill. Warren, N. H. ²
Horace Fletcher, Cavendish, Vt. ^{2,3}	Stephen Rice Page, Haverhill, N. H. ²
Daniel Goodenow.	John Wilcox, Newport, N. H. ²
Austin Hersey, Leicester, Mass.	

Masters of Arts in Course.

Joseph P. Allen, 1814.	Gen. Eleazer W. Ripley, 1800.
John Anderson, 1814. ⁴	Rev. Thomas C. Searle, 1812.
Horace Chase, 1814.	Elisha Fuller Wallace, 1811.
Rev. Alpheus Harding, 1805.	David Willard, 1809.
Joseph Merril, 1814.	

Honorary Degrees.

A. M., Gen. James Miller.	Rev. Titus Strong.
Samuel Prentiss, Esq. ⁴	Erastus Torrey, M. D. ⁵
LL. D., His Excellency James Monroe, President of the United States.	
D. D., Rev. William Morrison, Londonderry, N. H.	

Doctors in Medicine.⁶

Ebenezer Alden, M. B. 1811.	Zadock Howe, M. B. 1809.
Robert Burns, Warren, N. H.	Oliver Hubbard, M. B. 1811.
Samuel Clark, M. B. 1811.	Rufus Longley, M. B. 1811.
Ezekiel Dodge Cushing, M. B. 1811.	Charles Taft, M. B. 1811.
Benjamin Franklin Greene, South Berwick, Me.	

¹ *Dartmouth Gazette*, September 10, 1817.

² These went to the University from the College.

³ These names appear also in the College classes. Wilcox completed his studies and took his degree from the College in 1816.

⁴ These names appear in the minutes but not in the *Gazette*.

⁵ These names appear in the *Gazette* but not in the minutes.

⁶ Burns and Greene were medical students; all the others were medical graduates in the years indicated, but before 1812 the degree given was M. B.

DEGREES CONFERRED.

1818.

Bachelors of Arts.

Luther Clark, Claremont, N. H. ¹	James White, Chester, N. H.
Thomas C. Upham, Rochester, N. H. ¹	Samuel Whiting, Hopkinton, N. H.

Masters of Arts in Course.

Richard Bartlett, 1815.	John Fletcher, 1815.
Daniel Breck, 1812.	Joseph Russell Jarvis, 1810.
Alexander Ralston Chase, 1814.	David Steele, 1815.
John Davis, 1815.	Henry Woodward, 1815.

Doctors in Medicine.

Joshua Bartlett, Unity, N. H., M. B. 1800.	James A. Gregg, Unity, N. H.
Caleb Buswell, New Grantham, N. H.	John Parkhurst. ²
John Campbell. ²	Nathaniel Smith, Halifax, Vt.
Hall Chase, Fryeburg, Me.	Jacob Straw, Hopkinton, N. H.
Charles Fox, Hanover, N. H.	Carlos White, Sandwich, N. H.

Honorary Degree.

D. D., Rev. William Hill, Winchester, Va.

¹ Clark had been a student in the College for a year in the class of 1815; Upham afterward took his degree from the College as of the same year.

² These names appear in the *Gazette* but not in the minutes.

APPENDIX D.

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES REFUSING TO ACCEPT A CHANGE IN THEIR CHARTER.

THE Trustees of Dartmouth College have been informed, through the public newspapers, that the Legislature of New Hampshire at their last June session passed an act in the following words, viz.: An act to amend the charter and enlarge and improve the corporation of Dartmouth College etc.

WHEREAS knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community are essential to the preservation of a free government, and extending the opportunities and advantages of education is highly conducive to promote this end, and by the Constitution it is made the duty of the Legislature and magistrates to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries established for their advancement; and as the College of this State may, in the opinion of the Legislature, be rendered more extensively useful, therefore—

SECT. I. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened,* That the Corporation, heretofore called and known by the name of the Trustees of Dartmouth College, shall ever hereafter be called and known by the name of the Trustees of Dartmouth University, and the whole number of said Trustees shall be twenty-one, a majority of whom shall form a quorum for the transaction of business. And they and their successors in that capacity, as hereby constituted, shall respectively forever have, hold, use, exercise and enjoy all the powers, authorities rights, property, liberties, privileges and immunities which have hitherto been possessed, enjoyed and used by the Trustees of Dartmouth College—except so far as the same may be varied or limited by the provisions of this act, and they shall have power to determine the times and places of their meeting, and manner of notifying the same—to organize colleges in the university—to establish an Institute, and elect fellows and members thereof—to appoint such officers as they may deem proper, and determine their duties and compensation, and also to displace them—to delegate the power of supplying

vacancies in any of the offices of the University for any term of time not extending beyond their next meeting—to pass ordinances for the government of the students, with reasonable penalties not inconsistent with the constitution, and laws of this State; to prescribe the course of education, and confer degrees; and to arrange, invest and employ the funds of the University.

SECT. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be a Board of Overseers, who shall have perpetual succession, and whose numbers shall be twenty five, fifteen of whom shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. The President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire, the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Vermont, for the time being, shall be members of said Board *ex officio*. The Board of Overseers shall have power to determine the times and places of their meetings, and manner of notifying the same—to inspect and confirm, or disapprove and negative such votes and proceedings of the Board of Trustees, as shall relate to the appointment and removal of President, Professors, and other permanent officers of the University, and determine their salaries—to the establishment of Colleges and Professorships, and the erection of new College buildings. *Provided always*, that the said negative shall be expressed within sixty days from the time of said Overseers being furnished with copies of such acts. *Provided also*, that all votes and proceedings of the Board of Trustees shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes, until such negative of the Board of Overseers be expressed according to the provisions of this act.

SECT. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That there shall be a Treasurer of said Corporation, who shall be duly sworn, and who, before he enters upon the duties of his office, shall give bonds with sureties to the satisfaction of the Corporation for the faithful performance thereof—and also a Secretary to each of the Boards of Trustees and Overseers, to be elected by said Boards respectively, who shall keep a just and true record of the proceedings of the Board for which he was chosen. And it shall furthermore be the duty of the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, to furnish as soon as may be, the said Board of Overseers with copies of the records of such votes and proceedings as by the provisions of this act are made subject to their revision and control.

SECT. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of Dartmouth University, and his successors in office, shall have

the superintendence of the government and instruction of the students, and may preside at all meetings of the Trustees; and do and execute all the duties devolving by usage on the President of a University. He shall render annually to the Governor of this State an account of the number of students, and of the state of the funds of the University; and likewise copies of all important votes and proceedings of the Corporation and Overseers, which shall be made out by the Secretaries of the respective Boards.

SECT. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the President and Professors of the University shall be nominated by the Trustees and approved by the Board of Overseers; and shall be liable to be suspended or removed from office in manner as before provided. And each of the two Boards of Trustees and Overseers shall have power to suspend and remove any member of their respective Boards.

SECT. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That the Governor and Council are hereby authorized to fill all vacancies in the Board of Overseers, whether the same be original vacancies, or are occasioned by the death, or resignation or removal of any member. And the Governor and Council in like manner shall by appointment as soon as may be, complete the present Board of Trustees to the number of twenty one, as provided for by this act, and shall have power also to fill all vacancies that may occur previous to, or during the first meeting of the said Board of Trustees. But the President of said University, for the time being, shall nevertheless be a member of the said Board of Trustees *ex officio*. And the Governor and Council shall have power to inspect the doings and proceedings of the Corporation, and of all the members of the University, whenever they deem it expedient—and they are hereby required to make such inspection, and report the same to the Legislature of this State as often as once in every five years. And the Governor is hereby authorized and requested to summon the first meeting of the said Trustees and Overseers, to be held at Hanover on the 26th day of August next.

SECT. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That the President and Professors of the University, before entering upon the duties of their offices, shall take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and of this State; certificates of which shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of this State, within sixty days from their entering on their offices respectively.

SECT. 8. *And be it further enacted*, That perfect freedom of

religious opinions shall be enjoyed by all the officers and students of the University; and no officer or student shall be deprived of any honors, privileges, or benefits of the Institution on account of his religious creed or belief. The Theological Colleges which may be established in the University shall be founded on the same principles of religious freedom; and any man or body shall have a right to endow Colleges or Professorships of any sect of the Protestant Christian Religion. And the Trustees shall be held and obliged to appoint professors of learning and piety of such sects, according to the will of the donors.

The Trustees deem it their duty to place on their records the following facts:

At the session of the Legislature of the State holden in June A. D. 1815, Doctor John Wheelock, the then president of the College presented a memorial to that body, in which he charged a majority of the Trustees of the College with gross misbehavior in office.

Doctor Wheelock's memorial was committed to a joint committee of both branches of the Legislature, and he was fully heard before the Committee *ex parte*, neither the Trustees nor the members then present being notified or heard.

The Legislature thereupon appointed the Hon^{ble} Daniel a White, Hon^{ble} Nathaniel A. Haven and Rev. Ephraim P. Bradford a committee to repair to the College, and investigate facts, and report thereon. The said Committee did in August following meet at the College, heard both Doctor Wheelock in support of his charges against the Trustees and the Trustees in their defence, and at the session of the Legislature in June last made their report, which has been published.

The report of facts made by Messrs. White, Haven and Bradford was committed to a joint Committee of both Branches, and this last Committee in their report *expressly decline considering the report of facts as the proper ground upon which the Legislature ought to proceed in relation to the College.*

The Trustees were not notified at any stage of the proceedings to appear by themselves or agent before the Legislature and answer the charges exhibited against them by the said Wheelock.

Thomas W. Thompson, Elijah Paine, and Asa McFarland, three of the Trustees implicated, attended the Legislature in June last, and respectfully petitioned for the privilege of being

heard on the floor of the house (a privilege seldom denied to parties in interest) in behalf of themselves, and the other Trustees, but were refused.

During the same session the said Thompson, Paine and McFarland presented to the Legislature a remonstrance against the passage of the bill relating to the College, then pending.

And afterwards, on the 24th day of June the said Thompson and McFarland presented to the Legislature another remonstrance, against the passage of the act now under consideration—

Both remonstrances were read and laid on the table—

No facts were proved to the Legislature, and no report of facts of any Legislative Committee was made to show that the state of things at the College rendered any Legislative interference necessary. The act passed by small majorities, in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The Trustees forbear to make any comment on the foregoing facts.

They consider themselves under a high responsibility to their fellow citizens, and to the benefactors of the College to pursue that course in relation to the said act, and the facts stated, which will prove ultimately most beneficial to the present and succeeding generations. They are very sensible of their own liability to err. Nor do they believe that Legislative majorities are exempt from the same imperfection. Compelled as they are by the necessities of the case to accept or refuse the provisions of the said act, they cannot avoid deciding the question.

They find the law fully settled and recognized in almost every case which has arisen wherein a Corporation, or any member or officer is a party, that no man, or body of men is bound to accept or act under any grant or gift of corporate powers and privileges; and that no existing Corporation is bound to accept, but may decline or refuse to accept any act or grant conferring any additional powers or privileges, or making any restriction or limitation of those they already possess. And in case a grant is made to individuals, or to a Corporation without application, it is to be regarded not as an act obligatory or binding upon them, but as an offer or proposition to confer such powers and privileges, or the expression of a desire to have them accept such restriction which they are at liberty to accept or reject.

The Trustees apprehend, from the course taken by the Legislature, that an opinion prevails that the said act is constitutionally binding upon them whether they accept its provisions

or not; and that the gentlemen appointed as Trustees under the act are constitutionally vested by it, with the rights and privileges granted by the charter of 1769. Against this opinion they observe that by the charter of 1769 the Trustees of Dartmouth College, in the language of the law, "by incorporation acquired *jus persona*. and became *persona politica*, and capable of all civil rights," and were rendered capable of holding real and personal estate, and of enjoying the rights and privileges recited in the said charter. In the same charter it is declared that "the whole number of Trustees shall forever thereafter consist of twelve and no more," and that the said Trustees and their successors, so often as any one or more of the said Trustees shall die, etc., shall elect and appoint such Trustee or Trustees as shall supply the place of him or those so dying, etc.

Here then was a grant of powers and privileges made on the part of Government to the twelve persons named in the charter and their successors, which was accepted upon the part of the Trustees. The rights and privileges thus granted, became vested. Everything was done which could be done by the government to clothe the grantees with the powers, privileges and immunities of an incorporation; and among others the powers and privileges of acquiring, and holding property and of perpetuating its own existence, by a successive election of members, for the security and continuance of those powers and privileges in their successors; and for the application of such property as they might acquire, to the purposes and objects for which they were incorporated. All property which they have acquired by purchase or donation has become vested in them in trust, that its avails shall be applied to the objects for which it was purchased or given agreeably to the principles of their charter.

The Trustees having by the charter become a body politic, a person known in law, they cannot without a violation of the Constitution of this State "be despoiled or deprived of their property, immunities or privileges or put out of the protection of law, but by the judgment of their peers, or the law of the land." And as a person known in law they are constitutionally entitled in common with their fellow citizens to a trial by jury, when any matter is alleged against them as cause of forfeiture of their property, powers, rights, privileges or immunities.

This grant having been made by the charter of 1769, and accepted by the Trustees named in the instrument, it becomes a

contract, and irrevocable on the part of the government in its very nature, so long as its terms are complied with. It may be surrendered or forfeited. If forfeited, a judicial enquiry must be had, according to the Constitution and Laws of the State. It is not competent for the Legislature to decide the question of forfeiture. The Constitution forbids it, and refers it to the judicial department of government. Any act of the Legislature altering or impairing the contract, without the consent of the Trustees, must, we apprehend, be considered by the judicial tribunal a violation of the 10th Section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States, which declares, "No State shall make any law impairing the obligation of contracts."

The said act of the Legislature, which passed without the consent of the Trustees, is intended to enlarge the number of their body from the charter number of twelve, to that of twenty-one, and contrary to the provisions of the charter gives the appointment of the nine additional Trustees to the Governor and Council and also gives to the Governor and Council the power to fill all vacancies that may occur previous to, or during the first meeting of the said Board of Trustees; and declares, that the Trustees as constituted by said act, shall *hold, use, exercise and enjoy* all the *powers, authorities, rights, property*, etc., which have hitherto been possessed, enjoyed and used by the Trustees of Dartmouth College. Unless we greatly err, these and other provisions of said act, if carried into operation without any trial by jury, without any forfeiture judicially declared, and without our consent, are palpable violations of the contract between the Government and the Grantees under the charter of 1769, and thus far, a revocation of the grant to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, and their successors.

If the act under consideration has its intended operation and effect, every literary institution in the State will hereafter hold its rights, privileges and property, not according to the settled established principles of law, but according to the arbitrary will and pleasure of every successive Legislature.

We cannot see the expediency of accepting the provisions of the said act, considering the circumstances under which it passed, and considering the unwieldy number of Overseers and Trustees it proposes, and the great increase of expense it will necessarily occasion.

After much consideration we are decidedly of opinion, that the act before recited is unconstitutional, and that its tendency, in

point of precedent and principle, is dangerous to the best interests of society, and to those principles on which depend the prosperity of all the civil and literary institutions of our country. We, therefore, deem it our indispensable duty to resolve, and it is hereby

Resolved, That we the Trustees of Dartmouth College do not accept the provisions of an act of the Legislature of New Hampshire approved June 27th 1816 entitled "*An act to amend the Charter, and enlarge and improve the Corporation of Dartmouth College*," but do hereby expressly refuse to act under the same.

APPENDIX E.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE UNIVERSITY TRUSTEES.

To the Rev. Francis Brown, Nathaniel Niles, Thomas W. Thompson, Timothy Farrar, Elijah Paine, Charles Marsh, Asa McFarland, John Smith and Seth Payson:

Gentlemen: Whereas by a law of the State of New Hampshire entitled "An Act to amend the charter and enlarge and improve the Corporation of Dartmouth College" passed June 27th, 1816 it is among other things provided that the Corporation heretofore known by the name of Dartmouth College should hereafter be known by the name of Dartmouth University; and that the first meeting of the Trustees under said Act should be holden at Hanover on the 26th of August instant;

And whereas the undersigned are duly constituted members of the Board of Trustees of said Dartmouth University in conformity to the provisions of said Act;

And whereas his Excellency the Governor of said State did in compliance with the requisitions of the Act aforesaid summon a meeting of the Trustees of said University to be holden at Hanover on the 26th instant; in obedience to which summons the undersigned did convene and meet at this place for the purpose, in conjunction with the other Trustees of said University of carrying the provisions of said Act into effect;

And whereas you the said Francis Brown [and others as above] being at Hanover aforesaid on the 26th instant were immediately and individually addressed by a line from his Excellency notifying you of the time and place of our meeting as aforesaid, and requesting your attendance as Trustees of said University at Judge Woodward's Treasury office with the undersigned for the purposes aforesaid, to which note you have until this time declined an answer; and whereas the undersigned did by a committee from their own body wait upon the Rev. Francis Brown to know whether or not you designed to meet with them for the purpose of attending to the concerns of the University aforesaid, to which committee the Rev. Francis Brown as your organ replied that it was not at that time determined either to conform to the Act

aforesaid or to resist the same as illegal and not binding upon you as Trustees of Dartmouth College but that when you should finally determine upon one or other of the alternatives you would immediately inform the undersigned of the course you adopted;

And whereas you have this morning transmitted to his Excellency a paper signed by Thomas W. Thompson purporting to be a resolve of the Trustees of Dartmouth College signifying your non-acceptance and rejection of the provisions of the Act aforesaid, and your explicit and peremptory refusal to act under the same;

And whereas the undersigned have strong reasons to believe that you in assuming to act as Trustees of Dartmouth College, intend to proceed in the administration of the concerns of the Institution against the consent of the undersigned, and in defiance of the Act aforesaid;

These are therefore to remonstrate against any and all proceedings and transactions exclusively yours in relation to said Institution since the 26th day of August instant.

The undersigned do further in consideration of the premises make their solemn protest against any and all resolves, acts, transactions, matters and things already done or to be done by you the said Francis Brown [&c.] as Trustees of Dartmouth College and since the said 26th day of August, A. D. 1816.

And we do hereby protest against the same as illegal and of no effect.

And we do hereby earnestly exhort you forthwith to desist from all and every act, matter and thing contravening the provisions of the Act aforesaid.

GOV. PLUMER,
DR. JOSIAH BARTLETT,
JOSHUA DARLING,
WILLIAM H. WOODWARD,
LEVI WOODBURY,
DR. CYRUS PERKINS,
AARON HUTCHINSON,
DANIEL M. DURELL,
STEPHEN JACOB,
HENRY HUBBARD.

Dartmouth University, August 28th, 1816.

APPENDIX F.

CONTRACT

BETWEEN DARTMOUTH COLLEGE AND THE NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE
OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MECHANIC ARTS.

THIS Agreement, made and concluded this seventh day of April, 1868, by and between the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, by their Trustees, of the first part, and Dartmouth College, by their Trustees, of the second part, witnesseth:

That the party of the first part, under the authority of an Act of the Legislature of New Hampshire, approved July 7, 1866, entitled, "An Act to incorporate the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," and with a view to promote the usefulness of said institution; and in consideration of the agreements and contracts of the party of the second part, hereinafter contained, do hereby covenant and agree to locate, and do locate and establish the said Institution at Hanover, in this State, in connection with Dartmouth College. This location and agreement, between the parties, being subject to be terminated, upon a notice of one year, given by either party, at any time after fourteen years from July 7, 1866, as provided in said Act, or on a notice of one year, given in the month of July, 1874, by either party.

And in consideration of the above, the party of the second part agree with the party of the first part, that they will cordially co-operate with them in promoting the purposes for which the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts was established; and they covenant and agree that so long as said Institution shall be located at Hanover, in connection with Dartmouth College, they will furnish, so far as shall be desired by the party of the first part, recitation and lecture rooms for the use of the said New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, and will allow the students thereof the same privileges, as to the libraries, laboratories, apparatus and museums of Dartmouth College, as are now granted to the members of the Chandler Scientific Department, for all which the party

of the first part shall pay to the party of the second part such sum as may, from time to time, be agreed on; and if, in this regard, any differences of opinion shall arise between the party of the first part and the party of the second part, the matter shall be referred to the Governor of New Hampshire, whose decisions shall be final.

And it is further agreed, between the party of the first part and the party of the second part, that so far as the services of the members of the Faculty of Dartmouth College shall be needed, and can properly be rendered, in carrying out the programme of instruction in the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, they shall be at liberty to render such service, and they shall receive from the party of the first part the same compensation that is now given them for a like amount of instruction in the Chandler Scientific Department.

And it is also agreed, if the services of any professor in the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts shall be desired in Dartmouth College, it may be rendered on the same terms, provided the Trustees of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts shall deem it compatible with the interests of said Institution.

And it is further agreed, by and between the parties to this indenture, that for the purpose of insuring not only wise appointments but a harmonious co-operation between all the teachers and Faculty of the several Associated Institutions, located at Hanover, a unanimous vote of the Trustees of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, present and voting at any regular meeting, shall be required for the election of a Professor in said College, seven members being a quorum for this particular purpose. And it is further agreed, by and between the parties to this indenture, that so far as deportment is concerned, the Laws of Dartmouth College shall be binding upon the students in the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts.

And it is further agreed, by the party of the second part, that should any property, of whatever sort, fall to the Trustees of Dartmouth College, by the will of the late David Culver, devoted by said will to the purposes of agricultural instruction, in connection with Dartmouth College, the Trustees of the said College will use the said property in accordance with the provisions of the will, with all due respect to the wants of the students of the New

Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, and to any other object contemplated by the said College.

And the party of the second part do particularly agree, that should there be in the property coming to them by the will of David Culver, aforesaid, a farm at Lyme, in the State of New Hampshire, given by the said David Culver for the purpose of an experimental farm, they will, if requested in writing by the party of the first part, furnish to them such reasonable portion of said Culver farm and the buildings thereon, as may be needed for an experimental farm, to be managed under the general direction of the party of the first part. And in case said Culver farm does not come into the possession of the party of the second part, they agree that they will hereafter co-operate with the party of the first part, in any reasonable way, in procuring the use of an experimental farm, if desired by the party of the first part.

And it is finally agreed, by and between the parties to this indenture, that the terms of connection between the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts and Dartmouth College may, at any time, be changed, by consent of both the parties aforesaid.

Agreed to and executed by the parties aforesaid, the day and year aforesaid.

ASA D. SMITH,
Z. S. BARSTOW,
NATH'L BOUTON,
GEO. W. NESMITH,
ANTHONY COLBY,
P. B. DAY,
EDWARD SPALDING,

} Trustees of Dart-
mouth College.

ASA D. SMITH,
FREDERICK SMYTH,
J. D. LYMAN,
JOHN B. CLARKE,
C. C. HUTCHINS,
EDWARD SPALDING,
ANTHONY COLBY,

} Trustees of the New
Hampshire College
of Agriculture and
the Mechanic Arts.

APPENDIX G.

CIRCULAR OF R. GRAVES.

THE Agent for the Proprietors of the Bridge, now building over Connecticut River in Hanover near Dartmouth College, submits for consideration the following statement:

That the People in the neighbourhood of Hanover and those in the Towns of Vermont which are situate north and westward of Hanover, wish to continue their Connections and enlarge their business with the Merchants in Boston, and by improving the means of intercourse, to increase and render the connection more advantageous. The transport of Goods from Boston to Hanover, etc., and remittances back in produce have hitherto been expensive uncertain and hazardous by means of the badness of the Road from the River Merrimack over the hight of land to Hanover, and on that account many of the Traders have purchased their goods at New York, and transported them from that place by water. This also has been expensive slow and hazardous, and must continue so, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made for facilitating the means of water carriage on the Connecticut River.

Hanover is situate about 130 miles from Boston, about 100 miles of which between the two Towns, the road is excellent, 30 miles are bad and in some seasons almost impassable. Some persons of enterprize prompted by the desire already mentioned, and unwilling to wait for the ordinary improvements of the Road by population of the Country and highway taxes, have petitioned the legislature of New hampshire to grant them the privilege of making a turn-Pike Road from Merrimack River to Hanover. This Grant will undoubtedly be made at their next session; and the object accomplished with all convenient dispatch,—provided Gentlemen of property are disposed to encourage the undertaking, as they undoubtedly will; Whenever this shall take place we may presume to say, that the road from Boston to Hanover will not be exceeded by any other Road of equal distance in N England. The mouth of White River in Vermont is but a few miles from the aforesaid Bridge in Hanover, and the road

between very good. The Course of said White River is southeasterly, and it flows through a fertile Country, which is rapidly increasing in population: The Inhabitants in its neighbourhood and on its Banks are enterprizing. The Road on this River, from its mouth to its source, which is within a few miles of Onion River may be made as good as on any River whatever. The Onion River also flows through a country which is very fertile and rapidly increasing in population, and empties into Lake Champlain at Burlington bay at the distance of seventy miles from Hanover; There is now a good Road on the Bank of this River from its source to its confluence. Thus we have in prospect a most advantageous opening from Boston through a long extent of Country, growing populous, and most of it fertile quite on to the british dominions in Canada.

It is not at present easy to calculate what share of the fur trade now opening to the United States may be commanded through this channel. It is highly probable, however, that it would be so considerable as to enhance the advantages of the communication already described to an important degree. Good calculators are of opinion that the Inhabitants of the extensive Province of upper Canada which is increasing fast in population, will on account of their situation, as the Treaty lately made with the British will allow them, draw most of their fouraign supplies from the United States; Two circumstances strongly concur to justify this opinion. The Country within the British dominions between there and the sea is rough and unfavourable to cultivation. It extends eastward a great distance to the Sea and on account of the extent as well as roughness of the Country eastward of them, their prospects of procuring supplies from their own sea ports, by land carriage must be very faint, as well as remote. The River St. Lawrence which flows through that Country is long and empties into the Sea at a great distance to the northward, so that they do not, it is said, make but one European voyage in each year. It may be an object well worth the attention of the Merchants in Boston, if these calculations are just to open a channel of communication with the province of upper Cannada.

The Bridge now erecting over Connecticut River is a very considerable link in the great chain of connection. Its being situate at the head of the proposed turn Pike Road, and near the confluence of White River with the Connecticut uniting the most important Road through New Hampshire to Boston, with that

through the most fertile parts of Vermont to the waters of Lake Champlain render it of the greatest importance to the above event. And its being the first wheel set in motion toward effecting the grand object, cannot, but operate as a stimulous to excite the people in Vermont to use every exertion to make the Roads leading to the aforesaid Bridge as good as possible: And also to influence the Legislature and people of New hampshire to encourage the enterprize.

If the above statements are just the aforesaid Bridge will not only promote the object hinted at, but will in itself be very productive to its owners. This appears evident from three important circumstances: 1st from the rapid increase of wealth and population in that Country 2^d from the amazing increase of traviling, by means of a turnPike Road, and the improvements which are constantly making in that new Country on other Roads, and 3^d its being situate so near Dartmouth College. The Proprietors aforesaid, in order to facilitate the effecting of the object contemplated, in the fore going statement, wish to interest some gentlemen in the Town of Boston in the afore mentioned Bridge. And for that purpose as well as to convince any who may be disposed to purchase, that the Proprietors are not prosecuting a scheme of deception or speculation, their Agent, in behalf of said Proprietors, submits to the Consideration of Gentlemen in Boston, the following proposals

- 1st They wish to dispose of one half the shares in said Bridge and no more
- 2^d Good and sufficient titles to the shares shall be made by proper conveyance to purchasers previous to any advances of purchase money
- 3^d In order to render secure those purchasers who have not had opportunity of being acquainted with the prospects of advantage from said Bridge the Proprietors will if requested covenant to warrant that the neat proceeds from the toll shall amount to at least eight or nine per centum per annum for the three first years after the bridge shall be completed. It is presumed that after the expiration of three years the neat proceeds will be from ten to twenty per centum per annum.

R. GRAVES, *Agent for the Proprietors.*

INDEX.

INDEX.

ABSENCES, 267, 277, 390.

Academic Department, 205, 340, 380.
united with Chandler School,
477f.

Academy building, 230, 231, 382.

Accounts settled, 5.

Acting president, senior professor to
serve, 197; 381, 472, 477.

Adams, Daniel, 182.

Ebenezer, professor of mathe-
matics, 17, of languages, 60;
ability, 63; reply to Governor,
111; removed by University,
112; address to public, 115; re-
signs, 235; also mentioned, 69,
95, 106, 135, 177, 179, 196, 197,
202, 212, 224, 249, 261, 268,
546, 608, 612.

Ephraim, 251.

John, 317.

Melvin O., 473, 489.

W. B., 135.

Adelphian Society, 203, 204, 205,
534.

Admission, requirements, 201, 290,
376, 399; by certificate, 400f;
without Greek, 438, 499; to
Chandler School, 295, 425, 498;
to Tuck School, 497.

Aegis, The, *See* Newspapers.

Agricultural College, *See* New Hamp-
shire College A. and M. A.

Agricultural School suggested, 220,
293.

Aiken, Charles A., 300, 337, 340, 343.
Henry O., 570.

John, 132, 234.

Silas, 299.

Aikens, Asa, 230.

Alden, Mrs. Abigail, 32.

Ebenezer, 685.

Samuel, 24.

Alden's Hall, 523.

Alexander, Archibald, 8, 205, 540,
572.

Allen, H. N., 392.

Ira B., 365.

J. P., 685.

Allen, Samuel C., 128.

William, professor in Univer-
sity, 115, president, 115;
preaches election sermon, 155;
closes University, 164; seeks
delay in suit, 165; salary, 170,
172, 173; favors settlement,
goes to Bowdoin, 175, 186;
President Wheelock's execu-
tor, 180; suggests Overseers,
188; also mentioned, 119, 122,
134, 135, 136, 146, 150, 151,
158, 167, 176, 259, 314, 682,
683, 684.

Mrs. William, 126, 169.

Alpha Delta Phi Society, 267, 387.

Alumni associations, general 306,
584; local, 485, 584; of secre-
taries, 584. *See* also Alumni
Representation; also Memo-
rial.

Alumni representation, proposed plan
and answer, 379; trustees di-
vided, 380; they propose plan,
its acceptance, 380; first elec-
tions, 381; second movement,
455-470; Councillors proposed,
456; report postponed, 457;
committees of conference,
459; plans proposed, 459; dis-
cussion with trustees, and
change in charter, 460-468;
proposal of Trustees adopted,
468; results of plan and elec-
tions, 469, 470.

Alumni responsibility, 485. *See* other
alumni headings, also Me-
morial.

Alvord, James C., 203.

Ames, David, 685.

Amusements, 276.

Anatomy, 212; appropriation, 262.

Anderson, John, 685.

Andover Academy students, 251.

Annis, J. B., 222.

Antinomian Society, 534, 535.

Anti-slavery agitation, 251-255.

Apparatus, chemical, 209, 289; phys.

- ical, 286f, 374; Special Topic, 607-610; early gifts, and place, 607; clock, 608; increase, 608; Appleton and Shattuck gifts, 608, 609; telescope, 609; Wilder laboratory, 609; astronomical instruments, 610.
- Appleton, President of Bowdoin, 194.
Samuel, 265, 266, 286, 293.
- Aqueduct association, 196.
- Archer, S. H., 135.
- Armistead, Lewis A., 493.
- Atherton, Charles H., 637.
- Athletics, beginning, 373; association, 394; control of, 482; Alumni Oval, 483. *See also* Boating.
- Atkinson, Theodore, 506.
- Austin, Benjamin, 129.
James T., 99, 166, 684.
- Averill, Eliphalet, 641.
- Ayer, R. H., 172, 186.
- BACCALAUREATE. *See* Commencement.
- Babcock, Josiah, 48.
- Backus, Charles, 8.
Simon, 540.
- Badger, William, 684.
- Bailey, Mark, 337.
- Bainbridge, Commodore, 97.
- Baker, Alpheus, 223.
- Baldwin, Cyrus, 251.
Thomas, 684.
- Barrett, James, 367, 378, 463.
William E., 612.
- Barron, Asa T., 365.
- Barstow, J. W., 279, 325, 334, 366.
Z. S., 234, 699.
- Bartlett, Edwin J., 430, 500.
Elisha, 262.
Ezra, 684.
Ichabod, 111, 124, 130, 140, 179, 637, 682.
Josiah, 94, 111, 182, 682.
J. H., 395.
J. P., 251.
Joshua, 686.
Richard, 686.
- Samuel C., President, 413; inauguration, 413; difficulties regarding Chandler School, 423; break with Faculty, 430; memorial of N. Y. alumni, 431; investigation, 432; charges against, 433; exonerated, 434; improves park, 450; resigns, 470; action of Trustees, 471; lecturer on bible, death, 471; also mentioned, 345, 369, 378, 449, 465, 466, 569.
- Mrs. S. C., 448.
- Bartlett Hall, (Y. M. C. A.), 448, 449.
- Barton, Sophia, 223.
- Bascom, Susanna, 32.
Uriel, 24.
- Baseball, 373.
- Batchelder, Samuel, 167.
- Batchellor, A. S., 364.
- Bath house, 273.
- Bayard, Thomas F., 440.
- Bean, Ivory, 346.
- Beecher, Henry Ward, 574.
- Beede, Thomas, 171, 683.
- Belknap, Jeremy, 575, 582, 601, 607, 615.
- Bell, college, 224, 370, 492; Special Topic, 611-613.
- Bell, Charles U., 381, 456.
John, 219.
John, Jr., 172.
Joseph, 135, 637, 639.
Samuel, vetoes aid for Univ., 173; messages, 185, 187, 219; also mentioned, 103, 131, 149, 436, 440.
Samuel D., 546.
- Bentley, William, 684.
- Benton, Elisha, 649, 655.
- Berkeley, Bishop, 540.
- Biblical exercise, 215, 216.
- Billings, Frederick, and Mrs., 419.
- Bingham, Harry, 434, 464, 467.
- Bisbee, Marvin D., 443, 448, 513.
- Bissell, Mrs. Amelia, 32.
George H., 346.
Isaac, Jr., 133, 135.
- Bissell Hall. *See* Gymnasium.
- Black, Frank S., 494.
- Blaisdell, Daniel, 261, 273, 350, 402, 403, 548, 605, 661, 666.
Daniel, 620.
Elijah, 664.
- Blanchard, Amos, 548.
- Blanpied, Benjamin T., 419.
- Bliss, Lemuel, 48.
- Blodgett, Caleb, 419.
Isaac, 450.
- Blood Brook, 368.
- Boardman, H. J., 417, 418.
- Board of Preachers, 502.
- Boating, 310, 393.
- Bond, Henry, 512.
- Bordwell, Abraham, 48.
- Bouton, Nathaniel, 323, 324, 352, 353, 380, 381, 413, 699.
- Bowen, A. O., 405, 406.
- Bowler, John W., 495.
- Bowman, Joseph, 22.
- Boyd, Charles H., 301.
- Boyden, W. C., 135.
- Brackett, A. K., 67.
- Bradford, Ephraim A., 68.
- Breck, Daniel, 686.
- Brewster, Amos A., 81, 90, 97, 120, 126, 127, 128, 136, 175, 196, 206, 237, 272, 576, 663, 665.

- Brewster, Ebenezer, 10, 11, 24, 632, 651, 665.
 Jacob W., 620.
 Bridge, burned, 310. *See also* River.
 Brigham, Lincoln F., 381.
 Paul, 99, 129, 683.
 Britton, Abiathar G., 81, 82, 135.
 Bronson, O. A., 535.
 Brown, Ebenezer, 135, 540.
 Francis, President, 78; recognized by legislature, 80; correspondence with Gov. Plumer, 93-96; courage, 106; offered presidency of Hamilton College, 107; charges against, 111; removed by Univ., 112; tries to arrange for Commencement, 127; issues address, 144; trip for College, 153; invited to "College Congress", 155; fatal illness, 189; death and funeral, 190; character, 191; also mentioned, 83, 84, 91, 92, 100, 105, 110, 115, 119, 120, 122, 126, 130, 135, 138, 141, 142, 143, 147, 151, 154, 158, 162, 167, 176, 177, 194, 197, 218, 229, 419, 473, 525, 682.
 Francis, grandson of President, 472, 491, 503.
 Francis (heathen boy), 566.
 Samuel G., professor of rhetoric, 261, of int. phil. and pol. econ., 340; address to alumni, 306, at centennial, 366; president of Hamilton College, 343; death, 442; also mentioned, 243, 304, 307, 313, 387, 388, 511, 548, 550, 551, 555, 559, 574, 612.
 Mrs. Susan A., 512.
 Brown Hall, 122, 220.
 Bryant, Mary C., 338, 512.
 Buildings, occupied during controversy, 121, 122, 209; new construction, 221; need of, 259; repairs, 284, 285, 369; lighting, 383, 384; heating, 205, 385; dormitories, 486-489; as investments, 494. *See also* named halls: Academy, Bartlett, Brown, Butterfield, chapel, Chandler, College, Conant, Crosby, Culver, Dartmouth, Elm, Fayerweather, gymnasium, Hallgarten, Hospital, Massachusetts, Medical, Meeting house, Nathan Smith laboratory, New Hampshire, New Hubbard, Proctor, Reed, Richardson, Sanborn, Thornton, Tuck, Wentworth, Wheeler, Wilder, Wilson.
 Bullard, H. C., 419.
 Burbank, Peter, 638.
 Burchard, Jedediah, 248, 249.
 Burgess, Ebenezer, 198.
 Burleigh, George W., 343, 378, 379, 380, 381, 391.
 Micajah C., 449.
 Burnap, John, 649, 650.
 W. L., 456, 459.
 Burns, Robert, 685.
 Burr, Sanford S., 317, 318, 319.
 Burroughs, Eden, 7, 22, 35, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 59, 60.
 Burton, Asa, 28, 32, 48, 109, 128, 136, 545.
 Bush, George, 247.
 John, 653.
 Buswell, Caleb, 686.
 Butler, Josiah, 67, 87, 104.
 Butterfield Hall, 482, 484, 488.
 Butterfield, Ralph, 251, 484.
 CABELL, WILLIAM, 540.
 Cabbot, —, 20.
 Cabinet and museum, 209, 258, 260; Special Topic, 601-606; first gifts, 601; mineralogical specimens, 602, 603; place, 603, 605; Hall cabinet, 604; Nineveh slabs, 604, 605; collection of birds, 605.
 Cadets. *See* Military Companies.
 Cage, The, 452.
 Calendar, 200, 243, 344, 339, 377.
 Campbell, Gabriel, 442.
 John, 686.
 Canals. *See* River.
 Cap and Gown, 583.
 Carpenter, Josiah, 48.
 Carpenter shop, 452.
 Carrigan, E. C., 457.
 Carter, Elijah, 276.
 Nathaniel H., 115, 133, 134, 135, 136, 164, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 510, 684.
 Casque and Gauntlet, 539; house, 452.
 Catalogue, 205, 339, 423; Special Topic, 596-600; first, 596; its Latin, 596; triennial, quinquennial and general catalogue, 597; annual, 597; of Medical School, 598; contents, 599.
 Catalogue of University, 129; of Medical Institution, 129; complete catalogue, 682-686.
 Celebrations, fourth of July, 124, 303; political, 273; Washington's birthday, 337; centennial, 362f; fall of Richmond, 374. *See also* Daniel Webster.
 Cemetery lane, 385.

- Centennial, preparation, 363; programme, tent for exercises, 364, accommodations, 365; procession, 366; interruption, 367; of Medical School, 481.
- Certificate system. *See* Admission.
- Chamberlain, Mellen, 421, 512.
William, professor, 202; treasurer and contractor, 221; directs construction, 222; death, 225; preceptor Moor's School, 229; also mentioned, 204, 211, 212, 229, 234, 256, 539.
- Chandler, Abiel, bequest, 293; 295, 329, 422, 424, 478, 479.
Charles H., 562.
- Chandler Faculty, 298, 344, 354, 409, 422, 423, 426, 427, 429.
funds, 203, 407.
hall, 489, 504. *See* Academy.
- Chandler School, gift for, 293; Visitors, 294; established, 295; administration, 296, 298; instruction in, 296; compensation to teachers, 297, 345; difficulties, 299; President Lord's plan, 297, not adopted, 302; called Department, 339; proposed union with Agl. College, 354; Visitors veto, 355; results, 356; building enlarged, 382; gifts to, 399; controversy over, 421-436; early management, 421; admission, 422, 424; grounds of criticism, 423; change in administration, 424; consolidation with Academic Department, 477; requirements increased, 498. *See* also Visitors.
- Chandler Scientific Department. *See* Chandler School.
- Chapel exercises, conduct of, 198; custom of, 389; time of, 389. *See* also Hours of Exercises, and Vesper Service.
- Chapel, of 1790, 9, moved, 222; in Dartmouth Hall, 221, remodelled, 312, general use, 416; Rollins chapel, 417f, cost, 419, dedication, 419, on fire, 420, enlarged, 459.
- Chapman, G. C., 597.
Juniah, 45.
- Chapin, Stephen, 48.
- Charity bonds, Charity fund, 206, 225.
- Charlotte, Princess, 190.
- Charter, amendment proposed, 86; of University, 87-89; protest against, 89; changes, 461; opposition to changes, 463.
- Chase, A. R., 686.
Carleton, 548.
Charles P., 444.
Dudley, 99, 684.
Frederick, ix, 402, 404, 444.
Hall, 686.
Henry B., 684.
Horace, 685.
Jonathan, 640.
Salmon P., 306, 366.
Stephen, 254, 261, 270, 280, 292, 299.
William M., 233, 234, 450, 459, 463, 465, 466, 467, 503.
- Cheever, J. B., 535.
- Chemistry, instruction in, 212, 215, 255; apparatus, 209, 289.
- Cheney, B. P., 415, 416.
- Child, Willard, 246.
- Chi Phi Society, 387.
- Chipman, Daniel, 544.
Nathaniel, 638.
- Chirography, 241.
- Choate, Rufus, 132, 135, 167, graduation, 177, 205, eulogy on Webster, 304-306, 308, death and eulogy by Perley, 309; 639.
- Christian Association (Y. M. C. A.) building. *See* Bartlett Hall; also Religious Societies.
- Christian Fraternity. *See* Religious Societies and Bartlett Hall.
- Church and Ball, 222.
- Church Council, *ex parte*, 27; mutual, 40; dismissed Burroughs, 53. *See* Church of Christ, etc.
- Church, John H., 56, 57, 194, 199, 202.
- Church of Christ at Dartmouth College, origin, 7; meeting house; *see* the word; form of government, 8, 42; pamphlets relating to it, 9, 80; desires Shurtlett as pastor, 18, 21; two branches, 20; division, 22; meetings, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 45; *ex parte* council called by east branch, 27; proposed independent organization, of Dothan branch, 28; opposition of Wheelock, 29; proposed arbitration, 31; council organizes "Church in Vicinity of Dartmouth College", 32; difficulties, 32, 36; mutual council, 38, 40; results, 41; different interpretations, 42; east branch, 45; dual organization, 45; Wheelock turns to Trustees, 47; memorial of ministers, 48, 51; Burroughs in Dothan branch, 52; east branch applies to Orange As-

- sociation, 54, Dothan branch to Londonderry Presbytery, 56; invites Professor Moore as pastor, 57; later pastors, 215, 235, 246, 247, 248, 250; temperance vote, 269; change in service, 389; required attendance abandoned, 502; board of preachers, 502.
- Civil War, 315; effect on College, 316, 320.
- Claggett, Clifton, 684.
William, 207.
- Clark, Luther, 686.
L. W., 457.
Samuel, 685.
- Clarke, Greenleaf, 453.
John B., 352, 399, 699.
- Class day, 307, 376, 583.
- Cleaveland, Professor, 602.
- Clergy, favorable to College, 109, censures Faculty, 250; alienated, 322; interest regained, 345, 409.
- Cleveland, Charles D., 208, 517.
- Clinton, DeWitt, Jr., 642, 644.
- Clock, 210, 224, 387, 492.
- Coal, 385.
- Coburn, L. S., 551.
- Coe, E. B., 440.
- Co-education, 391.
- Cogswell, William, 263, 264, 266, 481, 548, 549, 550.
- Colby, Anthony, 291, 352, 699.
James F., 443, 464, 465, 466, 467, 477, 530, 531.
- College cases, first suggestion of trouble, 64; suit instituted, 110; hearing at Haverhill, 123, at Exeter 123; decision at Plymouth, 130; appeal to U. S. Supreme Court, 138, 141; Webster as counsel, 138; fear of Judge Story, 142; new actions, 143, 145, 192; argument at Washington, 146f; report of, 151, 168; anxieties, 152f; cases in Circuit Court, 154, 159; special verdicts, 159; decision at Washington, 160, 163; charges of bias in Court, 161; news at Hanover, 163; decision in later cases, 166.
- College Cavaliers, 317f.
- College color, 373.
- College Congress, 155.
- College cry, 373.
- College Hall, 487.
- Color distinction, 208.
- "Come-outers," 258.
- Commencement, in 1815, 71; in 1816, 92; in 1817, 127; in 1818, 158; in 1819, 177; in 1821, 197; in 1853, 304; in 1854, 306, 307; in 1858, 308; in 1860, 309; in 1869, 363-368; in 1882, 440; date of, 200, 243, 244, 339, 574; Special Topic, 571-584; early character, 571, 572; literary exercises, 573, 574; time and place, 574, 578, programme, 575, 579; procession, and "Bedle," 576; music, 576, 577; dinner, 578; baccalaureate, 579; rank, 580; foreign languages, 580; conferring degrees, 582; gowns and diplomas, 583; class day, 583. *See also* Centennial.
- addresses. *See* Commencement.
- appointments, 242, 243, 313, 334, 376, 377, 575.
- ball, 158, 269, 579.
- dinner, 241, 365. *See also* Commencement.
- Committees, of meeting house proprietors 12; of church, 23, 24, 31; of Trustees on President's petition, 35, its report, 47; of Hanover and Dothan churches, 54; of Orange Association, 54; of church to present its case, 57; of legislature on Wheelock's memorial, 67, 68; of investigation, 68, its meeting, 71, its report, 85; on College, 85; special, 87; on University finances, 172; prudential of Trustees, 212, 262; on state of College, 213; financial, 404; on investigation, 431; of alumni, 378, 456, 457, 459, on athletic field, 482; of legislature on Agricultural College, 453; of Trustees for conference with alumni, 458; standing committees, 476; of Trustees and Faculty on Chandler School, 477.
- Common, levelled and fenced, 241; road across, 270, 395; shortened, 395.
- Commons, 487.
- Commons Hall, 144, 145, 208, 487.
- Conant Hall, 357, 360, 409, 455.
- Conant, John, 359.
William, 48.
- Conner, Phineas, S., 482.
- Cook, Lemuel, 135.
- Cooke, Phineas, 548.
- Coolidge, Judge, 527.
- Cossit, Ranna, 601.
- Councillors, 456, 459, 462, 464.
- Counsel for College, 124, 138, 139; fees, 178; portraits, 178, 246.

- Counsel for University, 124, 139, 159; fees, 155, 160, 171.
 Course of study, 201, 238, 241, 244, 480. *See also* Electives.
 Crane, John, 446.
 Cremation of mathematics, 393.
 Crosby, Alpheus, 209, 210, 234, professor, 235; retirement, 291; 292, 299, 517, 535, 548, 559, 579, 596.
 Alpheus B., 328, 362.
 Dixi, 261, 262, 270, 271, 343, 362, 450, 486, 548, 660, 661, 662.
 Nathan, 268, 269.
 Stephen M., 493.
 Thomas R., 343, 356, 487.
 Crosby House, 450, 486, 504.
 Cross, David, 531.
 Crowninshield, B. W., 99, 129, 684.
 Culver, David, 347, 348, 349, 351, 354, 357, 358, 359, 381.
 Mrs. David, 348, 349, 357, 358, 359.
 Culver Hall, 358, 359, 360, 381, 409, 434, 455, 504.
 Currier, D. B., 445, 446, 447, 450.
 Curtis, David, 11, 12.
 Jonathan, 533, 556.
 Joseph, 619, 651, 653.
 Silas, 619.
 Cushing, E. D. 685.
 Cutler, Calvin, 136.
 Cuts. *See* Absences and Excuses.
- DANA, DANIEL, 64, 128; elected and inaugurated president, 194, health fails, 195, resigns, 195; biographical note, 196; 218.
 James F., 193, 206, 207, 212, 215, 602, 603.
 Judah, 129, 684.
 Sylvester, 28, 32, 251.
 Daniel, Warren F., 453.
 Daniel Webster professorship. *See* Professorships.
 Daniels, Frank W., 231, 489.
 Darling, Joshua, 94, 111, 169, 171, 186, 682, 684.
 Dartmouth Adelphi, 532.
 "Dartmouth Clubs," 485.
 Dartmouth, Earl of, 490, 511.
 Dartmouth Hall, heating, 205, 386; repairs, 221, 223, 224, 284, 285, 312, 369; lighting, 384; burned, 489; rebuilt, 490; laying of corner stone, 490f; also mentioned, 6, 121, 132, 210, 220, 258, 260, 277, 282, 328, 334, 338, 365, 370, 416, 473, 474, 487, 488, 492, 501, 504.
 Dartmouth Night, 493, 494, 501, 502.
 Dartmouth, The. *See* Newspapers.
- Dartmouth University. *See* University.
 Davis, Daniel, 92.
 John, 686.
 J. G., 344, 380, 406, 460, 465.
 Moses, 598.
 Davison, F. W., 387.
 Day, Pliny B., 299, 352, 699.
 Day, President of Yale, 153.
 Dean, of Medical School, 388; Academic, 390, 477, 583.
 Dean, James, 115, 121, 133, 134, 135, 136, 164, 172, 173, 175, 684.
 Dearborn, Henry, 99, 684.
 H. A. S. 99, 684.
 Debt, 180, 220, 224, 225, 286, 329, 402; of Moor's School, 229.
 Degrees, 437, 438, 440, 480, 499.
 Delameter, John, 261, 262.
 Delta Kappa Epsilon Society, 259, 310, 446.
 Democracy of College, 501.
 Democrats, 65, 66, 81, 82.
 Departments of instruction, 212.
 Derby, Elias Hasket, 601.
 Dewey, Abigail, 223.
 Benoni, 12, 21, 26, 28, 29, 32, 38, 54, 57, 657.
 Luke, 629.
 Mrs. Sabra, 32.
 William, Jr., 24.
 William W., 519, 572, 657.
 Dickinson, David, 48.
 Reuben, 657, 658.
 Dimond, Ezekiel W., 356, 358, 359, 384, 385.
 Diplomas, medical, 194; 582, 583.
 Discipline, 200, 236, 274, 277, 280, 282, 371, 372, 397.
 Dixwell, John J., 294.
 Dothan. *See* Hartford, Vt.
 Dormitories, 486. *See also* Buildings.
 Douglass, Charles Lee, 316.
 Frederick, 251.
 Dow, Edward, 358, 360.
 Dowe, Peggy, 32.
 "Draw land," 227.
 Dresden, 618, 628, 649.
 Dunbar, Elijah, 683.
 Duncan, Samuel A., 363, 365, 367.
 William H., 236, 272, 304, 305, 363, 548, 639, 646, 664, 666.
 Dunham, Gershom, 29.
 Josiah, 51, 66, 69, 70, 72, 80, 152, 545, 576, 579.
 Dunklee, Abraham, 24.
 Dunster, Edward S., 344.
 Durell, Daniel M., 86, 94, 96, 97, 99, 111, 682.
 J. S. H., 134.
 Durkee, John, 81, 82, 97, 135, 174.
 Dutton, Asahel, 29.
 John, 29, 45.

- Dutton, John M., 449.
 Samuel, 29, 32, 45.
 Thomas, 29.
 Duvall, Justice, 149, 160.
- EASTMAN, CHARLES A., 492.
 Ira A., 299, 323, 352, 380, 425.
 Moses, 111, 169, 682.
- Eaton, H., 251.
 Tilton, 48.
 William, 611.
 W. G., 392.
- Edmunds, Senator, 467.
 Eclipse of the sun, 289.
 Electives, 375, 438, 439, 498.
 Electricity. *See* Lighting.
 Elkins, Jeremiah, 685.
 Ellis, John M., 266.
 Elm House, 487, 504.
 Elocution, instruction in, 337.
 Emerson, Charles F., 343, 347, 367, 374, 375, 477, 500.
 Joseph, 452.
 Episcopal influences, 257; church building, 388; society, 256.
 Etna, 82.
 Evans, George H., 531.
 Israel, 22, 261.
 Examinations, 239, 262; written, 375, 390. *See also* Admission.
 Examining committee, 240, 375.
 Excuses for absence, 390.
 Executive officers. *See* Faculty.
 Expenses, 201.
 Experimental farm. *See* New Hampshire College A. and M. A.
 Experiment station, 361, 453, 455.
- Faculty, 17, 63, name adopted, 214; changes in, 60, 192, 202, 211, 215, 234, 261, 262, 263, 291, 299, 340, 344, 429, 441, 443; attitude in controversy, 106; issue address, 112; censured by church council, 250; "Academical," 262; oversight of students, 277; not to hold political office, 341; enlarged, 481, 504.
 Faculty of University, 115, 684f.
 Fagging, 594.
 Fairbanks, Arthur, 443.
 Drury, 48.
 Erastus, 664, 668.
 Henry, professor, 300; change in chair, 340, 341; trustee, 343; proposes to test change in charter, 463-467; gift, 605; also mentioned, 380, 449.
 Fairfield, John, 653.
 Farley, Stephen, 117, 520.
 Farrar, Humphrey, 10, 29, 32, 35, 47.
 Lucy, 32.
- Farrar, Timothy, 24, 51, 59, 63, 104, 108, 112, 202, 682.
 Timothy, Jr., 168, 201, 215, 221.
 Faxon, John Lyman, 418.
 Fayerweather, Daniel B., 483, 484.
 Fayerweather Hall, 487, 488.
 Federal Library, 515, 516.
 Federalists, 66, 81, 82.
 Fees, 587. *See also* Library and Counsel.
 Fence, 224, 241; removed, 387.
 Ferries. *See* River.
 Field, Henry M., 344.
 W. A., 381, 456, 457, 459.
- Finances, 2, 4, 100, 101, 177, 180, 192, 219, 225, 264, 286, 315, 329, 344, 345, 402, 407, 414, 416, 474, 504; of the University, 155, 156, 169-174. *See also* Subscriptions.
- Fines, 211, 213, 214, 215, 267, 278, 587.
- Fires, in medical building, 184, 310; in other buildings, 357, 383, 386; in Rollins chapel, 420; in the Fayerweathers, 488; in Dartmouth Hall, 490, 601; in village, 310, 444, 445; protection against, 275.
- "Fishing," 525.
 Fitch, John, 48.
 Flagpole, 307.
 Fletcher, Horace, 685.
 John, 686.
 Richard, 137, 203, 290, 299, 345, 404, 405.
 Robert, 361, 392, 450, 477, 612.
 Samuel, 299.
- Fogg, George G., 512.
 Folsom, Joseph, 306.
 Foot, George, 11.
 Football, 371, 372.
 Forbes, John, 652.
 Foster, Davis, 473.
 Stephen S., 252, 253.
- Fourth of July. *See* Celebrations.
 Fowler, Bancroft, 48.
 Fox, Charles, 686.
- Fraternities, Greek letter, 267, 535, 536; houses, 387; meetings, 388, control of, 501.
- Freeman, Jonathan, 13, 15, 51, 81.
 Peyton, R., 53, 80.
- Freshets, 311, 358, 368, 632, 640.
 Frost, Carlton P., 344, 362, 387, 469, 472.
- Fuller, Caleb, 21, 26, 29, 32, 38, 54, 57.
 Seth, 29.
- Fullerton, William, 434.
- GALE, D., 185.
 Galusha, Jonas, 129, 683.

- Gamma Sigma Society, 535.
 Garrison, William Lloyd, 253.
 Gas plant, 384, 385.
 Geology and mineralogy, 209, 255;
 chair of 258, 261; lack of books
 212.
 Gibbs, Harvey, 29, 45.
 Gifford, A., 506.
 J. P., 395.
 Gifts and bequests, Appleton, 266,
 286; Bond, 512; Bissell, 346;
 Brown, 512; Bryant, 338; Bur-
 leigh, 449; Butterfield, 484;
 Chamberlain, 512; Chandler,
 293; Cheney, 415; Clarke, 399;
 Conant (to Agricultural Col-
 lege) 359; Crosby, 493; Cul-
 ver, 348, 349; Fletcher, 404;
 Fayerweather, 483, 484; Fogg,
 512; Grimes, 399, 512; Hall,
 258; Hallgarten, 416; Haven,
 512; Kennerson, 512; Lock-
 wood, 335; Mussey, 511; Nine-
 vah slabs, 309, 604f.; Olcott,
 178; Oliver, 511; Parker, 286,
 369, 405; Peirce, 492; Reed,
 259, 260, 344; Rollins, 417;
 Shattuck, 246, 288; Shurtleff,
 288; Slafter, 512; Smith, N.,
 183; Spalding, 369, 414, 416;
 State, 183, 358, 416, 484;
 Stone, 416; Stoughton, 382;
 Thayer, 399; Thompson, 202;
 Tuck, 496, 497; Wentworth,
 405, 406; Wheeler, 100; Whee-
 lock, 5; Wilder, 484, 610; Wil-
 lard, 345; Wilson, 417; Wink-
 ley, 415, 416; gifts during
 administration of President
 Smith, 407. *See also* sub-
 scriptions.
 Gilbert, B. J., 12, 19, 24, 80, 123, 135,
 146, 153, 196.
 Gilman, John Taylor, 51, 59, 60, 63,
 65, 66, 73, 75, 77, protest, 78;
 attitude in contest, 82; 92, 96;
 resigns, 176, 201, 682.
 Gilmore, Joseph A., 334.
 "Girl island," 651.
 Goffe, Joseph, 542.
 Goodell, William, 196.
 Goodenow, David, 685.
 Goodrich, Chauncey A., 147, 149.
 Gordon A., 132.
 Gough, John B., 271.
 Gove, C. F., 132.
 Graves's Hall, 523.
 Graves, Rufus, 632, 654, 656.
 Gray, William, 684.
 "Great Awakening," 281. *See* Horn-
 blowing.
 Greek, 214, 215; not required for
 admission, 438, 499.
 Greek letter societies. *See* Frater-
 nities.
 Gregg, J. A., 207, 686.
 Green, Jane, 32.
 John S., 24.
 Josiah, 24.
 Green, The. *See* Common.
 Greene, Benjamin, 99, 684.
 Benjamin F., 685.
 Grimes, James W., 399, 527.
 Griswold, W. A., 99, 684.
 Grosvenor, Cyrus P., 132, 135.
 Group System, 499.
 Grout, Solon, 248.
 Gymnasium, 346, 376, 417, 452, 455,
 remodelled, 482; new, 495, 504.
 HADDOCK, CHARLES B., professor, 203;
 representative in legislature,
 255; change of chair, 261; diplo-
 matic service, 300; death, 314;
 activity for railroads, 664; also
 mentioned, 211, 212, 247, 272,
 274, 387, 511, 535, 546, 548,
 559, 580, 608.
 William T., 566.
 Haines, William P., 391.
 Hale, Benjamin, 212, 215, 221, 255,
 261, 546, 588, 603, 604.
 Enoch, 657.
 John P., 186.
 M., 104.
 Salma, 111, 139, 140, 150, 151,
 155, 156, 162, 169, 290, 314,
 637, 683.
 T. W., 67.
 Hall, Benjamin, 222.
 Frederick, gifts, 258; 260, 520,
 603, 604.
 Nathaniel, 222.
 Hallgarten Hall, 360, 486, 504.
 Hallgarten, Julius, 416, 419.
 Handel Society, 124, 156, 190, 199,
 203, 272, 304, 334, 552; Special
 Topic, 552-560; first musical
 organization and exercises, 552;
 formation, 553; vocal and in-
 strumental music, 554; musi-
 cal festivals, 555; oratorios,
 557, 558; addresses, 559; de-
 cline, 559; high character, 560.
 Hanover Inn, 447.
 Harding, Alpheus, 685.
 Hardy, Arthur S., 428, 429, 450, 451.
 Harris, Heman, 601.
 John, 111, 115, 171, 682.
 Walter, 48.
 Harrison, William Henry, 271, 559.
 Hartford, Vt., 8, 20, 24.
 Hartwell, Jonas, 540.
 Harvey, Jonathan, 683.
 Matthew, 94, 208, 682, 683.
 Haskell, Alanson P., 386.

- Hatch, Horace, 145, 146, 192.
 Joseph, 649, 655.
 Hatch vs Lang, 146.
 Haven, Mrs. Charlotte M., 512.
 Jacob, 48.
 Nathaniel A., 68, 70.
 Hayes, Alonzo, 251.
 Francis B., 294, 360.
 Hazard, Ebenezer, 615, 616, 617.
 Hazen, Asa, 29.
 Hezekiah, 24, 29, 31, 45, 54.
 John V., 531.
 Philemon, 29, 45.
 Reuben, 29.
 Solomon, 29, 31, 45.
 Healy, John P., 415.
 Heath, Solyman, 203.
 Heating, 205, 385, 386; plant, 475.
 Hebrew, 214, 256.
 Hedge, 285, 387, 500.
 Henderson, P., 67.
 Hersey, Austin, 685.
 Hibbard, Charles B., 337.
 Harry, 661.
 Higgins, Jesse, 24.
 Hildreth, J. L., 482.
 Hill, Howard F., 473.
 Isaac, 65, 66, 74, 152, 176, 187,
 206, 207, 637, 663, 666.
 William, 686.
 Hill and Moore, 146.
 Hilliard, A., 532, 533, 576.
 George S., 205.
 Hinckley, C. S., 135.
 Oramel, 208.
 Hitchcock, C. H., 358, 606.
 Mrs. Emily H., 259.
 Hiram, 381, 384, 385, 393, 440,
 447, 452, 453, 466, 469, 495.
 Mrs. Mary Maynard, 496.
 Hobart, James, 48.
 Holbrook, Amos, 553.
 John C., 664.
 Holland, Samuel, 607.
 Holmes, John, 139, 140, 146, 149, 150.
 Oliver Wendell, 262, 308.
 Honors, 242; memorial concerning,
 314; restored, 334; new system,
 439.
 Hood, J. E., 255, 269, 270, 271.
 Hopkins, Ernest M., 493.
 John, 478.
 Hopkinson, Joseph, 138, 139, 142,
 143, 146, 147, 149, 150, 153,
 159, 160, 168, 178, 246.
 Hopkinton Association, 109.
 Hornblowing, 278f.
 Horne, H. L., 392.
 Hospital, M. H. M., 495.
 Hotel, Dartmouth, 445; Wheelock
 and Hanover Inn, 447, 488.
 Hours of exercises, 199, 209, 210, 312,
 383, 388, 389.
 How, Lyman B., 344, 362.
 Howe, George, 215, 235, 246, 250.
 Zadoc, 685.
 Howe Library, 449.
 Hubbard, Henry, 94, 96, 97, 111, 179,
 207, 666.
 John, professor, 17; supports
 Wheelock, 25; joins in petition
 to Trustees, 33; death, 60; issues
 catalogue of library, 509; prom-
 inent in music, 553; musical
 library, 553; also mentioned,
 26, 30, 36, 37, 40, 43, 45, 54,
 56, 100, 203, 555, 556, 607,
 608.
 Jonathan H., 11, 69, 135, 140,
 290, 683.
 Oliver, 685.
 Oliver P., professor, 261; oversees
 construction of observatory,
 288; resigns, 340; length of serv-
 ice, 442; arranges Hall cabi-
 net, 604; secures Nineveh slabs
 608; also mentioned, 258, 289,
 337, 548, 602.
 Samuel, 234.
 S. G. 604.
 Hubbard House, 504.
 Hubbard Musical Society, 156.
 Hudnut, Joseph A., 286.
 Hunter, E. H., 495.
 Hurd, John, 607.
 Hutchins, C. C., 699.
 Hutchins and Wheeler, 441.
 Hutchinson, Aaron, 81, 82, 94, 632,
 642, 643, 654, 682.
 Henry, 81, 132, 134, 135, 136,
 146, 184, 554, 682.
 INDEPENDENT CONFEDERACY, 532.
 Indians, sent home, 229; again
 desired, 231; continued instruc-
 tion, 232; Commencement
 speaker, 306; C. A. Eastman,
 492.
 Ingalls (Ingols) Chester, 21, 24, 26,
 29, 32.
 Mrs. Sylva, 32.
 Ingraham, Friend, 29, 45.
 Inspector, work of, 284; becomes
 superintendent of buildings
 and grounds, 477.
 Insurance, 224.
 Intemperance, 267, 306, 563. *See also*
 Temperance.
 Internal affairs, 199, 266, 334.
 JACKSON, LEVI, 67.
 W. C., 569.
 Jacob, Stephen, 35, 50, 51, 59, 60, 62,
 63, 73, 75, 77, 78, 86, 92, 94,
 111, 119, 152, 202, 682.
 James II, 540.

- Janitors, 386.
 Jarvis, J. R., 686.
 Jewell, Harvey, 378.
 Johnson, Diodate, 506.
 Osgood, 351.
 Richard M., 272, 273.
 Johnson, Justice, 152, 153.
 Johnston, Michael, 628.
 Joy, J. F., 441.
 Junior exhibition, 335.

KAPPA KAPPA KAPPA SOCIETY, 267, 388.
 Kellogg, Gardiner, 48.
 Jabez, 21, 26, 29, 32.
 Kellogg, Judge, 527.
 Kelley, John, 290, 299.
 Kelly, William, 134.
 Kendall, Amos, 533, 534, 622.
 Kendrick, Stephen, 135.
 William, 664.
 Kenerson, Mrs. Addie E., 512.
 A. H., 512.
 Kent, Chancellor, 152, 153, 161, 168, 198.
 Kent, George, 367.
 Keyes, Homer E., 495.
 Kimball, B. A., 478.
 Elijah, 126.
 Mrs. Elizabeth, 32.
 Increase, 24.
 Jacob, 24.
 Stephen, 26, 29, 31, 32.
 Kincaid, Thomas W., 392.
 King, Cyrus, 683.
 Kingsford, Howard N., 476.
 Kinsman, Aaron, 24, 28, 540, 624, 631, 632, 635.
 Kirkland, George W., 552.
 Samuel, 491, 580.
 Kirkland, President of Harvard, 142.
 Kittredge, Jonathan, 304.
 Knowlton, Ebenezer, 24.

LARABEE, BENJAMIN, 381, 407.
 Ladd, William, S., 434, 464.
 Lambert, Nathaniel, 28, 48.
 Lane, Ebenezer, 11.
 Lang, J. S., 125, 126, 127.
 Richard, 11, 19, 24, 144, 145, 146, 249, 633, 634.
 Mrs. Sarah, 32.
 Langdon, John, 683.
 Lathrop, John, 619.
 Latin Scientific Course, 437, 438, 480, 499.
 Law Department, 263, 405, 407.
 Laws, of College, 199, 214; Special Topic, 589-595.
 Laws, N. F., 237.
 Solomon, 237.
 Leavitt, Dudley, 253.
 Lectureships, 343, 471.

 Ledyard, John, steamboat, 645. *See* also River.
 Lee and Follen, 369.
 Leeds, S. P., 334, 389, 416, 482, 502.
 Legge, Lady Dorothy, 490.
 Legislature, proceedings on charter, 85-90; in 1816, 104; in 1817, 123; appropriations for medical building, 183; pays Dr. Smith, 184; attends laying corner stone of Culver Hall, 358. *See* also "State" under gifts.
 Lenox, Robert, 605.
 Leonard, Abiel, 493.
 Letters: Allen to Morse, 122; to Marsh, 165; to Pickering, 186; Brown to Farrar, 104; to Plumer, 93, 94, 95; to Smith, 105; Dana to Brewster, 206; Dewey to Smith, 21; Dutton to Hanover Church, 31; Farrar to Brown, 108; Fletcher to Brown, 137; Gilbert *et al.* to Shurtleff, 19; Gilman to Brown 176; Hale to Allen 150; to Plumer, 151, 162; to Woodward, 139; Hanover church to Smith, 21; Hazen to Hanover church, 30; Holmes to Allen, 150; Hopkinson to Brown, 162; to Marsh, 143; to Webster, 139; Hovey to family, 211; Laws to Laws, 237; Lord to Trustees, 232, 325; McFarland to Brown, 92, 108; Marsh to Allen, 165; to Brown, 83, 84, 91, 92, 107, 108, 110, 139, 154; to Olcott, 159; to Shurtleff, 105; Mason to Marsh, 79; Murdock to Brown, 142; Mussey to Brown, 91; Olcott to Webster, 188; Paine to Brown, 105, 110; Parish to Plumer, 131; Perkins to Allen, 161; Plumer to Brown, 93, 94, 95, 119; to Parish, 131; to Storer, 140; Quint to Prescott, 427; Rogers to Fletcher, 129; Sanborn to Trustees, 284, 441; J. Smith to Brown, 110; N. Smith to Shattuck, 107, 183; A. D. Smith to Bouton, 353; to Walker, 352; Thompson to Adams, 69; to Brown, 83; Tucker to Chase, 463; Tyler to Olcott, 198; D. Webster to Brown, 138; to McGaw, 152; to Marsh, 141; to Olcott, 188; to Smith, 163; E. Webster to D. Webster, 520; Wheelock to Dewey, 37; to Trustees, 73; White to Brown, 142; Willard to brother, 282.
 Lettsom, Dr., 602.

- Lewis, Joseph, 650, 655, 656.
 Libby, Jeremiah, 616, 617.
 Liberty party, first vote in Hanover, 254; its organ, 255.
 Library, size, 132; proposed sale, 144, 146; place of, 204, 260; appropriations for, 212, 241, 286, 288, 496; fees, 214, 529; use of 337, 398; united with society libraries, 398, 529; Special Topic, early gifts, 506, 509; location, 507, 512; charges, 507, 508; hours, 508; librarian, 507, 508, 513; catalogue, 509; seized by Univ., 509, 510; gifts and appropriations, 511, 512, 538; losses by stealing, 528; see also Societies, Literary, and Wilson Hall.
 Lighting, 383, 385; lighting plant, 475.
 Linberg, ———, 241, 242.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 323.
 Literary fund, 174, 187, 207, 219, 220.
 Little, James, 24.
 Levi, Jr., 99, 684.
 Literary Societies. *See* Societies.
 Livermore, Arthur, 92, 684.
 Livingston, Justice, 152.
 Lockwood, LeGrand, 335.
 Long, Clement, professor, 205; death, 300; 315, 551.
 Samuel, 127, 156, 554, 556.
 Longfellow, Henry W., 575.
 Longley, Rufus, 685.
 Lord, George D., 443.
 H. C., 370.
 John, 48; also 343.
 John K., 535; his son, 444, 472, 473, 477, 493, 503, 531.
 Nathan, trustee, 202; president, 218; financial agent, 219; carries on subscriptions, 220; suggests inventory, 225; action in Moor's School 229, 230; report on scholarship, 238; discontinues honors, 242; favors anti-slavery, 253; changes views, 255; urges filling theological chair, 263; term of service, 290; plan for Chandler School, 297; plan opposed, 301; overruled in appointments, 302; advice as to enlisting, 317; prayer, 318; pro-slavery views, 321; publications on slavery, 321, 322; outside effect, 322; resolutions against, presented to Trustees, 323; action of Trustees, 323; resignation, 325; death, 328; administration and character, 328f; also mentioned, 205, 214, 217, 221, 366, 374, 511, 535, 548, 550, 551, 583, 640, 662.
 Lyman, Elias, 657.
 Elijah, 28.
 Job, 145, 146, 192.
 John D., 352, 699.
 Simeon, 532, 533.
 McCALL, SAMUEL W., 456, 493.
 McClure, David, 22.
 Samuel, 21, 26, 29, 32, 619.
 McDonald, Donald, 419.
 McFarland, Asa, 48, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 71, 80; remonstrance to legislature, 87; 88, 89, 108, 112, 188, 202, 556, 682.
 McGaw, Jacob, 152.
 McKenzie, A. A., 477.
 Madison, President, 544.
 Mails, Special Topic, 614-626; early carriage of letters, 614; post-roads and riders, 615-620; postal system, 618, 619; first postmaster at Hanover, 619; later routes and stages, 625, 626.
 Making up, 213, 277.
 Maltby, John, 1.
 Mann, Cyrus, 647.
 Mann, tutor, 59.
 Mansfield, John S., 26, 29, 32.
 Marking system, 213, 241, 375.
 Marsh, Charles, 59, trustee, 63; 71, 72, 80; member of Congress, 83; 86, 91, 92, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110; removed by University, 112; 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 153, 154, 159, 165, 192, 199, 202, 212, 221, 229, 290; death, 290; service for College, 299; 527, 540, 682.
 Joseph, 649.
 Lyndon, A., 299, 323.
 Marshall, Chief Justice, 148, 149, 153, 160.
 Marston, Gilman, 363.
 Mary Hitchcock Memorial Hospital. *See* Hospital.
 Mason, Jeremiah, U. S. senator, 83; counsel for College, 124, 130; chosen trustee, 176; fee, 178; also mentioned, 78, 81, 140, 141, 143, 146, 147, 149, 150, 167, 191, 246, 638.
 Massachusetts Hall, 488.
 Mathewson, Charles F., 233, 234, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 482, 491.
 Mead, S. B., 685.
 Medical building, 183f; on fire, 185, 310; remodelled, 382.
 Medical Department, 205, 340. *See* Medical School.
 Medical Faculty, reorganization, 192; 215, 261, 292, 343.

- Medical School, graduates, 128, 158; catalogue, 129; rivalry, 181; State attempts control, 182; organization of Faculty, 192; delegates of N. H. and Vt. Medical Societies, 194; 209, 261; members in Civil War, 320, 340; private instruction in, 362, 388; gifts to, 407; 409; fourth year added, 440; 442, 446; centennial, 481; advance of requirements, 495.
- Meeting house, 9-12; used by College, 12; withdrawal of students, 13; proposed control by Trustees, 49; changes, 235; repaired, 249, 369; lighted, 384; enlarged, 452.
- Memorial, ministers to Trustees, 48; Wheelock to legislature, 66, 671, 674; alumni to Trustees, 314; N. Y. alumni, 431.
- Memorial Hall, 378.
- Merrill, Epaphras, 24, 32.
Joseph, 685.
Lemuel, 685.
T. A., 75, 78, 543, 581.
- Merrimack County Conference, resolutions of, 322.
- Meteor, 157.
- Meteorology, 311, 368.
- Military companies, Zouaves, 316, Cavaliers, 317, Cadets, 392; service in Civil War, 320; education, 391.
- Miller, James, 685.
Oliver, 273.
- Mineralogy. *See* Geology.
- Ministry scholarships. *See* Charity Funds.
- Mink Brook, 197, 238, 368.
- Mischief, 276, 283. *See* Discipline.
- Missionary enterprise, 196.
- Mitchell, Edward, 189, 208.
- Modern languages, 241, 300.
- Monroe, President, visits Hanover, 125-127.
- Montgomery, L. C., 392.
- Moody, D. L., 67.
Stephen, 186.
- Moor Hall, 489.
- Moore, Clinton, H., 606.
H. L., 456.
Zephaniah S., 57, 60, 63, 198, 202, 486.
- Moor's Charity School, 68, 76, 78, 116, 159, 169, 172, 208, interest in Wheelock, 228-230; its building, 231; progress of School, 232; dissolution, 233; 327, 328, 382; gifts for, 407; 448, 510, 582, 593.
- Morey, Israel, 615.
Samuel, 646, 647.
- Morrill, David L., 48, 99, 207, 683.
- Morris, George S., 340.
- Morrison, William, 683, 685.
- Morse, Charles M., 493.
Jedediah, 122.
Parker, 271.
- Morton, L. P., 273, 441, 450.
- Murdock, James, 202.
T. J., 142.
- Museum. *See* Cabinet.
- Music in church, 12. *See* Handel Society.
- Mussey, Reuben D., holds with College, 106; resigns, 261; financial management, 262; activity in temperance cause, 268; gift to College, 511; musical abilities, 554; prominence in musical affairs, 556; otherwise mentioned, 91, 127, 156, 183, 192, 258, 520, 588.
- NATHAN SMITH LABORATORY, 310, 488, 495.
- Natural history, 255. *See* Professorships.
- Negroes, admitted, 208, 332.
"Negro Island," 629, 630.
- Nesmith, George W., 133, 135, 175, 299, 352, 380, 408, 415, 431, 453, 581, 665, 699.
- New Hampshire Bible Society, 419.
- New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanics Arts, establishment, 347-360; Culver will, 347; action by legislature, 349; offer by Dartmouth, 350; legislative act, 351; Trustees hesitate, 352; agreement, 354; vetoed by Visitors, 355; second agreement, 355, 697; Faculty, 356; admission and course of study, 357; Culver Hall, 358; experimental farm, 354, 359; buildings, 360; gifts to, 407; relations unsatisfactory, 453; bequest to, 454; sells property and removes to Durham, 455; also mentioned, 348, 350, 361, 362, 363, 381, 391, 392, 409, 411, 422, 432, 449, 483. *See* Conant and Culver Halls.
- New Hampshire Hall, 488.
- New Hampshire Medical Society, 194.
- New Hampshire professorship, 344, 345, 415.
- New Hubbard House, 488.
- New Ipswich Academy, 100, 340.

Newton, George, 553.

David, 659.

Newspapers and Magazines: Aegis, 336, 358; American, 81; Boston Courier, 322; Boston Repository, 64, 69; Christian Observer, 567; Concord Gazette, 65, 67, 80, 81; Concord Herald, 619; Congregationalist, 443; Dartmouth Gazette, 64, 65, 81, 102, 121, 122, 532, 533, 620; Dartmouth, The, 266, 336, 392, 396, 462, 537; Eagle, 12; Exeter Watchman, 130; Family Visitor, 283; Home Missionary Monthly, 569; Liberator, The, 253; Literary Tablet, 543; Literary Miscellany, 543; Magnet, The, 266; Missionary Herald, 569; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 549; New Hampshire Gazette, 615; New York Statesman, 175; "Old Grimes," 282; Panoplist, 567; Patriot, 65, 66, 73, 80, 82, 97, 127, 176; People's Advocate, The, 255, 269; Phoenix, 336; Portsmouth Gazette, 65; Portsmouth Oracle, 65; Vermont Journal, 135, 618, 626; Washingtonian, 66.

Nichols, David L., 189.

Ernest Fox, 505.

Niles, Nathaniel, 51, 59, 62, 63, 65, 68, 80, 84, 86, 96, 112, 201, 682. Ninevah slabs, 309, 385, 604, 605.

Northern Academy, Society of, 263, 399; Special Topic, 548-551; organization and object, 548; library, 549; decline, 550; disbanded, 532, 551.

Norwich University, 181.

Noyes, Daniel J., professor, 291, 299, 313, 315, 334; change of professorship, 343; acting president, 381; 410; resigned, 441; death, 442; 449.

Jeremiah, 542, 543.

Parker, 92.

Samuel, 251.

Nutt, Samuel, 645, 646.

OBSERVATORY, 287, 288, 328, 374, 409, 414, 484, 504.

Observatory Hill, 183, 275, 369, 451, 487.

"Octagon," 202, 234, 290.

Odell, Richard, 67.

Olcott, Mills, agent of Trustees, 49-51; secretary and treasurer, 99; demands records, 109; brings suit, 110; in legislature, 179;

suggests overseers, 187; trustee, 201; death, 290; buys and develops White River Falls, 632-639; also mentioned, 125, 126, 130, 135, 141, 144, 145, 159, 173, 178, 185, 189, 196, 198, 202, 212, 250, 257, 271, 641, 646.

Peter, 649, 651, 652.

Roswell, 655.

"Old Grimes." See Newspapers.

Old pine, 307, 451.

Oliver, Daniel, professor, 192, 198; change of professorship, 205; in legislature, 207; 211, 215, 256, 258; resigned, 261; gift to library, 511.

H. K., 133.

Optional studies, 439.

Orange Association, 54, 55, 56, 136.

Ordronaux, John, 344, 366, 381.

Ordway, S. S., and Co., 640.

Organ, of chapel, 369, 419, 421, 555; of church, 453, 555.

Osgood, Thaddeus, 568.

Overseers of Thayer School, 361.

Overseers of University, established, 86, 87; Governor and Council to appoint, 90; only meeting, 99; suggested, 87, 186, 188.

PACKARD, WILLIAM A., 300, 343.

Packer, Nathan, 186.

Page, Robert, 246, 250.

S. R., 685.

Paine, Elijah, trustee, 63, 73, 75, 86, 87, 105, 110; removed by University, 112; 178, 188, 197, 198, 199, 202, resigns, 234; 649.

Palaeopitus, 537.

Palmer, Calvin, 657.

Stephen W., 657, 658.

Pamphlets, in controversy, 6, 9, 64, 65, 66, 80; by Professor Crosby, 272.

Park, College, 285, 369, 450.

Parker, Edmund, 286, 295, 511.

Henry E., 322, 340, 385, 443, 444, 448, 449.

Isaac, 286, 511.

Joel, 228, 263, 286, 295; resigns as trustee, 298, 299; first president alumni association, 306; 315; lecturer, 343; improves park, 369; bequest, 405, 416; 450; gift to library, 511; will, 512, 548.

Parkhurst, —, 274.

John, 686.

Lewis, 395.

Parkhurst Administration Building, 387, 487.

Parish, Elijah, 60, 64, 65, 72, 682.

- Parmalee, Elisha, 539.
 Parris, A. K., 99, 684.
 Parsons, David, 605.
 Usher, 193.
 Partridge, Alden, 181, 316.
 Pastor of college church. *See* Church of Christ, etc.
 Patrick, William, 48.
 Patterson, James W., professor, 298-302, 315, 340; elected to Congress, 341; address at Centennial, 367; 378, 384, 385; again professor, and death, 481.
 George W., 449.
 Joab N., 363.
 Paul, I. F., 465.
 Payne, Elisha, 624.
 John, 15.
 Payson, Moses P., trustee, 119; 178, 199, 202, 212; death, 234; 577.
 Seth, member of ecclesiastical council, 57; trustee, 60; 63, 64, 73, 112; death, 201, 682.
 Peabody, Augustus, 177.
 David, 247, 261.
 Peaslee, Charles H., 66.
 Edmund R., 262, 380, 381, 413.
 Reuben, 237.
 Peirce, Joshua W., 492, 613.
 Pember, J. R., 434.
 Penalties, denounced, 104; effect, 106.
 Perkins, Capt., 601.
 Cyrus, 59, 81, 94, 97, joins University, 106; 120, 121, 126, 127, 133, treasurer University, 157; 158, 159, 161, 164, 167; resigns as treasurer, 169; resigns as professor, 177; 183, 192, 194, 509, 532, 533, 682, 685.
 Francis William, 316.
 Perley, Ira, 221, 225, 227, 261, 310, 378.
 Perry, Joseph, 229.
 Peters, Absalom, 246.
 Joseph H., 349.
 Pettengill, S. B., 317.
 Phalanx, Dartmouth, 272, 276.
 Phelps, Amos A., 251.
 Daniel, 631.
 Edward E., 263, 292, 343, 382.
 Phelps Bar, 631.
 Phi Beta Kappa Society, 132, 177, 203, 267, 268, 308; Special Topic, 539-547; organization, 539; charter, 540; medal, meetings, and membership, 542, 547; initiation fee, 543; anniversary, 544; dinner, 545; decline, 546; revival, 547.
 Phi Delta Theta Society, 446.
 Phillips fund, 42, 58, 61, 69, 71, 102, 291.
 Phillips, John, 58, 607.
 Wendell, 306.
 Phillips professorship, 8, 9, 215, 263, 291, 471.
 Philoi Euphradias, 533.
 Philotechnic Society, 399, 529.
 Phi Sigma Society, 203, 204, 534.
 Phi Zeta Mu Society, 446, 536.
 Phoenix, The. *See* Newspapers.
 Pickering, William, 172, 186, 188.
 Pierce, Benjamin, 102, 637.
 Pierce, Governor, message, 207.
 Pierrepoint, J. H., 182.
 Pillsbury, J. W., 251.
 Parker, 253, 254, 255.
 Pinkney, William, 159, 160, 161, 163.
 Pinneo, Joseph, 310.
 Pitman, J., 172, 185.
 "Pitched land," 227.
 Plumer, William, 66, elected governor, 83; message, 85; correspondence with Brown, 93-96; 119, 124; does not meet President Monroe, 125; 131, 140, 143, 150, 162, 175, 176; farewell message, 185; 682.
 William, Jr., 208.
 Political Interests, 65, 81, 83.
 Politics in College, 307.
 Pollens, Louis, 430, 443, 513.
 Poole, James, 67, 81, 86, 90, 97, 104, 120, 121, 126, 127, 184, 206, 651.
 Poor, Daniel, 533, 534, 567.
 John M., 610.
 Porter, Ben, 633.
 David, 641.
 Ebenezer, 198.
 Joseph, 122.
 Micajah, 48.
 Nathaniel, 615.
 Portraits. *See* Counsel.
 Potter, Isaiah, 28, 32, 48.
 Powers, S. L., 233.
 Prayers, time of, 210, 312; evening given up, 313.
 Prentiss, Samuel, 202, 685.
 Prescott, Benjamin, 67.
 B. F., 381, 413, 447, 465, 466.
 William, 604.
 Presbytery, Grafton, 8, 15, 24, 52, 54; Londonderry, 56.
 President's reports, 216, 217, 283, 401; house, 449.
 Price, Ebenezer, 48.
 Prices of building materials, 222; of board and labor, 223.
 Prizes, 203, 243, 335, 399; Fletcher, 404.
 Proctor House, 488, 504.
 Proctor, John C., 343, 430, 437.

Professorships, Appleton, 266; Cheney, 415; Daniel Webster, 415, 416; Evans, 261; Greek and Latin Languages, 202; Hall, 258, 604; Modern Languages, 300; Natural History, 342; New Hampshire, 344, 415; Parker, 445; Rhetoric and Oratory, 202; Stone, 415; Willard, 345, 481; Winkley, 415.

Prouty, Charles A., 464, 465, 466.

Pruden, ———, 45.

Prudential committee. *See* Committees.

Psi Upsilon Society, 267, 388, 446.

Punchard, George, 248.

Putnam, Israel W., 194, 202, 213.

John N., 292, 299, 301.

QUARTER DAYS, 203, 242, 335.

Quimby, Elihu T., 340, 363, 379, 385, 386.

Quint, Alonzo H., trustee, 378, 380, 391, 408, address at dedication of chapel, 420; 431, 434; on committee of conference, 457; 477.

Wilder, D., 491.

RAID. *See* Temperance.

Railroads; Special Topic, 663-668; first charter in N. H., and prevalent feeling, 663; convention of towns in Conn. valley, 664; interest in road to Boston, 664; routes proposed and charter, 665; change in state policy, and charters given, 666; Northern Railroad, 666; opened to Lebanon, 667; roads to Canada, 667, 668.

Ramsay, Alexander, opens medical school, 181, 182.

Rand, Hamlin, 636.

Ransom, Gen., 273.

Rawlinson, Sir Henry, 605.

Raymond, Daniel, 511.

Read, Alexander, 553.

Reading room, 204, 338, 518.

Recitation rooms, 122, 210, 387.

Reconstruction under President Tucker, 474, 476, 483f.

Records, 99; returned, 177.

Redington, E. D., 456.

Reed Hall, 258, description, 259, 260; 285, 309, 328, 338; repainted, 369; equipped with gas, 384; with steam, 385, 386; 417; books removed, 421.

Reed, Charles, 378.

W. E., 449.

Mrs. William, 260, 261.

"Refutation, etc.," 80. *See* also Pamphlets.

Religiosi, 561.

Religious Society, Dartmouth, 235, 248, 561; in College, 561.

Religious Societies, Special Topic, 561-570; Theological Society formed, 561; membership, 562; discipline, 563; amusements, 564; meetings, and exercises, 564, 565; missionary interest, 566, 567; correspondence, 567; library, 567; anniversaries, 568; Society of Inquiry, 568; unites with Theological Society, 569; secretaries, 570.

Remonstrance, of Trustees, 88, 675; of University Trustees, 96, 695.

Rent of unoccupied rooms, 284.

Resources, 180, 225. *See* also Finances.

"Review, Candid and Analytical," 64, 65, 66. *See* also Pamphlets.

Revivals, 8, 248.

Rhetoricals, 267, 313, 388, 389.

Rhetoric and Oratory. *See* Professorships.

Rich, Charles A., 494.

Richards, Dexter, 449.

Joel, 29.

John, 250, 266, 550, 551, 559.

Joseph R., 346.

Richardson, Charles F., 441, 493, 531, 532, 613.

Cyrus, 469.

Daniel, F., 307.

D. S., 405.

James B., 459, 465, 468, 469, 477, 487.

(William M.) Judge, 84, 103, 185, 639.

Rufus B., 441.

Richardson Hall, 487.

Riots, arrests for, in case of libraries, 135, in later times, 396.

Ripley, E. W., 90, 97, 140, 155, 649, 685.

Sylvanus, 8.

Rival institutions, 181, 182, 186, 207, 208.

River, Special Topic, 627-662; early traffic, 627; White River Falls, 628, 631; Indian resort, 629; settlement and mill at falls, 630, 631; W. R. F. Bridge Co., 632; dams, 632f, 635, 640; mills, and locks, 631-634; difficulties, 633-638; floating logs, 634; tolls, 635; profits, 638; marine railway, 638; in corporation, 639; loss of mills and dams, 640; franchise sold,

- 640; dams, mills and canals, 640-644; navigation, 641; surveys, 642, 643; legislation, 642, 644; steamboats, 645, 646; Morey's experiments, 647; boat landing, 647; ferries, 648-654; toll, 648; road to river, 651; toll house, 651; rope ferry, 651; wire ferry, 654; charter for toll bridge, and location, 654; College favors, 655; opposition, 655; cost, 656; tolls, 656; construction, 657, 700-702; second bridge, 657; third bridge, 658; dissatisfaction with management, 659; arrest of Professor Sanborn, 660; bridge burned, 660; agitation for free bridge, 660-662; built and dedicated as "Ledyard Free Bridge," 662.
- Roads, Special Topic, 614-626; early travel, 614; postroads, 617; turnpikes, 620, 622, 624, 625; "Country road," 620; badness of roads, 621, 622, 700; Fourth N. H. turnpike, 623, 624; river road, 630; road to river, 651; Rope Ferry road, 652.
- Robberies, 215, 274.
- Roby, Joseph, 262, 292.
- Rogers, Isaac, 652, 653.
- Robert, 628.
- Rollins chapel, 365, 416, 418, 492, 504.
- Rollins, Daniel A., 373.
- Daniel G., 420.
- Edward A., 417, 418, 419, 420.
- Ellen Hobbs, 420.
- Susan Binney, 420.
- "Roll of Honor," 320.
- Rood House, 450.
- Rope Ferry Road, 651, 652. *See also* Roads.
- Ropes, William H., 216.
- Rose, William, 607.
- Ross, Isaac, 270.
- Jonathan (Judge), 462, 463, 466, 467.
- Rowell, Joseph, 48.
- Rowley Assembly Room. *See* Brown Hall.
- Ruggles, Edward R., 298, 340, 344, 422, 477.
- Rushes, 372, 387.
- Russell, Horace, 484.
- SALARY, of president, 4, 10, 107, 261, 345; of Moor's School, 229; of professors, 4, 180, 212, 261, 345, 497; increase desired, 315, 345; for work in Chandler School, 297.
- Salutatory, 580.
- Sanborn, Edwin D., professor, 235; inspector, 284; president of Washington Univ., 300; returns to Dartmouth, 340; resignation, 441; death, 442; also mentioned, 270, 275, 293, 306, 335, 337, 363, 398, 413, 417, 450, 486, 541, 548, 550, 559, 660, 661, 662.
- Sanborn House, 450, 486, 504.
- Sanders, Prince, 208.
- Sanitation, 476, 486.
- Sargeant, John, 647, 650, 652.
- Sargent, Roger, 633.
- Savage, Seth, 29.
- Sawyer, Moses, 48, 104.
- Schedule of work, 238. *See also* Course of Study.
- Scholarship, 238, 241, 283.
- Scholarships, 345.
- Scientific expeditions, 374, 375.
- Scobey, D. C., 251.
- Scotfield, John, 619.
- Scotch Board, 231, 232.
- Scotch fund, 76, 228, 232.
- Scott, C. W., 398, 513.
- Seal, 99; returned, 177.
- Searle, Thomas C., 115, 164, 172, 173, 176, 540, 685.
- Senior class, vacation, 200, 377; third exercise required, 377.
- "Seven Nations," 237.
- Seybert Adam, 602.
- Shattuck, George C., 183; gives portraits, 246; gifts, 288, 289, 293, 511, 520, 608.
- Shedd, William, 135.
- Shepherd, Forrest, 602.
- Sherburn, Henry, 2.
- Sherman, Frank A., 344, 531.
- W. T., 367.
- Shirley, James, 135.
- John M., 69.
- Short term, 244, 245, 339, 377.
- Shurtleff, Roswell, election as Phillips professor cause of quarrel, 9, 16; relations with Wheelock, 17, desired as pastor, 18, 21; as colleague, 22-24; vote of Trustees on ordination, 36; list of exchanges, 37; Wheelock's attempt to secure his support, 55; attacks him in Board, 58; ordained, 60; reply to Governor, 111; removed by Univ., 112; change of chair, 215; resigned, 253, 261; gift to library, 288; reminiscence of Webster, 304; death, 314; also mentioned, 20, 32, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46-49, 51, 55, 56, 58, 64, 94, 95, 105, 106,

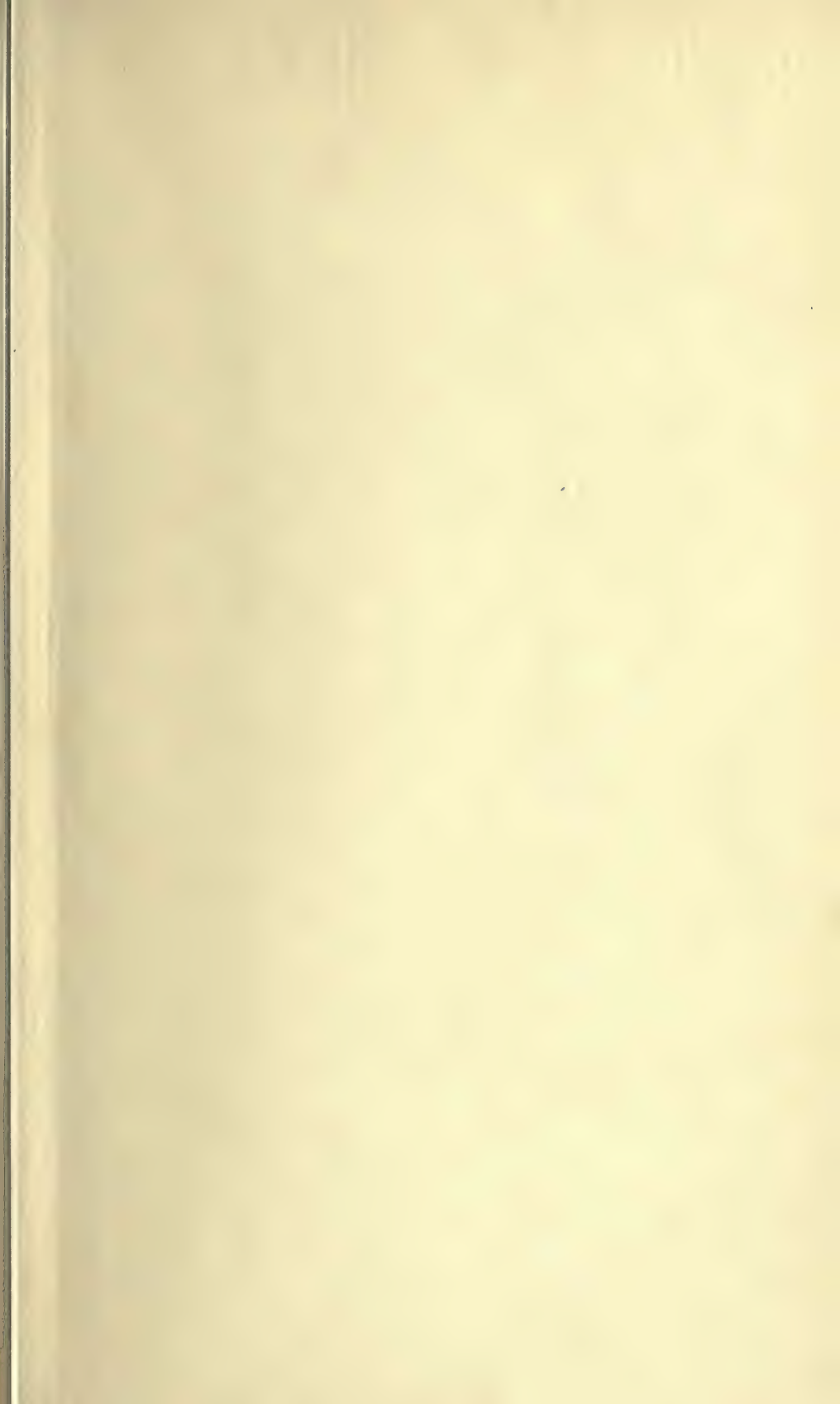
- 115, 122, 135, 136, 175, 177, 202, 212, 235, 247, 303, 511, 548.
- Sidewalks, 452.
- Simons, Cady, 24.
- Simpson, Ahimahaz B., 146.
- Sinclair, John E., 298.
- Sing Out, 579.
- "Sketches etc.," 64, 65, 66, 80. *See also Pamphlets.*
- Slade, Samuel, 651, 653.
- Slafter, Edmund F., 512.
- Smith, Albert, 343, 346.
- Asa Dodge, 279, 314, president, 334; inauguration, 334; secures Agricultural College at Hanover, 340-359; also Thayer School, 360; ill health and leave of absence, 381; aims to raise standard, 399; proposes certificate plan, 401; gifts during his administration, 407; failing health, resignation and death, 408; administration, 409; personality, 410; eulogy on, 440; 527, 566.
- Ashbel, 270.
- Elijah, 582.
- Ethan, 48.
- Gideon, 652.
- Isaac W., 448, 457, 459, 465.
- Jeremiah, 83, 105, 110, 124, 130, 140, 141, 149, 159, 161, 163, 168, 178, 180, 246, 639.
- John, 48.
- John (Phillips professor), pastor 8; approved by church, 15; relation to church, 19, 21; vote of Trustees about, 36; death, 53; 60; also mentioned, 9, 12, 14, 16-18, 20, 22-26, 32, 33, 35, 38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 51, 52-54, 57, 59, 338, 507, 508, 509, 512, 601, 614.
- John (trustee), 63, 64, 71, 73, 112, 201, 682.
- Jonathan, 638.
- Justin H., 459.
- Nathan, 106, 183, 184, 189, 192, 310, 446, 640.
- Nathaniel, 686.
- Noah, 156.
- Samuel, 549.
- Timothy, 653.
- Timothy Dwight, 272, 273.
- William T., 388, 482, 492.
- Smyth, Frederick, 349, 352, 699.
- Social Friends, proposal to break up library, 137; room, 204, 260; exhibition, 335; Special Topic, founded, 514; membership, 515; library, 516, dissensions, 518. *See also Societies, Literary.*
- Societies, Literary, anniversaries, 128; attempt to seize libraries, 132f; debating, 203; time of meetings, 203; libraries, 204; anniversary orator from abroad, 205; revival of activity, 335; reading room, 204; management and consolidation of libraries, 398; Special Topic, 514-538; origin, 514; membership, 515; libraries, 515-517; dissensions, 518f; secrecy, 521; badges, mottoes and diplomas, 522; meetings, 523, 524; assignments, 524; "fishing," 525; dramatic entertainments, 526; debates, 527; protection of libraries, 528; vacation draws, 529; union of libraries, 529; dissolution, 530f. *See also Fraternites.*
- Societies, senior, 537.
- South Hall, 357, 360, 448.
- Spalding, Charles W., 469, 482.
- Edward, 352, 369, 391, 406, 414, 416, 431, 468, 699.
- George B., 381.
- Spectroscope, 374.
- Spelling matches, 337.
- Sphinx Society, 446. *See also Senior Societies.*
- Sprague, Philo, 223.
- Spring, Gardner, 197.
- Stages. *See Mails.*
- Standing committees of Trustees and Faculty, 476.
- Stanley, C. W., 434, 436.
- Stanniford, Daniel, 48.
- Stealing, 215, 274; from libraries, 528.
- Steamboats, 645.
- Stearns, Onslow, 359, 367.
- Steele, David, 686.
- Sanford H., 433, 434.
- Stevens, Chalmers W., 612.
- Henry, 605.
- Stickney, P. LeB., 251.
- Stiles, President, diary, 3.
- Stone, Daniel P., 416.
- Mrs. Valeria G., 416.
- Storer, Clement, 99, 140, 684.
- Storrs, Aaron, 649, 650.
- Augustus, 89, 123, 179.
- Story, Joseph, 141-143, 147, 150, 154, 160, 161, 166, 511, 684.
- Stoughton, C. B., 316.
- E. W., 382.
- Stowe, Calvin E., 234.
- Straw, Jacob, 686.
- Streeter, Frank S., 459, 465, 469, 470.
- Streetlights, 385.
- Strong, Jonathan, 48.
- Students, number of, in 1816, 121; 129, 220, 258, 264, 320, 328,

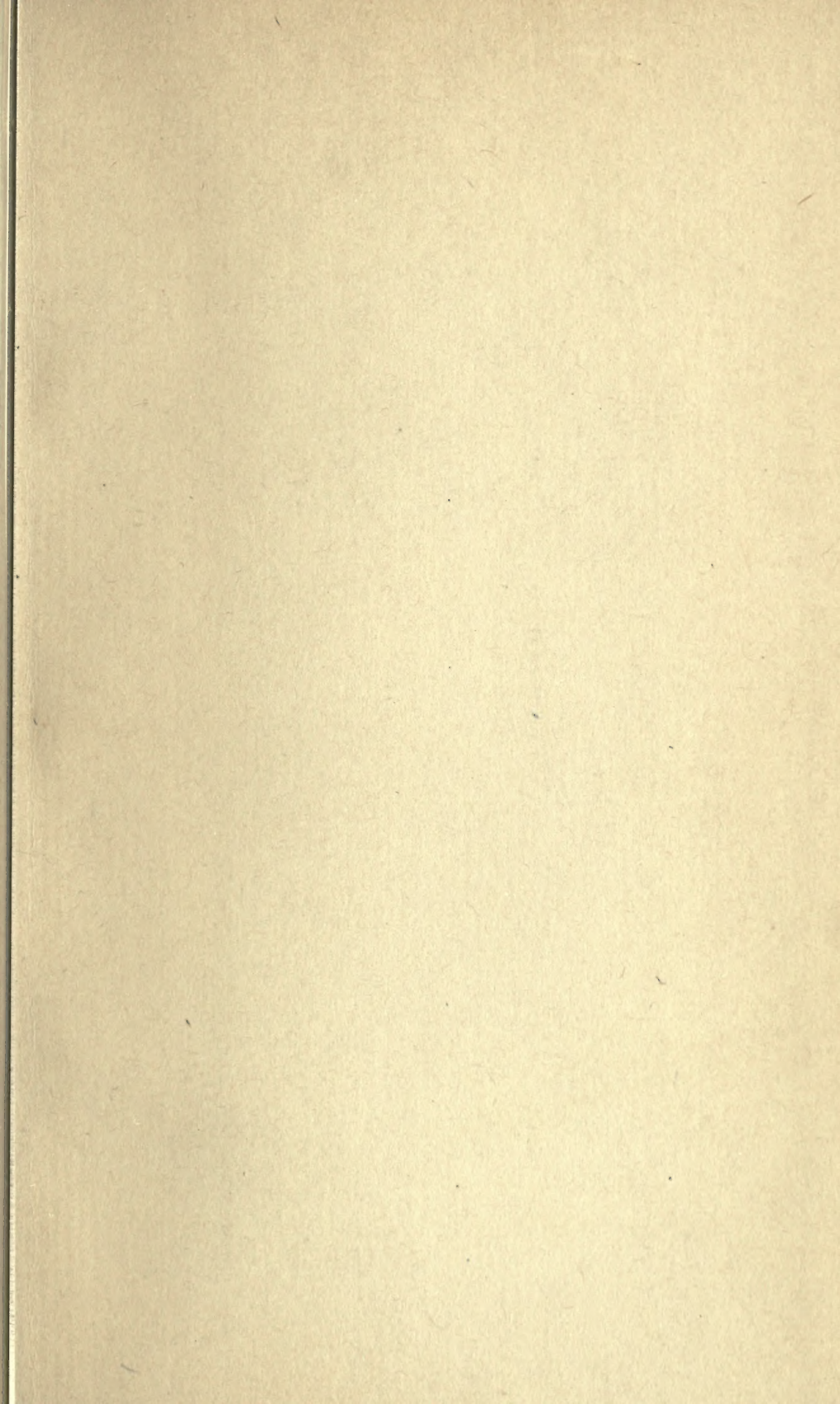
- 344, 345, 362, 409, 486, 504;
voting, 122; poverty, 196, 206,
209; activities, 237, 395. *See*
Teachers and Discipline.
- Subscriptions, 100, 128, 178, 206, 219,
220, 265, 286, 315, 344, 378,
379, 407, 414, 490.
- Suhm, Christian, 119.
Maria, 119.
- Sullivan, George, 124, 130, 136, 140,
171, 234, 636, 684.
- Summer school, 500.
- Sutherland, David, 110, 684.
- Sweat, William, 653.
- Swift, Samuel, 117, 532.
- TAFT, CHARLES, 685.
- Talbot, Ethelbert, 491.
- Taylor, General, 273.
S. H., 378.
- Teachers, 244, 245, 339.
- Technical education, scheme for, 293.
- Telescope, 287, 374. *See* Apparatus.
- Temperance, 267-271, 370, 563.
- Temple, Daniel, 196.
- Tenney, Asa W., 434, 467.
B. G., 132, 135.
Elijah, 24.
Silas, 97, 123.
William, 270.
- Tent. *See* Centennial.
- Terms. *See* Calendar.
- Thayer, Frederick A., 336.
Sylvanus, 260, 361, 399.
- Thayer School, 340, 360-363, 376,
381, 407, 409, 411, 455, 480,
497.
- Theological Society, 128, 203, 252,
253, 267, 268. *See* also Reli-
gious Societies.
- Thomas, Isaiah, 510.
- Thompson, Benjamin, 454.
Dwinel F., 347.
George, 251.
- Thomas W., biographical note,
62; trustee, 63; report on
"Sketches" 73; remonstrance
to legislature, 87-89; removed
by Univ., 112; death and
bequest, 202; also mentioned,
35, 51, 59, 69, 70-72, 82, 83,
91, 104, 138, 183, 188, 192,
197, 201, 682.
- Thornton Hall, erected, 222, 224; 256;
shingled, 285; 328, 338; used
for Thayer School, 361;
colored, 369; 448.
- Thornton, John, 222.
- Thurston, Daniel, 561.
Pierson, 540.
William, 608.
- Ticknor, Elisha, 99, 684.
George, 118, 621.
- Tilton, Joseph, 67.
- Tobey, Edward S., 299.
- Todd, Justice, 149, 160.
- Tontine, 206, 221, 271, 310, 445, 446,
450.
- Torricelli, Jean B., 300.
- Tower, 451.
- Towle, G. S., 251.
- Town, Mr., 119.
- Towne, Solon R., 347.
- Townsend, Luther, 251.
- Tracy, E. C., 548.
Ira, 569.
Stephen, 569.
- Treasurer, 99, 201, 221, 225, 261, 404,
444; office, 387; accounts con-
fused, 402f.
- Tree Association, 273.
- Trustees, elect J. Wheelock president,
3; changes in, 7, 60, 201, 234,
290, 299; relation to meeting
house, 12; petition of President
33; answer, 35; report of
committee on church, 47, 49;
memorial of ministers, 48, 51;
accused by Wheelock, charging
malfeasance, 58; their reply,
58; open opposition, 59; neg-
lect Wheelock's petition, 59;
refuse to ask legislative inquiry,
61; character of Board, 1815,
62; answer Wheelock's memor-
ial, 67; charges against them,
71; resolution against Whee-
lock, 72; remove him, 75f; pro-
test, 78; elect F. Brown
president, 78; popular effect of
election, 79; "Vindication,"
80; remonstrance against
change in charter, 87, 88, 675-
681; meeting, 1816, 92, 94;
refuse amended charter, 95,
687-694; secretary adheres to
Univ. and new one chosen, 99;
appeal for help, 99, 100; penal-
ties denounced, 104; demand
records, 109; institute suit,
110; removed from office by
Univ. and issue address, 112;
make statement, 144; reoccu-
pied buildings, 164; ask help of
legislature, 179, 207; suit by
Wheelock's executors, 180; pru-
dential committee, 212; com-
mittee, on condition of College,
213; new code, 214; disaffection
in Wheelock, 226; removed
Professor Hale, 256; appeal to
Faculty 264; action in regard
to President Lord, 323f; divi-
sion on alumni suffrage, 380;
first alumni members, 381; con-
sider co-education and military

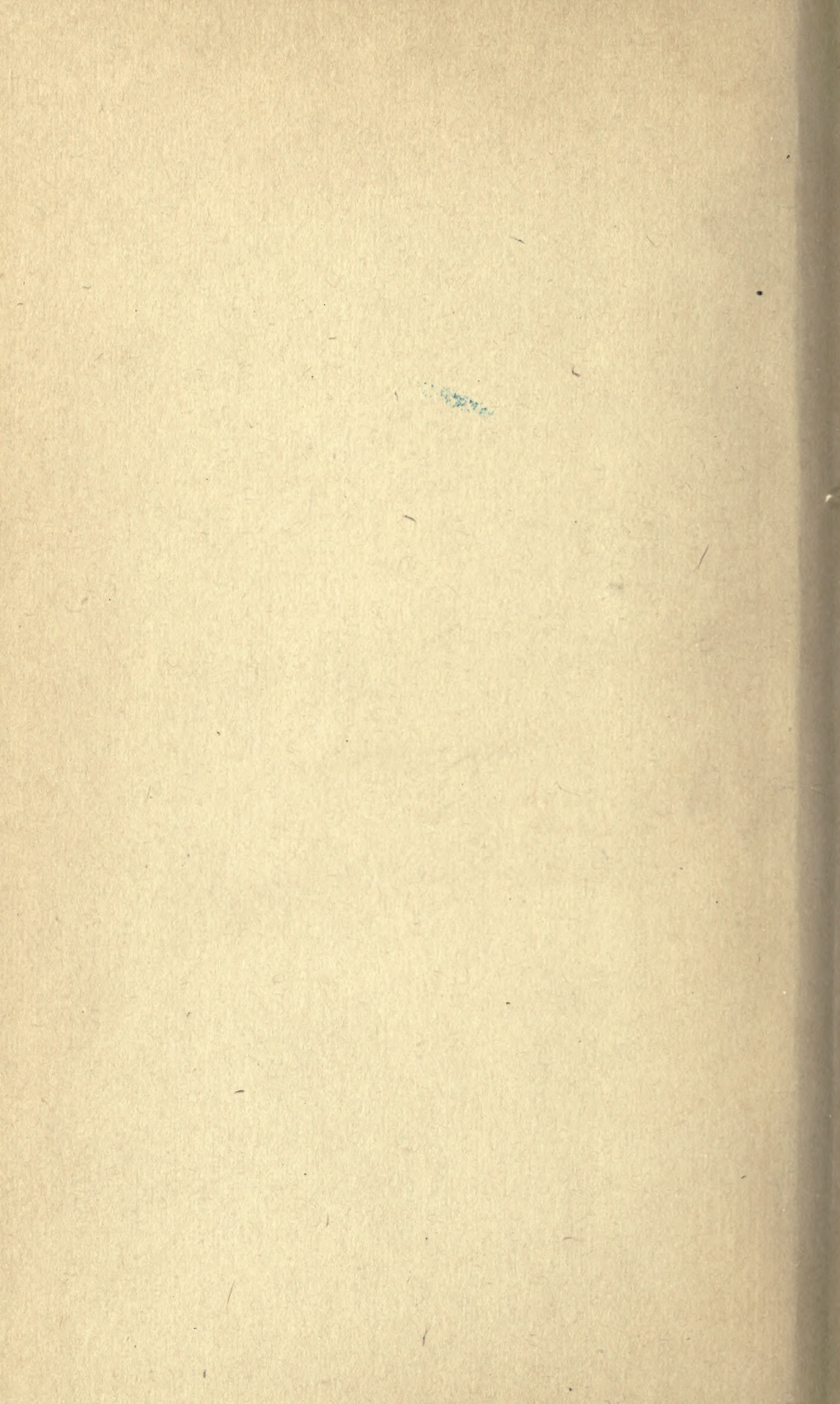
- instruction, 391f; attitude on Chandler School, 426; investigation and report, 431-435; letter on alumni suffrage, 458, accept principal of suffrage; 458; ask opinion of alumni, 460; friendly suit proposed, 463; offer and adopt plan of representation, 467; unify College and Chandler School, 480; accept alumni control of athletics, 482; assume responsibility for Summer School, 500; lease ferries, 649. *See also* Names of Presidents.
- Tuck, Amos, 273, 299, 302, 323, 324; 326, 327, 378, 496.
Edward, 441, 489, 496, 497.
- Tuck Hall, 488, 497.
- Tuck School, 489, 497, 498.
- Tucker, G. H., 459, 465.
William Jewett, alumni trustee, 381; elected president, 472; declines, re-elected, 473, administration, 473f; movement for consolidation, 477; effective policy, 486; new buildings, 486-490; growth of College, 500f; resignation, 503; summary of administration, 504, 505; also mentioned, 404, 436, 459, 463, 464, 466, 467, 531, 536, 569.
- Tuition, 201, 214, 226, 289, 315, 345, 585f.
- Twining, Alexander, C., 664.
- Twitchell, Amos, 99, 183, 684.
- Tyler, Bennet, 19, elected president, 198; inaugurated, 199; raises fund, 206; first annual report, 216; resignation, 217; 218, 219, 220, 221, 234, 268, 557, 565.
- Typhoid fever, 397.
- UNIFORM, 208.
- Union Academy, 71.
- Union Consociation, 109.
- United Fraternity, 204, 260; exhibition, 335; Special Topic, origin, 514; membership, 516; library, 517; regulations, 518; dissensions, 520. *See also* Societies, Literary.
- University, Dartmouth, 86, 90; governing Boards, 91, 682; first meeting, 93; no quorum, 94; remonstrance, 96, 695-699; scheme of organization, 97; adjournment, 97, 102; ask opinion of Court, 103; charter amended, 104; Trustees meet, 111; remove old officers, 112; address to public, 115; takes possession of buildings, 120; opening of term, 121; counsel, 124; first Commencement, 128; confidence of success, 151; applies to legislature, 156; desires re-argument before Sup. Court, 159; disappointment, 160; closes, 164; last meeting of Trustees, 169; petitions legislature, 170; Governor vetoes appropriation, 173; Faculty scatter, students taken by College, 178. *See also* College Cases, Counsel for University, and Finances of University.
- University idea, 263, 264, 339.
- University of New Hampshire, 85, 207.
- Upham, George B., 186, 683.
Jabez B., 560.
Nathaniel G., 548, 666.
Thomas C., 686.
- VACATIONS, 200. *See* Calendar.
"Vale of Tempe," 651.
- Valedictory, 580, 581.
- Varney, John R., 300, 302, 340.
- Veazey, W. G., 425, 434, 435, 448, 468.
- Vermont Medical Society, 194.
- Vernon, Ambrose W., 502.
- Vesper service, 390, 502.
- Vigilance committee, 274.
- Village, 209, 286, 387.
- "Vindication etc." 80. *See also* Pamphlets.
- Visitors of Chandler School, 294; veto contract with Agricultural College 355; relations defined, 356; authority questioned, 424; assent to union of School with Academic Department, 478-480; also mentioned, 231, 360.
- Vitruvian society, 446, 536.
- Vose, F., 132.
John, 17.
Roger, 168.
- WALCOTT, THOMAS, 509, 510.
- Waldo, Nathan, 48.
- Wallace, E. F., 685.
- Walker, John, 553.
Joseph B., 352, 453.
- Ward, Jacob, 21, 26, 29, 32, 40.
- Washington, Justice, 148, 149.
- Waterman, Thomas, 135.
- Water Supply, 475. *See also* Aqueduct Association.
- Watts, Caleb, 208.
J. W., 286.
- Webster, Daniel, desired as counsel by Wheelock, 69; advises delay, 84; counsel at Exeter,

- 130, at Washington, 138, 139; desires new actions, 141, 143; argument at Washington, 147; report of argument, 168; fee in case, 178; graduation, 204; portrait, 246; death, 303; eulogy by Choate, 304; centennial of birth, 440; centennial of graduation, 493, 494; Commencement part, 581; also mentioned, 70, 83, 92, 124, 140, 149-151, 153, 154, 160-163, 167, 177, 188, 203, 205, 306, 310, 520, 543, 545, 639. Ezekiel, 67, 202, 234, 520, 577. Josiah, 48. Stephen, 684.
- Webster Hall, 450, 474, 488, 490, corner stone laid, 493, 494.
- Welch, F. G., 346, 347.
- Weld, Elias, 21, 24, 29.
- Wentworth, Benning, 450.
- Wentworth Hall, erected, 222; 224, 256, 328, used for Thayer School, 361; colored, 369.
- Wentworth, John, 103, 167, 222, 368, 405, 572, 576, 614, 648. Paul, 607. Tappan, 405, 406. Mrs. Tappan, 406.
- Wheeler, David P., 349. John B., offers \$1000, 100, 178, 488. William P., 352.
- Wheeler Hall, 474, 488, 492.
- Wheelock, Mrs. Abigail, 32. Eleazar, 1, 2, 3, 7, 28, 30, 162, 491, 494, 514, 561, 611, 614, 615, 648. Eleazar, son of Eleazar, 31, 32, 136. James, 21, 26, 29, 32, 46, 135, 136, 576, 611, 631, 632, 634. John, made president, 1, 3; salary, 4; accounts settled, 5; change in Board of Trust, 7; relations to Board, 7; to meeting house, 9, 13, to Professor Smith, 15, to Dothan church, 20; election of Shurtleff, 18; Wheelock attempts to control church, 22, 24, 25; opposes new church, 29; church organized, 32; Wheelock petitions Trustees, 33; specifications of grievance, 34; statement to council, 40; Wheelock nullifies result, 44; opposes Shurtleff, 46; seeks to involve Trustees, 47; puts Dr. Burroughs in Dothan church, 52; seeks support of Shurtleff, 55; attacks him and Trustees, 58; loses support of Trustees, 59; work and authority lessened, 61; appeals to legislature, 61; "Sketches," 64-66; political support, 65; memorial to legislature, 66, 67, 671; seeks Webster as counsel, 69; charges against Trustees, 71; their answer, 71, 72; Wheelock's reply, 73; removed, 75f; president of Univ., 115; death, 115; will, 116; character, 116f; funeral, 119; eulogy on, 128; demands of executors, 180; 229, 507, 601, 607, 611, 682. Mrs. Maria M., 119, 126, 180. Ralph, 1, 3.
- Wheelock Mansion, 126, 259.
- Wheelock, Town of, loss of rents, 178, 229; trouble with, 226; title questioned, 228; attempt to gain township for College, 229; failure of attempt, 230.
- Wheelock, The, 447.
- Whipple, Enoch, 48. Thomas, 179, 183, 185, 186, 683.
- Whitcomb, Charles W., 337.
- White, Carlos, 686. Daniel A., 68. David A., 142. James, 686. Stanford S., 452, 453.
- White River Falls. *See* River.
- White River Falls Corporation. *See* River.
- Whiting, Samuel, 134, 686.
- Whitmore, Gordon, 632, 633, 635.
- Wilcox, Dr., 416. Jeduthan, 135, 684. John, 685.
- Wilde, Samuel S., 579.
- Wilder, C. T., 484, 640. H. A., 610, 640.
- Wilder Hall, 488.
- Willard fund, 345, 481, 483.
- Willard, David, 685. John D., 345.
- Willard and Chapin, 223.
- Williams, G. F., 465. Stephen W., 262.
- Wilson, George F., 417, 419.
- Wilson, ———, 273.
- Wilson Hall, (library), gift, 418; construction, 418f, dedication, 421.
- Windsor Association, 39, 52.
- Wines, Abijah, 48.
- Winkley, Henry, 415, 416.
- Winter term. *See* Short Term.
- Wirt, William, 140, 146, 147, 149-151, 153, 155, 163.
- Wood, Henry, 248-251, 253. Samuel, 48.

- Woodbury, Levi, 94, 96, 97, 111, 130.
 131, 185, 206, 533, 553, 556,
 666, 682.
 R., 104.
 P. T., 251.
 Samuel, 80.
- Woodman, John S., 292, 298, 299,
 344, 355, 422.
- Woodward, Annette, 556.
 Bezaleel, 11-14, 17, 506, 507,
 514, 601, 607, 649, 650.
 Ebenezer, 10, 24.
 George, 576.
 Henry, 686.
 James W., 55, 157, 682.
 Mary, 556.
 William H., 18, 19, 80, 81, 94,
 97, adheres to Univ., 99; refuses
 records, 109; 110, 115, 123,
 126, 138, 139, 146, 156; death,
 157; 158, 163, 172, 173, 553,
 554, 556, 682, 684.
 Mrs. William H., 176, 177.
- Woodworth, Edward K., 531, 532.
- Woolsey, Theodore D., 234.
- Worcester, Leonard, 48.
 Noah, 48.
 Samuel, 8, 9, 64, 555.
 Thomas, 48.
- Worthen, Thomas W. D., 347, 500.
- Wright, Aaron, 24.
 Austin H., 604, 605.
 Henry C., 253.
 John H., 430, 443.
- YARD, College, graded and fenced,
 224; hedge around, 285, 387;
 fence removed, 387.
- Young, Ammi B., 221, 225, 259, 288.
 Charles A., 301, 340, 342, 343,
 374, 413, 414, 551, 609, 610.
 Dan, 172.
 Dyer, H., 259.
 Ira, professor, 235; 258; oversees
 construction of Reed Hall,
 260; chair divided, 261; buys
 apparatus, 286, 609; garden
 observatory, 287; builds larger
 observatory, 288; death, 289;
 301, 511, 535, 548, 605.
- Young Men's Christian Association.
See Religious Societies.
- ZETA Psi Society, 535.
- Zouaves, Dartmouth. *See* Military
 Companies.







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